IROQUOIS INDIANS:

A Documentary History

of the Diplomacy of the Six Nations

and Their League

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INTRODUCTION

This compilation is like none other in the world. It is an archive of documents made by and concerning a people without scribes, documents recorded by other parties and originally filed away obscurely in repositories devoted to other interests. Because the League of the Iroquois and its constituent Six Nations negotiated diplomatically with the agents of empires, provinces, and nation-states, as well as with other Indian nations, Iroquois treaty documents came to rest in The Netherlands, France, Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, and in many state and private collections, in all of which the Iroquois documents were secondary to the thousand and one concerns of Europeans and Euro-Americans. Now these many scattered collections have been culled to create the first authentic archive of an indigenous tribal people.

Strictly speaking, an archive consists of the documents generated by an agency or institution, but we may think in terms of an imaginary Iroquois foreign office whose papers were destroyed in an imaginary fire, being preserved only in the copies made for other parties to negotiations. With that fiction in mind, what we have here is a reconstituted archive. Regardless of problems of definition, it is a body of texts exceedingly important to genuinely reconstituting the history of the United States and its predecessor colonies and native peoples.

The Iroquois League was a great military and political power in North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its importance was recognized by contemporary statesmen of competing European empires and colonies, who vied with each other to secure Iroquois friendship and alliance. After 1700, the Iroquois policy of neutrality maintained a balance of power between the empires that lasted until the Seven Years War, and the Iroquois nations were wooed by Britain and the United States during the War of the American Revolution. It is not possible to write a valid political history of eastern North America during the era preceding

the Revolution without carefully considering Iroquois participation in the most important events of the time; and the basis of the Northwest Ordinances of 1784-87 was the treaty made at Fort Stanwix between the United States and the Iroquois in 1784.

Though the Iroquois League fragmented during the American Revolution and its people are now scattered on Canadian and American reservations, and individually as far as Hawaii, their history after the Revolution became inextricably part of the history of the Great Lakes region and of the vast intersocietal trade that moved westward across the continent. Defying dogmas of the vanishing Indian, more Iroquois are now alive than were previously recorded at any one time.

The major problem in studying Iroquois participation in North American history has been the scattered and unreliable condition of the source materials. A large number were virtually inaccessible. Most have never been validated by critical examination for omissions, variance between copies, or other contradiction by other contemporary documents. In national and state archives, Iroquois treaties are submerged in the general material, their arrangement and cataloging ill-suited to the study of indigenous peoples; and indexes are at best inadequate, often erroneous and misleading. There is continuing attrition of source manuscripts, identifiable by later references to documents that no longer can be found.

Now, however, most of the problems of access have been solved by the archive presented herein; and comparison of documents has been facilitated. The documents included were compiled by a project begun in September 1978 at the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library. Funded for three years by the Research Division of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and staffed by a historian and three anthropologists with the assistance of many temporary aides, the project initially aimed at compiling less than 3,000 texts, but even the specialists had badly underestimated Iroquois diplomatic activity and

its involvements. The documents piled up to three times the original estimate, and the project's actual duration extended past its formal closing for three more years. It has been completed nevertheless, largely owing to the dedicated support of the Newberry Library and donation of labor by the staff. Many generous contributions by individuals and institutions are acknowledged below.

Project staff made no effort to collect original source documents. Instead, it copied them by microphotography or xerography and made paper copies of all documents to be filed in an archive at the Newberry. This publication reproduces that archive. It is open to addition as new documents come to light, and students are solicited to send information about such new documents to the Newberry. The archive's calendar is available on a computer printout at the Newberry, and a card index of names and subjects refers to about one-sixth of the documents on file. Access may be had by qualified students. An indexed document is noted as such by a degree sign after the date of the document on the headnote to the document and in the calendar. Regrettably the index could not be completed because of lack of funds, but it is useful in combination with the calendar. Both are printed in the guide that accompanies this film. A reader may wish to scan the calendar for context before concentrating on particular documents. Calendar and index, especially when used together, are finding aids for the location of particular documents and sets of related documents.

ABOUT THE TEXTS

What They Are

The documents presented here include the minutes of treaty conferences, the agreements resulting from formal meetings, and a broad range of background materials useful for interpreting motives, procedures, and effects. The editors' basic standard for selection was relevance to the diplomatic history of Iroquois nations or their league. Other parties involved in the negotiations are also included.

Most of the documents are manuscript or printed texts arranged in chronological order. Often it has been possible to compile copies of the same text from different sources, and sometimes these are variant, sometimes significantly so. All copies are included. Texts in languages other than English are presented but only rarely translated.

Photographs of wampum belts are also included as representing Indian records of negotiations. In almost all instances, it has not been possible to identify a particular belt with a specific written record, and the editors have concluded regretfully that the belts cannot be deciphered by a general code. Nevertheless certain conventional patterns have been observed, so the belts are grouped according to emblematic content, following the last written text at the end of the microfilm publication.

The documents span a period from the earliest surviving sixteenth century texts through the year 1842.

How They Were Copied

The editors depended on many archives and repositories for exact xerographic copies of original documents in their possession. Their valuable cooperation was unstinted, but the variety of their facilities for copying prevented the adoption of a uniform reduction ratio. Therefore, although the final microfilming at Research

Publications was done at a constant reduction ratio, there is no constant relation between the relative size of documents on our film and the actual dimensions of the originals.

The integrity of the documents was the editors' foremost concern. No document has been altered. Very few extractions were made and they are noted in every case. No marks were made by us on copies received except, in some cases, for bold editorial lines with arrows, to denote the beginning and end of a document. Such indications were also used to note overlapping when a large page had to be copied in sections.

The editors aimed at comprehensiveness. This objective required inclusion of some texts so mutilated or faint in the original as to be minimally legible. These are given nevertheless for whatever information can be extracted from them. Some are more legible in the technically enhanced copies than in the originals.

As in all publications, the originals remain the ultimate source to be consulted when issues of textual validity arise. The location of every document is given in a headnote.

How They Are Presented

Each entry consists of a headnote with the document's date, a brief description, and the source, followed by the document itself. In a few cases a translation or annotation will follow the document.

Each headnote description reflects the perspective of the document rather than editorial comment about it. As descriptions were often taken from catalogs or notations of source repositories, spelling of names is not standardized. Editorial remarks, if present, appear in parentheses or annotations.

Bracketed dates have been assigned by the editors. Single documents are given with the date when written regardless of the time referred to in their contents. This has been done because documents are products of the time and circumstances when written, and these may seriously affect interpretation of the contents. To

preserve textual integrity, some texts have been included as found in collections of documents spanning a period of time which is so dated: e.g., 1645-Sept 1654. Multiple copies of the same document, same date, are distinguished as Document I, Document II, etc., and filed in sequence under their common date.

If a document is dated more than one year from the date of the treaty to which it pertains, it is cross-referenced under the treaty date. Because of the prolonged nature of many treaty negotiations, users should scan the compilation's calendar to find appropriate documents within a year of any event of interest. Although cross-references refer to specific documents, distinguished by Roman numerals in cases in which there is more than one document of the same date, references to other documents in editorial remarks within descriptions of a particular document do not make use of Roman numerals to distinguish between documents of the same date. In these cases, all documents of the date cited should be checked for the reference.

The editors have not tried to reconcile or adjust dates in the Old Style Julian calendar used by the English for many years after the French and Dutch had changed over to the New Style Gregorian calendar. Dates are given herein as they appear on the documents. When the English finally changed over, they often gave both new and old dates on the same text; in such instances the editors opted for the New Style annotation.

The project staff has compiled and edited a printed reference manual to assist in interpreting the texts, and we urge that it be kept handy during research. It is The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984). It is a volume for quick and easy reference, self-contained but especially useful in conjunction with this compilation of documents.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This archive could not have been compiled without the generous contributions of counsel and materials from many persons and agencies. No one is intentionally left out of the following list. Pardon is asked for any inadvertent omission.

Indian people: Early in the project, Richard Powless and Paul Williams of the Union of Ontario Indians provided a list of treaty documents. Seven persons from the Union of Ontario Indians visited the project from 23rd to 29th June 1979 and offered comments and suggestions. Phil Monture, Land Researcher at Six Nations Reserve shared knowledge of locations of source materials. George Abrams, Director of the Seneca Iroquois National Museum on the Allegany Seneca Reservation, and Ramona Charles, Librarian at the Community House on the Tonawanda Seneca Reservation, provided information about the location of materials. Tribal historians from different political persuasions on fellowship at the Center discussed the project with staff members during their residence: Norbert Hill and Sandra Orie came from the Oneida Reservation in Wisconsin, and Douglas George, recommended by the "traditional" Mohawk Nation, came from the St. Regis (Akwesasne) Reservation. Everett White, born and raised at St. Regis (Akwesasne), provided valuable information about documents based on his former experiences as an Indian Health Service employee and his personal interest in the history of his people. Most important information and advice were given on a visit by Cayuga Chief Jacob E. Thomas who represents the Cayuga nation in the Grand Council of the Houdenosaunee and teaches in Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario. On 22nd May 1980, Chief Thomas made a joint presentation with Dr. Michael K. Foster, Iroquoian Ethnologist of the Canadian National Museum of Man. At a colloquium at the Newberry, they showed slides and facsimile artifacts and explained symbols in terms of Iroquois custom. Through the following day, Chief Thomas held nonstop conversation with project staff who took extensive notes and taped his analyses of certain wampum belts. He continued

in correspondence afterward. Informal visitors to the project included Charles Patton and Tyler Hemlock, Caughnawaga (Kahnawake) Mohawks; and Alice Armstrong and Helen Laughing, Mohawks employed in the Demographic Office, Mohawk Tribal Offices, St. Regis Reservation.

When Associate Director Mary A. Druke traveled to Indian communities, she was received hospitably everywhere. Indians of Onondaga, including Oren Lyons, Irving Powless, Jr., and Irving Powless, Sr., though unsympathetic to the project, received her graciously and explained their attitudes. Information about documentary material and oral traditions were provided to her by residents of the following Indian communities: Allegany; Cattaraugus; Caughnawaga (Kahnawake), Onondaga, St. Regis (Akwesasne), Six Nations Reserve; Tonawanda; and Tuscarora.

Project Aides:

Consultants. Charles Gehring, of the New York State Library, Manuscripts, provided notes on Dutch manuscripts in the Livingston Family Papers at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. Paul Stevens, a Fellow at the McNickle Center, compiled and annotated source documents of the era of the American Revolution. Another McNickle Center Fellow, Professor Richard Haan, contributed copies of odd documents he had been collecting for ten years. Mary Ann Mayes searched William N. Fenton's files and compiled a list of cited Iroquois documents. Lieutenant Commander C. McD. Stuart, RN, searched uncalendared treaty texts at the Public Record Office of Great Britain and arranged for transmission of copies. Paul Grey, graduate student at the University of London, acted as liaison between the project staff and the Public Record Office in acquiring documents ordered by the staff. Professional indexer Elin Christianson advised on indexing procedures. Major F.E.G. Bageshawe, of Matlock, England, provided photographs of a wampum belt in private hands.

Office employees at various times included Nancy Kovitz; Peter Radke; Polly Strong, University of Chicago graduate student; Andrew Tobin, Bennington College student; Karli Erica White. Wesley Andrews arranged much of the final organization

of the archive files. The project was also helped by several students enrolled in undergraduate independent study seminars of the Association of the Colleges of the Midwest and the Great Lakes Colleges Association, whose wages were paid by the associations and the Newberry. David L. Ghere accomplished "last minute" tasks.

Volunteers included Claudette Alm; Jeanette Campanella; Lucy Caples; Herbert Furse; Ted Knutson; Nancy Kovitz; Dorothy Markowitz; Virginia Meyers; Noel O'Reilly; Mary Louise Ramsey; Mrs. Gerald Sivage. They sorted and identified the masses of documents arriving in the mails, and put them in order for editors' review.

Newberry Library staff. Special interest was maintained and special help provided by John Aubrey, Michael Kaplan, Steve Mandel, Terry Sullivan, and Michelene Fixico; and much gratitude is owed for the patience of Richard H. Brown.

Advice and information were exchanged with colleagues of the Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History project: Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Adele Hast, and Jacqueline Peterson. The members of the Conference on Iroquois Research and the American Society for Ethnohistory devoted three successive panel sessions to the project at annual meetings.

Institutions:

Special gratitude is owed to the Public Archives of Canada for its gift of copies of treaties and surrenders in its possession. Thanks must also be expressed to the Rochester [N.Y.] Museum and Science Center for its donation of photographs of its large collection of wampum belts. The University of Chicago made copyflo paper copies of microfilm at a minimal cost far below commercial prices. Research Publications sent a photographer without charge to film documents located at the Albany Institute of History and Art and at the New York State Archives in Albany. Work on the project was greatly facilitated by materials collected in research travel previous to the project and incorporated into project files. The American Philosophical Society made such research fellowship grants to Director Jennings

and Associate Director Druke. Through such generous contributions, as well as time and energy given by individuals, the project managed to stay within its budget despite its massive increase in size. When the project could not be finished within its allotted three years, the Newberry Library financed it to completion.

Thanks are due to each repository, publication, or individual source of materials listed below which made available copies of materials in its collections. together they have made this publication possible.

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Previous to the revolutionary war the Oneidas were, in a peaceable & flourish state & many among them had approximated to the first stages of civil Society - They had attained some degree of regularity - & industry; their Chiefs had great influence, especially those who sustained a good moral Character, & professed to friends to X ty - The late war proved almost fatal to the nation; a great majority of whom went with the Americans, & lost many of their warriors, a few of them, some of character & influence, joined the British. In the year 1780 - the hostile Indians & refugees drove them from their villages burning their Cabins - spreading waste & desolation on every side, For two years they were fed near Schenectady, & were supplied with rations, at the expence of the U.S. - Individuals would wander, in idleness & dependance among the Dutch & English towns - except some few, who were sent out on scouting parties - till the cessation of hostilities in 1782, - permitted them to return to their former settlements - The devastation of

Th-

their towns reduced them to absolute want & dependance; & their dispersion among the Whites rendered them more than ever, idle, intemperate & abject. When they returned to their desolated Villages, after the peace, they were wretchedly poor, their land much overgrown, & their reluctance to labour doubled.

To these evils which they suffered from the late war, are to be added, the discord & animosity, which their different political sentiments & conduct originated. The distinction of whig & tory took place, & with it resentments & dissensions, which imbitter their intercourse & embarrass all measures proposed, or adapted to their national happiness & interested in their welfare. Those who have been conversant with them since the the revolution can realize this, beyond what the pen of a historian can describe. —

Aside of that Jealousy & credulity which are congenial to an Indian a foundation was now laid, for a permanent division & party spirit spirit among them. and all subsequent negociations, transactions with them either by Individuals or public bodies, since the peace, by some means or other, have cherished & increased this division, & party spirit, & even created new ones.

Dup.

In the 1784. - Congress held a Treaty with the Six Nations at Fort-Stanwix for settling a general peace & fixing their boundaries. — In the mean time, the State of New York, had, sent a Messenger, with an invitation belt, through all the five Nations to Capt. Brant, very expressly to meet the Governor Commissioners in full Council at Fort Stanwix -. Capt. Brant came down with ~~only~~ about forty warriors only - composed of Mohawes & emigrants from most of the five nations, - not being deputed by the Chiefs, or Sachems of the five Nations - was not in a Capacity for any national treaty. — Soon after, the Commissioners from Congress arrived -. These different, & opposite interests gave birth to another division among the Indians; They were now, Tories, Congress party & those who adhered to the State of New York. all these, in their turns, must be addressed, courted - or rejected, as of no consequence for Obtaining the Object in view.

In 1785. - A treaty was held at the German Flatts by the State of N. York with the Oneidas - ~~intending~~ judging it necessary, to make a purchase a tract of land, on the Susquehanah, & put a total

give a final Check
total stop to any private negotiations by indi-
viduals, with the Indians, on land matters, (particularly Col. Harpers partial purchase) as the State
has ever held the preemption right: tho' the more sensible
could never get any clear, determinate idea of this
right of preemption, as either inherent in the State, or
how conveyed to them. much pains, have been taken
by interpreters & others to explain this matter
But either the language, is deficient, not sufficiently
copious, or the capacity of the Indians, not equal
to comprehending such a mistery. —

Good Peter, an extraordinary character among
the Indians) once proposed, a discussion of the
subject, with Judge Barton; But he very prudently
avoided declined it, foreseeing that the issue, would
not accelerate or facilitate the Object of the Treaty. —

There were some very smart, & satiric engaging & treaty Speeches passed
at this Treaty between the Governor & good Peter.
whether, they were all put upon the Journals of the
Treaty — I do not know. —

In (1786-) & 1787) a number of Gentlemen known by the name of Lessee Company united,
to make a large purchase of land of the five nations —
Indians, to extinguish the whole of their territorial claims
to excepting certain reservations to each nation
respectively, sufficient for their occupancy. — and

d were to pay them by instalments, or permanent annuity. This they had nearly effected, (partly by intrigues & bribes) had not the State interposed & opposed them with their whole legislative authority, & the power of the right of preemption which was then considered as equal to Magna charta. —

This adventure, threw most of the five Nations into a ferment, & created animosities, which were carried to a dreadful length: and it finally produced many evils, occasioned much expence to both the State & the Lessee Company. But the Indians were the greatest sufferers as to their morals & internal peace. —

While this was in agitation, Peter Penet, a frenchman, with some of his associates, began his career, of intrigues, with the five Nations — & more particularly with the Oneidas, : — It's object was to obtain, an agency, or Superintendancy over the five Nations, & finally to have the direction & management of all their funded property: For his assistance, he had bought over, Col. Ewen & a certain Nicholas Jordan (a frenchman, who had been taken prisoner, at the reduction of Niagara & had been adopted into their tribe & married —) both these

both these persons, were artful, & intriguing well acquainted
with French negociations & treaties - better tools, for Peters
purpose, he could not have found, in the whole five nations. ~~But Peters art, address~~ By this time,
the divisions, animosities, & jealousies among the
Indians had become so general, that even a straw,
might enflame them, & put a whole village into consternation, in the space of a few hours.

But Peters art, address, & dissimulation, exceeded
any Person I ever knew, or heard of, who had ever any
connexion with Indians. By his insinuating manners & almost bewitching speech, he soon gained
over, & compleatly secured, most of the Influential
Characters among the Oneidas. ~~He had~~ & what was
most surprizing, ~~to~~ to some of the resisting Indians
& instantly of his astonishing address, was the ascendency he had gained over
Good Peter, & Skenondon. They become his
perfect dupes: ~~& they~~ with These two men, in ~~consequence with~~ assisted by degree
& Jordan, (tho' of most infamous Character) Peter would
manage the whole nation, & bring them to adopt any
measure he pleased! - By his art & address, he had
persuaded a majority of the Oneidas, & many throughout the five Nations, that the French King bore
a most tender affection towards his dear children
the Indians; & was much concerned for their interest & safety, since America, had obtained, such a conquest over

oo. - G. Britain. altho' they owed the victory to the arms & Ships of the King of France. - That he had appointed Genet, as their Superintendent - to take charge of their affairs; & Keep a good look out, that Congress did not incroach upon their territories; - and on condition, any such incroachments should be made, he was to lift up a switch & shake it against Congress. & if that did not check them & remind them, of their duty to the Indians - The King of France, their old Father, would lift up a Cudgel - & say to Congress hitherto, shall you come, & no farther; here is the boundary line, betwixt you, & the Indians my dear Children. — It was presently proposed to the Oneidas, to make out a list, of such Articles of French manufactory, as they wished & Genet would send it home, to their Father the French King - who would immediately comply with their most wishes. — An extraordinary list, was made out - or Had I the document by me, I would transcribe it. as a specimen of a fruitful imagination & the utmost stretch of dissimulation, - The feast was made - pipes & tobacco, a keg of Rum provided; - And all was over - by the Oneidas, with the faith of assurance - no one seem- ing doubting; & whole Forest was walking, thro' & round the Camp

round the Camp, sometimes putting on the air of a Sycophant, & when the turn served that of a basha.

I was part of the time, spectator of this curious scene. — — Some time after this, The French Embassador, Count De Maurepas, writes a long letter to the Oneidas - to congratulate them on the prospect of the future prosperity of their Nation - under the auspices of Genet, whom, in his Letter, he stiles "their Agent general."

A French Priest was also sent up to Oneida - with orders, to the Onidas, to build him a house & Stockade it - fence in a pasture for his Cow.

And what was really astonishing to me, as well as to many of the Indians, good Peter, was so hood-winked, by Genet, that he became, for a few weeks a curate, & servant, Harrier, & this Priest; waild upon him, every Sabbath morning, & carried, his images, & pontifical Robes - & then carried them back after service. —

Had any American, or Englishman, used the same freedom of speech among the Indians, & insinuated the same sentiments against Congress which Genet had done, & by his Agents, for more than two years, he would have been indicted for Treason

A Speech Spoken by the Red Jacket 27th of Sept. 1792

(Brother,

I am Now going to Speak to You, for You came first here & kindled a fire with us at a time, when it was very agreable, to us, it was to let us know, what you have been & what News You have heard, & You have told us a great deal, how friendly the Thirteen Fires, which is very good; You have handed us a Bill of Friendship from two Great Men of Pennsylvania which You desire us to Hold fast; They will hold fast also, and You will hold fast, these Hands & our Hands until You bring us face to face, and You have also handed us a Letter of Information, informing us that these great Men have Purchased our Lands out of the Hands of the New England People Which we are very Glad to hear & that it is their determination to do their Brothers of the Six Nations Justice, and also that it is the desire of these Great Men, that the Lines which divided our Land, which We own, from the Lands, which we have Sold, Acguratly Run & well Marked, & that a Survey, of all our Lands be taken so that we may have Justice done us, Brother and You have Asked, for one Chief to Send down to these Great Men, Your Brothers the Pennsylvania to Return up with them, & Now we have, listened to all You have to say at this time & we think it very good & we desire before we give You any Answer that You will Set down & make Your Mind pleasy & Listen with us to what Colonel Proctor has to say, for He Honour the Fire, & we shall make You Seat easy to Set On

Sachems and Warriors
of the Five Nations!

It affords me great Satis-
faction, to see so many
of you who are the res-
pectable Chiefs and Rep-
resentatives of your several
tribes, and cordially bid
you welcome to the
Seat of the Government
of the United States.

You have been invited
to this place by Colonel
Pickering at my special
request, in order to remove
all causes of discontent,

to devise and adopt
plans to promote your
welfare, and firmly to
cement the peace between
the United States and you,
so as that in future we
shall consider ourselves
Brothers indeed.

I assure you that
I am desirous, that a firm
peace should exist, not only
between the United States
and the five Nations but
also between the United
States and all the nations

of this Land - and that
this peace should be
founded upon the prin-
ciples of justice and
humanity, as upon an
immoveable Rock -
That You may partake
of all the comforts of
this earth, which can be
derived from civilized life
enriched by the profession
of industry virtue and
knowledge; and I trust
that such judicious Meas-
ures will now be con-
certed, to secure to You
and your children those
invaluable objects, as
will afford you a just

cause of rejoicing) while
you live.

That these are the strong
and sincere desires of my
heart, I hope time and
circumstances will convince
you. But in order that
our peace and friendship
may forever be unclouded,
we must forget the
misunderstandings of
past times. Let us now
look forward, and devise
measures to render our
friendship perpetual. I
am aware that the exis-
ting hostilities with some

of the Western Indians
have been asserted to an
unjust possession of their
lands by the United States.
But be assured that this
is not the case. We
require no lands but those
obtained by treaties which
we consider as fairly made
and particularly confirmed
by the treaty of Muskingum
in the year 1789.

If the Western Indians
should entertain the opinion
that we want to wrest
their lands from them, they
are laboring under an
error. If this error could

be corrected it would be
for their happiness - and
Nothing would give me
more pleasure, because
it would open to both
of us the door of peace
I shall not enter into
further particulars with
you at present, but refer
you to General Knox
the Secretary of War and
Colonel Pickering, who will
communicate with you
upon the objects of your
journey and inform me
thereof

Lord Dorchester's Speech to
the Deputies of the Indian Nations

(1 2)

1790 June 22d

Sir John Johnson Baronet Supt. Intendant General and Inspector General of Indian Affairs Set out from Montreal to visit the upper posts the Western Confederate Indians & the Six Nations, and proceeded to Michilimackinac where he Examined the Indian Stores and gave Instructions to the person who had Charge of the Indian Department at that place, On his return to Detroit he with Col. Alex. McKee the Agent for Indian Affairs at that post Settled Sundry Matters Respecting the Department met many Chiefs and Warriors of Different Nations who all Expressed Great Satisfaction and Happiness at Seeing him in that Country, from Detroit he proceeded to the Huron Village where he met the Chiefs and Warriors of the Western Confederacy &c. as Follows.—

Huron Village 16th August 1790

Present—

Sir John Johnson Bart. — Super Intend. General &c.	Chiefs &c. of the Hurons, Ottowas, Chippewas & Pottowatamies — Western Confederacy
Alex. McKee Esqr. Deputy Agent	
Joseph Chew Secretary	
Isidore Chene Interpreter	Captains Brant & Sundry of the 6 Nations
George Williams acting Do.	
William Claus Esqr. Lieut. Col. 8th Regt.	Captains Snake the former Shawanese Chiefs with Sundry Chiefs and Warriors of the Shawanese & Delaware Nations
Patrick Langan, William Caldwell — Esqrs. Gentlemen from Montreal	

Messrs. Macomb
Elliott
Pillard
Martin
Baby
LaMothe
May
McKee
Smith
Schieffelin

Gentlemen of Detroit

Henry Thighe a Miamis Chief
Monsieur Lorimier
in behalf of the 7 Nations
of Canada.

When Lugeny Chief of the Huron in behalf of the Confederacy Addressed the Supt. Intendt. General as follows,

Father,

We returning thanks to the great Spirit for granting us the favour of seeing you at this Council in good health, this Council fire we have now uncovered, put on good Wood and encreased it to a Large Flame, where the Important Business of our Confederacy is done, we rejoice to see you who our great Father the King has appointed to take care of all his Indians Children

3 Strings Wampum

The Superr Intendant General

returned thanks for the manner in which they had Welcomed him to their Council fire & said that he was very Happy to see so many Nations Assembled, & went thro the Ceremony of condolence Agreeable to their antient Customs.

4 Strings

He then added that he was Glad to see such good Care taken of their Council Fire and Joined them in the good Work of Encreasing and Brightning the Flame,

4 Strings

Onneyote the Stone Chief then Addressed the Supt. Indn. Genl.

Father,

We are very happy to have a Visit from you who have come so far to see us and thank the great Spirit above who has allowed us to meet in council this day, Father we are now Assembled with four different Nations of our Confederacy the Council Fire has been kindled for you, and them, Sometime ago we will now renew it, and make our young Warriors put on good Wood that it may burn clear that the flame may reach up to Heaven that all Nations of Indians our Brothers in every part of the Country may see the good work we are About,

Father

We now inform you of a Matter of Importance to us when our forefathers were Living they were always at War & fighting with Different Nations of Indians and we were drove from place to place, till we at last Came to the River Canard and there places about it, where the Alareche Took his seat, and said this Ground I appoint for the present Generation & the Posterity that is to come after them, I have made it known to all Nations around me that

this Ground I intend to Stand upon, and there we must perish before any other power dispossess us of it. —

The Superintendant General then said he heard a Difference in Opinion had arose among the White people respecting the Boundary Lines of the Reserve Lands lately made for themselves which the Huron now Occupy, he wished to have that affair Explained so that he might understand and report to the Commander in Chief whether the Land marks that have been reported to him by their Father Mr. M.c Kee are the just, and real Boundaries

Equash away a Principal Ottawa Chief Answered the Superintendant General, —

Father, You desire us to inform you of the bounds of the Lands Reserved for the Huron Confederacy at the Sale we made in May last to the King, which bounds begin at the first Creek or run nearly opposite to the upper Ends of the Islands Bois-Blanc to run thence up the straight or river of Detroit to a painted post at the lower ends of the French Settlement which was fixed by us and Major Murray who then was Commanding Officer at Detroit, to run from the painted post an East Course about Seven Miles into the wood then a south Course untill it intersects a Line running an Easterly Course from the Beginning at the before Mentioned run in order to take in our Sugar

Camps

Comps. this Father is the true Bound agreed upon and fixed by the whole Confederacy. —

The Super Intendant General Informed them the Bounds they had Mentioned were agreeable to those that had been Transmitted to Lord Dorchester. —

At a meeting of the Commissioners for holding Treaties with the Indians within this State held in the City of New York February 6th 1790

Present

His Excellency Governor Clinton
Mr. Yates
Mr L. Hammedieu
Mr Benson
Mr Jones

Resolved that His Excellency the Governor be requested to sign the following Representation in behalf of the Board and lay the same before the Legislature. viz.

The Commissioners for holding Treaties with the Indians conceive it their duty respectfully to represent to the Legislature, that the only Consideration with them in agreeing to the Stipulation in the late Treaty with the Cayuga Indians for a Grant of the Lands therein for that purpose specified to Peter Eyckeman and also Seth Reed for their good services to the State in effecting a meeting between the Commissioners and the Cayugas. That during the Negociations with the Cayugas the said Peter Eyckeman informed the Commissioners and the Commissioners are persuaded that the matter was otherwise so understood by the Cayugas themselves that the said Seth Reed was in consequence of an Agreement between him and the said Peter Eyckeman to have a

Share of the Water Lands might be granted as a Compen-
sation aforesaid. That the said Seth Reed not being present
was upon the whole suggested most reasonable that the
Stipulation should on the Deeds appear to be made in
favor of the said Peter Buckman solely in full Confidence
however, and on a solemn Assurance from the said Peter
Buckman, that the said Seth Reed should have a Share
of the said Lands pursuant to the said Agreement between
them. That the Commissioners have Reason to believe that
the said Peter Buckman, should a Grant pass to him
alone for the said Lands will appropriate the whole thereof
to his sole Use & Benefit whereby the real Intent of the said
Stipulation will be defeated and the said Seth Reed greatly
injured, to prevent such Injustice therefore the Commissioners
suggest the Propriety of a Provision, in the Act to be passed
for granting the said Lands, authorizing the Commissioners
of the Land Office to enquire touching the said Agreement,
and thereupon to grant the said Lands to either or both the
said Peter Buckman & Seth Reed solely or such part thereof
in severalty, or such undivided Proportion thereof to them
as to Justice & the Commissioners shall seem Proper to direct
the said Patent or Patents to issue.

Report of the Commissioners
for holding Treaties with
the Indians

In Assembly Feby 16th 1790
Read and ordered to be laid on
the Table for the perusal of the
Members

Fathers & Brothers the Six Nations.

1775

We have been preparing ourselves this Spring to gather all our people together & to make them all look one way; soon as we had collected them, you sent us out Isaac, Capt. Brandt's Nephew, & we were exceeding glad to hear from you by him. We have received the three strings of Wampum, which tells us to lie still a little longer, but not to look to any other Quarter ——— Brothers the Six Nations we have received your Speech, & as when you receive this you will know that we are strong. We will send you another answer as soon as all our people come in from hunting.

Isaac informs Capt. Brandt that he found the Indians well disposed to act as he expected & wished, this you'll make known to Capt. Brandt. As my time here is not my own, I must wait till I get a discussion over from all the Nations. Pray you would send me something to fill my pipe, here every one is empty

Capt. Brandt sends his kind love & compts to all the Chiefs below.

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110 D. S. As Isaac expects he must the two men who
carry this at the Glaize he begs Capt. McKee would
send Ammunition for their own use —

Alexander Macken Esqr.

Detroit

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and why certain certificates issued in pursuance of a law passed the twenty-seventh of April, 1790, express on the several certificates, that they were issued in pursuance of law passed the first day of April, 1784.

A petition from Thomas Martin, of Wyoming in the county of Luzerne, stating that he has been turned out of his house and farm, by order of two Justices of the said county without a hearing, and as he conceives contrary to law, was read, and the same referred to the Vice President, Mr. Gregg and Mr. Wilkins, who were requested to consult the Attorney General, if they judge proper.

The Council met.

PHILADELPHIA, Monday, May 10th, 1790.

PRESENT:

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire, President.

The Honorable GEORGE ROSS, Esquire, Vice President.

Samuel Miles,	John Wilkins,	} Esquires.
Christopher Kucher,	Zebulun Potts, and	
James Read,	Richard Willing,	

The letter received on the fourth instant, from the Chief Councillors and Warriors of the Six Nations of Indians, stating that they have been plundered in their camps, and their property has been taken by some bad white people, being again read and considered, it was

Resolved, That the following letter be written by the President in answer thereto, vizt:

In Council, Philadelphia, May 10th, 1790.

BROTHERS:—We have received and seriously considered your letter, directed to the President and Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. It gives us pain to hear from you that some bad people have plundered your camps and taken your property. Our laws do not permit one man to injure another. We are willing to give you an opportunity of laying before the government of Pennsylvania your grievances, and of explaining your wishes; and agreeably to your request, we hereby invite three of your chief counsellors and warriors, vizt: Cornplanter, Half Town, and the New Arrow to come to Philadelphia, on Wednesday the first day of September next, when the General Assembly will be in session. We have granted a commission to your particular friend Joseph

Nicholson, to act as the interpreter to your three Chiefs, and will give him directions to conduct them to this city.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Kientwoughko or Cornplanter,
Guyaugh Shoto, alias the Great Cross,
Hachuwoot or Half Town,
Kyendo,
Shendeshowa,
Wadungueta,
Hagungush,
Hucheaguough, alias the Dog Barker,
Oe-wha-gaw-yo, alias the Oldnews,
Candagowa, alias Large Tree,
Tehewanias, alias the Broken Tree,
} Chief Counsellors and Warriors of the six nations of Indians.

The Council met.

PHILADELPHIA, Tuesday, May 11th, 1790.

PRESENT:

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire, President.
The Honorable GEORGE ROSS, Esquire, Vice President.

Samuel Miles, John Wilkins,
Samuel Edie, Richard Willing, and
Amos Gregg, Zebulun Potts,
Christopher Kucher,
} Esquires.

The following letter was written by the President to the Honorable Thomas Jefferson, Esquire, Secretary of State, vizt:

In Council, Philadelphia, May 11th, 1790.

SIR:—I have the honor to send you herewith an act of the General Assembly of this State, passed the twenty-eighth day of September, 1789, "to cede to and vest in the United States the light house at Cape Henlopen, and all the beacons, buoys and public piers, together with the lands and tenements thereunto belonging, and the jurisdiction of the same."

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your obedient and humble servant,
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Honorable THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esquire,
Secretary of State.

A letter from Henry Hill, Esquire, one of the Executors of the last will of Doctor Benjamin Franklin, with an extract from his will, bequeathing his portrait, by Martin, in 1767, to the Supreme Executive Council, to be placed in the Council Chamber, was received and read; and thereupon,

In Council

Philadelphia May 10th 1790

Brothers

We have received and seriously considered your Letter directed to the President and Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania

It gives us pain to hear from you that some bad People have plundered your Camps and taken your property — Our Laws do not permit one Man to injure Another — We are willing to give you an opportunity of laying before the Government of Pennsylvania your Grievances and of explaining your wishes; and agree

Man to injure Another — We are willing to give you an opportunity of laying before the Government of Pennsylvania your Grievances and of explaining your wishes; and agreeably to your request We hereby invite three of your Chiefs Councellors and Warriors Viz^t Cornplanter Half Town and the New Arrow to come to Philadelphia on Wednesday the first day of September next when the General Assembly will be in Session — We have granted a Commission to your particular friend Joseph Nicholson to act as the Interpretter to your three Chiefs and will give him directions to conduct them to this City ——

Thomas Mifflin

To Kientwoughko - or Cornplanter
Guyough Shoto alias the great Crop
Hachuwoot — alias Halftown
Kyendo

Carried Over

Shendeshowa
Wadungueta
Hagungush
Hucheaguaugh alias the Dog Barker
Oewhagawyo alias the Oldnews
Candegawa alias the Large tree
Tehewanias alias the Broken tree.

Chief Councillors and Warriors of the Six Nations of Indians

6/24

The foregoing is a true Copy
January 18th 1791
James Trimble

Complaints from S.E. Council

1790 May 10th } Letter from Council to Cornplanter and his Companions inviting them to Philad.a

Read in Senate Jan.y 19. 1791

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At a Meeting of the Commissrs for holding Treaties with the Indians within this State at the House of Mr Kanny, at Fort Stanwix, on Tuesday the first day of June 1790.

Present

His Excellency Governor Clinton

His Honor Lieut. Governor Van Cortlandt

Ezra L'Hommedieu } { Peter Gansevoort Junr
Abraham Ten Broeck } { Richard Varick

His Excellency the Governor Mr. L'Hommedieu and Mr Varick having embarked at West Canada Creek on Saturday the 22nd Day of May and being joined by his Honor the Lieut. Governor on Monday the 24th at Utica Ville, arrived at Albany on Thursday the 27th in the Morning, where they were joined by Abraham Ten Broeck and Peter Gansevoort Junr Esquires and in the afternoon commenced their Journey for this Place and arrived here on this Day in the Morning, being the day appointed for opening the proposed Treaty.

No Indians appeared on the Ground, but Samuel Street of Niagara Esq. attended and produced to the Board a Letter of Attorney under the Hands and Seals of sundry Indians, said to be Chiefs & Chief Warriors of the five Nations and to be executed at their Great Council Fire at Buffalo Creek

[illegible] the [illegible] day of [illegible]
authorizing the said Samuel Street
to treat with the Governor & Commis-
sioners of Indian Affairs and the people
of the State of New York touching and
concerning their Lands, and to dispose of
the same and the Rents thereof; and
reserving the Execution of the Deeds for
the same to be done by themselves.

The Board having taken the
same into Consideration; Resolved that
it would be unproper to enter into any
Negociation with Mr. Street respecting
before the Return of Peter Elmendorf who
was charged with their Message and In-
vitation to the Indians at Buffaloe
Creek, and appearing that the said Letter of
Attorney was executed and that Mr. Street
had left Buffaloe Creek before Peter
Elmendorf arrived there.

Resolved further, That a Com-
mittee of three be appointed to confer with
Mr. Street on the Subject of this Letter
of Attorney in Order to this Board being
informed of his Views and Expectations,
and that Messrs L'Hommedieu, Tenbroeck
& Varick be the Committee for that Pur-
pose. ——

On Wednesday the 2d Day
of June. Mr. Samel Kirkland arrived & made

The following Report. viz. "Albany
"May 4th. 1790. Received the Dispatches
"from his Excellency the Governor & Com-
"missioners by the hands of Peter Sayler
"Esquire their Agent, for calling the Cayugas
"and Onondagoes residing on Buffaloe
"Creek, to a Treaty with the Commissioners
"of this State to be held at Fort Stanwix
"the first of June next. I set out from
"Albany at [illegible] P. M. Before I had
"reached Onondaga I had direct Information
"from both the Onondagoes & Oneidas,
"that the Indians were generally on the
"Hunt and particularly those whom I
"might safely trust in Company with
"a White Man to take Charge of the
"Messages to the Westward. After much
"Difficulty from the Badness of the Way
"and Failure of two Horses, I arrived at
"Upper Oneida on Saturday, hired a
"Runner to go near 30 Miles into the Woods
"for Peter Otsiquette the only one suita-
"ble to accompany a White Person with
"the above mentioned Messages to the
"Buffaloe Indians."

"Wednesday Morning a little
after Sun rise Roger Lovell & Peter
Otsiquette set off from Onondaga
with the Governors Dispatches an

with similar Instructions to those I had received from Mr. Taylor, with the Addition of the Names of the Chiefs and Head Warriors of both Cayugas & Onondagoes whom we must present at several progress Treaties held with their Nations by the Commissioners of this State."

"Thursday called the Chiefs & Warriors of the Onondagoes together at the Request of some Individuals to acquaint them with the Governor's Message to their Brethren on the Buffaloe, and to remove some difficulties which labored on their Minds by the Voice of Birds."

"Returned to Oneida where I lay sick several days. On the 18th I was informed that Webster the Onondago Interpreter had returned from Cayuga & passed Oneida on his Way to Oniske. Accordingly rode to the Vicinity of Oniske to engage him as a second Messenger to go after Leveth and Otsiquette, agreeable to ancient Usage, to expedite the Indians on their Way to the Treaty. He appointed to meet me at Old Oneida by the 20th or 21st Instant for the Purpose,—

or

On Tuesday the 7th of June in the Evening a Committee of the Oneida Nation consisting of Aghwistonish alias Jacob Blacksmith Gaghsaweda alias Ladewicky, Tehanaragh eeeeagraghkan alias Cole Kanyeny Kanaghkaghyeha alias Joseph Skenandyakhaye, alias Lawrence; Shaghkaghgunseye, alias William and Aluikhätye alias Jacob Reed, authorized for the purpose by that Nation, attended to receive their annuel Payment and on the 8th in the Morning Payment was accordingly made to them of 600 Dollars by Erastus Taylor Esquire the Person appointed by his Excellency the Governor, and a Receipt for the same, Dated on the 8th of June was executed in the presence of the Commissioners and witnessed by James Livingston, James Steel, William Colbreth, and Samuel Kirkland.

On the same day Kahkatate one of the Onondaga Sachems residing on their Reservation accompanied by Egharon Webster, Abraham Bent, Esqrs Elder and one or two others attended as Committee authorized for the purpose by that Nation to receive their annuel Payment. — Evening Cal.

the Afternoon they were furnished with Provisions and ordered to refresh themselves.

In the meantime Peter Nicquette the Messenger of the Commissioners arrived from Buffaloe Creek, accompanied by an Onondaga Indian from thence, and made the following Report Viz.t

That on the 16th. Inst. and Mr. Lovitt arrived at Buffaloe Creek and the next day delivered the Governors dispatches in Public Council of the Onondagoes, Cayugas & Senecas.

The old Cayuga Chief called the Fish Carrier and the Onondaga Chief called Clear Sky rejected the Governors Message inviting them to a treaty at Fort Stanwix. They moved in Public Council to invite the Governor and Commissioners from New York to Buffaloe Creek, for the Business of the proposed treaty. This Proposal was utterly rejected by Peter Nicquette and seconded by many of the Chiefs present, as engineering and unpracticable. After consulting for several days among themselves, the Onondagoes informed

informed Peter Otsiquette, that they had resolved to repair to the Governors Council Fire at Fort Stanwix, the Cayugas might do as they pleased. They also observed to Peter Otsiquette, that the Opposition to the Governors Message was made only by three particular Friends of Colo. Butler.

The next day the determination of the Onondagoes was published in full Council, upon which the Seneca Chiefs replied that they were very unwise. Their Resolution would tend to divide the Nation and that it was not safe to go down among a People who would take every Advantage of them when once in their Power: That they should remember what their Nation had suffered heretofore at Onondago. —

Peter Otsiquette replied that he would stake his Life against any ill Treatment they might receive from the People of New York by attending to the proposed Treaty: That he was fully satisfied of the peaceable Disposition of the State and the Americans and particularly the Governor of New

York

South towards the Indians.

The Onondagoes then appointed a young Warrior to accompany Peter Marinelle down to Fort Stanwix, with Orders to acquaint the Governor that they would set out within three days. When they were just setting out, the Fish Carrier sent them Word that he had some Thoughts of following the Onondagoes, but he should take several Days to make up his Mind upon the Subject."

Whereupon Resolved, That it will be expedient to make the Annual Payment to the Onondagoes, previous to the Arrival of that Part of their Nation, which is expected from Buffaloe Creek, and that the Reasons for the Delay be explained to Kahiktota and others, the Committee of that Nation.

On Friday the 4th Day of June Kahiktota and other Onondaga Indians attended at the Commissioners Chamber when the Governor, after the ordinary Salutations, informed them that in Consequence of Reports of Uneasiness among the Indians to the

informed Peter Otsiquette, that they had resolved to repair to the Governors Council Fire at Fort Stanwix. The Cayugas might do as they pleased. They also observed to Peter Otsiquette, that the Opposition to the Governors Message was made only by three particular Friends of Cora Bullet.

The next day the determination of the Onondagoes was published in full Council, upon which the Fish Carrier replied that they were very unwise. Their Resolution would tend to divide the Nation and that it was not safe to go down among a People who would take every Advantage of them when once in their Power: That they should remember what their Nation had suffered here before at Onondago. —

Peter Otsiquette replied that he would stake his Life against any ill Treatment they might receive from the People of New York by attending to the proposed Treaty: That he was fully satisfied of the peaceable Disposition of the State and the Americans and particularly the Governor of New

York

Post, towards the Indians.

The Onondagoes then appointed a young Warrior to accompany Peter Wraxall down to Fort Stanwix, with Orders to acquaint the Governor that they would set out within three days. When they were just setting out, the Fish Carrier sent them Word that he had some Thoughts of following the Onondagoes, but he should take several Days to make up his Mind upon the Subject."

Whereupon Resolved, That it will be inexpedient to make the Annual Payment to the Onondagoes, previous to the Arrival of that Part of their Nation, which is expected from Buffalo Creek, and that the Reasons for the Delay be explained to Kahiktoto and others, the Committee of that Nation.

On Friday the 9th Day of June Kahiktoto and other Onondagoe Indians attended at the Commissioners Office when the Governor, after the ordinary Salutations, informed them that in Consequence of Reports of Uneasiness among the Indians to the

the Westward, which had been communicated to him said Jemmies, the Commissioners had thought proper to consider a Council Fire at this Place at this Time and to invite those of their Nation who resided at Buffaloe Creek to attend it in Order to hear what they had to say and to remove all just Causes of Complaint and introduce Peace and Harmony among all our Indian Brethren; That it would therefore, if agreeable to them, be expedient to delay making the Annual Payment to them until the Arrival of those Indians who might be expected every day."

To this they cheerfully consented, but informed the Board that, agreeable to ancient Customs which could not be departed from, they would be under the Necessity of returning to their Nation to make their Report: That this would tend to expedite and facilitate the Business as they would then meet their Brethren from the Westward and hurry them on; and that they would at the same Time have an Opportunity of reconciling the Minds of

of their Brethren to the Agreement entered into by them with the Commissioners and to settle all Matters with them to the perfect Satisfaction of both Parties and that they did not doubt but they would be able to effect an amicable Settlement.

It was at the same time deemed advisable that a Messenger should be sent on to the Westward to announce the Arrival of the Governor & Commissioners at the Council Fire at Fort Stanwix, and to hasten the Journey of the Indians from Buffaloe Creek; and for this Purpose Ephraim Webster of the Onondagoes was immediately dispatched to the Seneca Kaheklote and his Companions were furnished with Provisions and sent off to Onondaga.

On Saturday the 5th day of June the Commissioners having been informed that Animosities & Parties prevailed among the Onondagoes about their private Concerns, and that it was probable that this Business would

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would occasion a visit, unseasonable to the Commissioners under this to the State, the Governor, accompanied by Messrs. St Hommedieu, Gansevoort & Varick, with Mr. Kirkland their Interpreter, went to Canonwarke at the Oneida Castle, & after receiving the usual Congratulations on the Arrival of himself and the Commissioners with him the Governor explained to Domine Peter, Lodowick, Anthony, the Great Bear, and other Chiefs and Warriors who attended, the Reasons which induced the Commissioners to hold a Council here at Fort Stanwix at this time, and informed them that when the Indians from the Westward arrived, he would expect that some of their principal Chiefs & Warriors would attend at Fort Stanwix to hear Witness to what might pass between them and the Commissioners, and be informed of the friendly Disposition of the State towards all their

Indians

Indian Brethren, and if their Desire to adopt every reasonable Method to heal the Animosities which subsisted between them.

He also explained to them the Answer of the Commissioners to their Message of last Winter, and mentioned the Causes which had excited Uneasiness and Animosity among them, & exhorted them to beware of these Causes in future, and exhorted them to Peace and Friendship as essential to their Prosperity and Happiness.

On the next Morning the Governor & Commissioners returned to their Quarters at Fort Stanwix.

On Monday the 7th day of June in the Evening two Messengers from the Onondagoes, and one Messenger from the Cayuga Nation residing at Buffaloe Creek, and also a Messenger from Capt. Joseph Brant & the Mohawk Chiefs residing at Grand River on the North side of Lake Erie arrived & the Onondaga Messenger delivered the following Message

Messenger Cayuga.

Brother the Governor of New York, Open
wide your Ears and open your Ears!

We two are sent from the six Nations
particularly from the Onondagoes: We
left them on their Way from Buffaloe
Creek at a small place called Kanawaghla
and they will be as near as the Weather
and their Strength (Horses being weak)
will admit.

The Chiefs of the Cayugas
said they would leave Buffaloe Creek
the next day, and request You to excuse a
long Word if they do not come at a
particular Day; that they would be as
near as the Weather and their Strength
(some being old and feeble) would admit.
Some of the Mohawkes also propose to
come on as the understand.

We have a Message to the
Head which We are charged to deliver to
him in your presence.

The Messenger from the
Cayugas at Buffaloe Creek then
communicated the following Message.
Brother the Governor of New York and the
other Commissioners Attend!

I am sent express by the Cayu-

Nation. They Message consists of few Words, but they are important as relating to your Council Fire. - I am ordered to acquaint You that our Chiefs are on their Way; They request You earnestly to exercise Patience for their Arrival; Many are feeble among them; The Time has been so short since the Arrival of your Message; that they have not yet collected themselves in sufficient Number to come and they again urge You to exercise a long Forbearance until they arrive and not conclude the Council Fire until they see You.

Brother Governor. — Our aged Chief the Fish Carrier has long been confined by Sickness and is very much exhausted that he has not been able to ride to attend a Council Fire at a nearer Distance; but soon hearing your Voice he will arise and attend at your Council Fire; They are now Encamped at Kaua dasega. He has accidentally said he would have every thing ready to leave the Village in Three days after he left it. It is now seven Days since I left the old Chief at the Village. 10 Chiefs of our Nation had agreed to come

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come. I myself make the Speech to the Chiefs.

The Messenger from Capt. Brant and the Mohawk Chiefs then delivered his Message.

'Brother Governor of New York & Commissioners, attend!'

I am a Mohawk residing at Grand River. I am now arrived at the Council Fire, the kindling of which is of Importance to the five Nations. I thank the Great Spirit for having preserved me on the Way: I am in safety and now meet You in peace. I acknowledge the Power of the Great Spirit for our mutual Protection, and that I was so happy as to arrive the same Evening with the other Messengers of the five Nations. My Message, tho' important, is comprised in few Words. I am directed to inform the Governor and his Chiefs, that the Chiefs of the Mohawk Nation are on their Way to attend this Council Fire and to entreat that it may not be concluded until they arrive, as it is their Desire to be present at the intended Negociations. For this purpose I was sent on by

by land and ordered to me to the utmost
Dispatch and to return by Water and
meet them with an Answer from the
Governor whether the Council Fire should
remain kindled until they arrived.

The Letter of Invitation from
the Governor to the Mohawk Nation was
a long Time on the Way to them. It was
detained a considerable Time at the
other Villages before it was forwarded
to their Place of Settlement on the Grand
River being remote, which prevented
them preparing to come sooner.

Captain Brant with the Chiefs
ordered me to come forward with the
utmost Dispatch I could make, lest the
Council Fire should be covered before
I could arrive to inform the Governor
and Commissioners that they were on
their Way and to deliver to the Governor
the Letter from Captain Brant, which
I have this Evening presented.

It is now 11 Weeks since I left
the Settlement on Grand River and by
according to Agreement that Capt.
Brant and the Chiefs were to leave
it, whereabouts I shall meet them I
know

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known not. Capt. Brant and the Chiefs, have earnestly requested me to present their Compliments to the Governor and his Chiefs and to express their great Desire to see them.

To which the Governor replied.

Brothers! We are happy to see you here. We join with you in thanks to the Great Spirit for having preserved you in your Journey and for your safe Arrival at this Place. We will remember your Refreshment, and in the Morning we will send for Mr. Stuart and direct, you shall have delivered to him the Message which you are charged to deliver to him in our presence. We will give you an Answer to your respective Nations. The Letter from Capt. Brant to his Excellency the Governor is in the Words following, viz.

"Mohawk Village Grand River
"Sir. 26th May 1790.

"I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's Letter, dated 8th April. We are very sorry it came to our hands so late, as the Time we are for entered. It is not in our Power to meet with Gov and the Commissioners

at Fort Stanwix. Our Country Dutch is to have the Affairs about the Land accommodated with You, for which Reason I now send Express to your Excellency to let You know the Reason of our not attending at the Time and Place we was appointed to meet with You. — as We are very anxious to see You about different Public Affairs, Please to send Word by the Express where We shall meet with You and the Day; as We set off soon after the Express and dont chuse to wait further Notice from You. As for the Cayugas and Onondagoes We can't tell how they received the Invitation, as they are some Distance from Buffalo Creek. You may be assured that Captain David, myself and Prospect Wemms will attend. Sir.

I remain your most obedt. Humble

George Clinton Esqr. Ler
Governor of the State of
New York &c &c

Jos: Brant.

On Tuesday Morning the 8th of June the Messenger who came from Buffaloe Creek attended the Board,

19 Board, and in their presence the Onondaga Messenger communicated the following Message to M. S. Street, Sowit

"That it was the Request of the Chiefs residing at Buffaloe Creek that he should not negociate any Business for them with the Governor of New York and the Commissioners until they arrived, as they understood that he had come away from that Country upon Business for them before they had received the Message from the Governor inviting them to his Council Fire at Fort Stanwix.

That if M. Street had stopped this place to wait on the Governor he should return and remain at the Council Fire till they arrived.— That if the Council Fire was covered up before he arrived, he should write the Governor requesting him to retain all the Goods, as they were very anxious to see him.

The Governor then desired the Onondaga and Cayuga Messengers to inform their respective Nations, that he would keep the Council Fire burning as long as he possibly could consistent with other public Business; that his Patience was almost exhausted and

requested

requested therefore that they would expedite their Journey to this place.

The Governor then delivered to the Mohawk's Messenger an Answer to Captain Brant's Letter in the Words following:

Fort Stanwix June 7th 1780.
7 O'Clock P.M:

Sir

I have this Moment received your Letter of the 26th Ult:—

I am sorry that mine of the 8th April met with so much Delay on its Passage: I should have written to You at an earlier Day, but I concluded that the Intimations I gave You in my Letter of the 19th September last, that it was probable that I should be here on the first day of this Month would have rendered an earlier Notice (had not my Letter been so long detained on the Road) unnecessary.

I have been at this Place with the Commissioners for Indian Affairs since the first Instant (the day appointed for Meeting) and all the other public Business calls upon me

pressingly

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precipingly for my Attention at New York, I shall nevertheless continue at this place some Days longer in Hopes of having the Pleasure of an Interview with You and such of the Chiefs of your Nation as are with You. I must therefore request that You will expedite your Journey as much as possible.

I am with great Respect

Sir Your most obed.t Ser.t

Cap.t Jos: Brant. Geo.e Clinton.

On the same day late in the Afternoon Ephraim Webster who was dispatched as Messenger on the 4th Instant to meet the Indians who were coming from Buffaloe Creek returned and informed the Board that he proceeded as far as Cayuga where he met with about 50 Onondagoes on their way to attend the Treaty. That the old Men had determined to take passage by Water from the Cayuga Lake & the young Men set out by Land &c — when he left them, they were on their Way between Cayuga & Onondaga. Webster also brought a String of Wampum

from the Cayugas who reside upon the Reservation acquainting the Board that their Brothers from the Buffaloe were on their Way, and as soon as they arrived at Cayuga they would accompany them down and attend the Treaty. Both the Onondagoes and Cayugas intreated the Commissioners to exercise a long Mind and keep the Council Fire burning as they had come a great Distance and could make but slow progress in travel long, being very faint and hungry, and requested that a little Provision might be sent on to them who came by Water to boil on Kettles at the Oneida Lake, which would enable them to come on.

On Thursday the 10th of June a Messenger arrived from Oneida with a Letter from the Beech Tree, informing the Governor that the Onondagoes from the Westward were arrived on this Side of Onondaga and that they were expected at Oneida on that Night and requesting that some Provision

Provision ought be sent there to refresh them and a Keg to grease their Joints and a Staff to enable them to compleat their Journey

The Board were of Opinion that it would delay the Arrival of the Onondagas should Provisions be sent on for them to the Oneida Castle, and therefore the Governor wrote an Answer to Beech Tree assigning this as the Reason for not complying with his Request and sent him a small Staff for his own Use.

On Friday the 11th of June two Messengers arrived from the Onondagas, who are on their Way from Buffaloe Creek and who were this Morning at the Deep Springs with the following Message to the Board viz.t

Brother Governor of New York:

We are sent by our Chiefs to acquaint You that they are on their Way, and Tomorrow hope to meet You at your Council Fire. The Warriors having come a long Journey can not dress themselves in a suitable Man-

ner

Manner to appear before the Great Sachem of New York without some Paint which completes their Dress in the Indean Style; They request You therefore to send a little of that Article by Wampum they will dress themselves in the best Manner they can, in Order to honor the Governor and Chiefs of New York upon their Appearance before them.

The Sachems being told and much Liquor very regularly a Stop of the Business of Halfa Charge to enable them to perform the remaining part of the Ceremony and keep peace with the Warriors.

On Sunday the 13th. of June in the Afternoon, the Onondagas arrived from Oneida and after encamping waited on the Commissioners, and the Governor in a short Speech, in the usual Form, congratulated them on their safe Arrival to this Place. Whereupon Thalonghayawarne or Clear Sky one of the principal Sachems from Buffaloe Creek made their salutatory Address to the Commissioners. After the usual Ceremony of kindling a Council Fire and

and smoaking a Pipe, the same Chief again arose and in another Speech, in which he acknowledged the Receipt of the Governors Invitation he expressed their high Satisfaction at the Prospect it gave them of having a personal Interview with the Governor & Commissioners, and he recapitulated the Purport of the Letter of Invitation, which with the Belt he returned in due Form.

They then delivered in Returns of the Number of each Tribe amounting in the whole to 102, and requested that the ancient Custom might be revived of a little Refreshment in the Evening to make them sleep well and in the Morning to wash their Eyes.

Several other Speeches were then made by the Cherokees and said Chief Warriors highly complimentary and expressive of their great Joy and Satisfaction at this Interview with their Governor and his Chiefs.

After the usual Ceremonies were passed, the Governor informed them that the Commissioners would be ready to meet

meet them and proceed upon
Business to morrow Morning at
10 O'Clock and then retired.

On Monday the 14th June the
Onondaga Nation attended the Board
at the Council Fire and the Governor
opened the Business of the Meeting

After the usual Introduction
on the Occasion, accompanied with a
String of four Rows of White Wampum,
he observed that having been informed
that Heats and Animosities prevailed
among them, he was induced to kin-
dle a Council Fire at this place
at this Time, agreeable to ancient
Usage, in Order to interpose his
friendly Services towards healing
those Divisions and introducing
Harmony among them. — He then
observed, that after the Close of
the War, which had for a time unfor-
tunately intercepted our friendly
Intercourse, he had taken the
earliest Opportunity of kindling
a Council Fire at this same Place,
to establish Peace, renew ancient

Friendship

Friendship, and rub off the Rust which the Covenant Chain had contracted in the Course of the War; That many of the Chiefs and Warriors of the different Nations attended at that Meeting and the greatest Cordiality prevailed, so that he had Reason to believe, that that Friendship which subsisted between our respective Forefathers was again revived and confirmed, and that any thing might intervene it, he had at that time explained to them the Manner in which Business were hereafter to be transacted between us. [Here he mentioned particularly the Explanation which took place at that Treaty, and appealed to those who were present at that time and now here for the Truth of what he now repeated].

He then observed, that more than three Years had elapsed (and nothing occurred during that Time to disturb our mutual Friendship and Tranquility; but that at the End of that Period he was to his great Surprize, informed, that some of the disobedient Children of the State had been among our Brethren of the five Nations to the Westward, and had contrary to our

our Laws and the ancient Usage that subsisted between Us, purchased from them all their Lands; and that other White People who were connected with them were, in Consequence of this Transaction, rushing into their Country and possessing themselves of their Lands, in Defiance of the Authority of the States. That our Arm was long enough to reach them, and had Strength sufficient to reclaim and punish them, but that we desisted from these harsh Measures, lest the due Exercise of our power might have interrupted the Friendship which We wished to maintain with our Brethren of the five Nations, and the more especially persons of them appeared to countenance the Conduct of our disobedient Children. Disposed therefore of this friendly & peaceable Disposition, We had proposed holding a Council Fire at this place two Years ago, and accordingly invited all the Brethren of the five Nations to attend it, That these Matters might be enquired into and Measures taken to prevent the Evils which then threatened.

but

but hearing that a Council Fire was proposed to be kindled under the Authority of Congress at Muskingum, nearly at the same time and that our Brethren of the five Nations were invited to attend it, He postponed kindling his Council Fire until the latter End of the Month of August and received his Invitation to the five Nations to meet him at this place at that Time. That he attended with several Chiefs of the Nation on the Day last appointed and found many of his Brethren of the Wyandotts present at this place, whom He now again saw here present, and he exercised much patience for the Arrival of others of his Brethren of the same Nation from the Westward, but none of them came. After many days waiting, and being informed that a National Representation was present, he proceeded upon Business. - That they discoursed freely upon every Thing that had passed, and on the then unhappy Situation into which our Affairs had been brought, by Misconduct, and a Departure from the ancient Mode of doing Business, and after much Deliberation, He entered into

vile an Agreement with each other,
which We considered as the best calcu-
lated to promote our mutual Good.
That it was unnecessary to repeat
all that had passed between Us or
the particular Covenants We then
entered into: That these things they
must all be acquainted with, and be
appealed to those of the Nation who
were then present, whether all the
Business which was then transacted
was not done in Sobriety and with
Fairness and Candour. That in
Consequence of the Agreement which
then took Place, We paid our Brethren
a large Sum of Money and Goods,
and stipulated to pay them a consi-
derable Sum on the first Day of this
Month in every Year: That this Cove-
nant on our Part had been faithfully
complied with; That last Year our
Agent brought the Money to this
Place on the day and it was honestly
paid: That We had done more: when
they were hungry and wanted Bread
We

31 We purchased Corn and sent to this
place at our own Expence to relieve
their Distresses: That this Year We
were also ready to pay the Money on
the day stipulated, but that as Uneasi-
ness subsisted among them and We had
proposed to kindle a Council Fire on the
same day, We thought it adviseable
to delay the payment, till We could see
all our Brethren together, and, by our
good Offices and Advice, endeavour to
reconcile their Differences. We then de-
sired them not to misunderstand him:
That he did not mean by what he had
said, that any Alteration could take place
in the Covenants We had already entered
into. That these are for our mutual
Happiness and they must stand as firm
as the Mountains and endure as long
as the Waters run. — That our Bu-
siness here was only to reconcile the
Differences and Animosities which had
taken place among them, and We were
now ready to afford them our best
Services for this salutary Purpose. As We

That He had already exercised a long Mind as the Publick Business of the State pressing early called for his Return to New York, and it would be necessary that they should meet together, deliberate upon their Affairs and bring Matters to a Conclusion with all possible Dispatch. That they should avoid listening to the Birds, as they would again attempt to delude and deceive them. He exhorted them to deliberate well, to think for themselves and act as Candour and Justice should dictate, and then there was little to fear but they would do what is right.

To which Shalongheyawano or Clear Sky replied as follows;

Brother Governor of New York!

Open your Ears and hear what I have to say; The great Spirit has appointed this Day for our Meeting in Peace and something are Pleased together at your Council Fire.

Our Brother the Governor with his Chiefs have welcomed us to this Council Fire agreeable to the Custom

of

of your Ancestors. - You have opened our Ears that We may listen to what You shall say at this Meeting designed to renew the Friendship which subsisted between our Ancestors and bring them the Covenant Chain.

We the Sachems & Warriors here present in Town now welcome You at the Council Fire which You have kindled; and that nothing on our part may obstruct the Business of this friendly Meeting, We wipe from your Eyes and those of your People, the Tears, if any may have fallen, for the Loss of your Wives, your Children or your Friends. We also remove every Obstruction from your Breasts that your Minds may operate freely in adjusting the Affairs which concern our mutual Peace and Tranquillity.

By this String also We open your Ear that You may hear our Voices, and the Speeches we have prepared Us to hear yours. [A String of White Wampum]

Brother!

In the Course of your Speech, You cautioned Us to Guard for

for ourselves and deliberate well on
the Opening of the Business of You
touched upon many Matters of great
Importance to our Welfare. — We will
endeavour to observe — your Advice,
but as the day is over for ourselves and
the Sun sunk low, We will spend the
Evening in Deliberation and Rest, &
if We can be prepared We will give
You our Answer tomorrow.

Brother Governor with your Chiefs!

We have nothing more to say at present

On the same Day the Board
deemed it expedient to send forward a
Runner to hasten the Arrival of the Cayugas
and Ephraim Webster was accordingly
dispatched with the following Instruc-
tions, viz:

&c. Fort Stanwix 14th June 1790.

Ever since the first of this
Month the Time fixed for kindling a
Council Fire at this Place, I with the
other Commissioners have been attending
in daily Expectation of meeting our Bre-
thren the Cayugas & Onondagas. Yester-
day the Onondagas arrived and I am told
one the Cayugas are on their Way but at

at a very considerable distance from this Place; I have therefore to request that You will again immediately set out and meet them and use every Means in your power to expedite their Arrival. You Inform them that our State Treasury is almost exhausted in waiting for them, and that the Public Business of the State calls for my speedy Return to the City of New York: That I will therefore require their utmost Expedition to see me and the Commissioners here, on the Business for which this Council Fire was kindled, which was more on their Account than our own. ——

——. That We shall continue here as long as other Public Business will possibly admit, so that if there should be a Failure in their seeing Us, it will not chargeable to Us but to their Delay. If You discover any Person or Persons using Means to retard their Journey, You will apprehend the Person and report the same to me in Order that the Offenders may be brought to condign Punishment.

I am in Behalf of the Commissioners your most obed.t

Jas. Clinton.

Mr. Ephraim Webster
of the Onondagoes.

A Letter was also written by the Gover-
nor to Colonel Seth Read [to be delivered
to him in Case the Cayugas from
Buffaloe Creek should not have
arrived on this Side of Tionadoroga
to furnish them with the necessary
Provisions for their Journey.

A Letter was also dirrected by
Gov. M. Webster to the Sachems and Chief
Warriors of the Oneida Nation in the
Words following, Viz.

Fort Stanwix June 11th 1790

Brothers!

Our Brothers the Ona-
dagoes arrived here yesterday After-
noon. I understand when I was at your
Castle, that when they came in and I was
ready to talk to them, I invited or sent
your Chiefs, that a Committee of your
Chiefs and Warriors might attend and
be Witnesses to what I should say to
them. This I was do understand, he did
not see Your Sachems. It will be
most convenient that the Committee
should not be too large, as where a
great many People are met together
Business can not be so conveniently
I am Brothers Your Friend Goldsborough

37

The Board being informed that the Settlers on the Ground furnished the Indians with Liquor which occasioned great Disorder and unsettled them for Business, came to the following Resolution, viz;

Resolved, That no Settler or other Person be permitted to sell or give any kind of Liquor to any Indian attending at this Place, until the Business of the present Treaty shall be completed, on Pain of being immediately removed from the Ground & otherwise dealt with agreeable to Law.

On Tuesday the 15th Day of June nothing was done: The Onondaga Chiefs apologized to the Commissioners for not giving their Answer on this Day, agreeable to Promise, as their young Men were engaged in preparing for a Dance with others of the five Nations on the Ground, which had occasioned their Deliberations but promised to attend Tomorrow Morning early.

On Wednesday Morning the 16th of June, Nicholas returned with two Onondaga Warriors as Messengers from that Nation

Nation, who informed the Board that they had four Sleeps ago arrived at Canadasegea: That the Sick Carrier and some others of the more elderly People, and others who were too much fatigued to travel by Land, intended coming from thence by Water: That Colonel Reed was about preparing a Boat for them, and at their earnest Request had given them a small Supply of Provisions for their Journey which the Sick Carrier promised the Governor should compensate him for: That they expected to be here (if Nothing happened to obstruct their Passage) either this Evening or Tomorrow and begg'd the Governor to wait with Patience for their Arrival: That their Young Warriors were coming on by Land: That they had left them three Sleeps ago on this Side of Cayuga. They requested that Provisions might be ready for them, as they would be much fatigued and very hungry.

On the same Day the Onondagas attended to receive their Answer to the Governors Speech, and being seated and informed that the

Commissioners

Commissioners were ready to hear their Answer. Peter alias Bear's Foot or Quarter Master an Oneida Chief addressed the Assembly as follows;

Brothers of the six Nations attend!

With others of our Chiefs and principal Warriors, were called by our Governor to be present here and be Witnesses to what shall pass between You and him: We wish You Happiness in your Meeting and that your Conduct may bear the Complexion of this fair Day.

Our Governor only requested a few of our principal Chiefs and Warriors to attend, but this would be contrary to our ancient Usages. When the sage Chiefs go out upon Business some of the young Warriors always attend them, to take Care of them, as well as to learn the Manner in which public Business is to be transacted. Accordingly a Number of our young Warriors have attended Us, agreeable to ancient Custom. We shall only open our Ears and hear what you have to say between You.

Peter having finished

his Speech sat down, and Clear Sky
rose and spoke as follows:

Brothers & Cousins of the five Nations
and Brother Governor of New York & your
Chiefs open your Ears and attend to what
I have to say!

We are now assembled at this
Place on the day appointed by the Great
Spirit for our Meeting. We congratulate
You on this Occasion and on the Protection
afforded Us by the Great Spirit. Two
Days have passed since We met at this
Council Fire, when our Brother the
Governor opened to Us the Reasons for
kindling it here at this Time.

Brother Governor! You then recapitu-
lated all the Events which had taken
Place between You and Us since the
Close of the late War, and particularly
our Transactions respecting the Disposal
of our Lands, without the Consent of the
State and contrary to ancient Custom,
and of the Evils which had resulted
therefrom. You mentioned that You
had paid particular Attention to the
Welfare and Happiness of our Nation,
of our Wives and of our Children.

Brother Governor! We have deliberate
upon

upon yr Speech made to Us two days ago and thank You for your Attention to the Good of the Nation. We now see clearly that there was nothing unfriendly or wrong in any of your Negociations with Us and Onagain thank You for your friendly Address and Counsel to Us.

Brothers & Cousins of the five Nations attend, while I address the Governor, Chiefs and People of New York and the Americans in general. Let all present hear and bear Witness.

+ Brother! You have exhorted Us to Peace and cautioned Us not to regard the Voice of the Birds.

Brother! We in our Turn likewise exhort You to Peace and not to regard the Voice of the Birds, who will break our Peace. My Words are finished they are strong.

A White Belt with eleven Rows of White Wampum & seven oblique Rows of Black Wampum annexed.

Brothers & Cousins of the five Nations again attend, while I address the Governor (and his Chiefs of New York.

Brother Governor! We have now taken away all Obstructions in the Path which impeded our Peace with You. We have heard

heard your Voice with Pleasure. We
wipe away the Blood which has
been shed: We have pulled up a
great Tree from the Roots and
We have buried the Tomis of the
Birds and all Discords & Jealousies
in the Hole, that they may sink
down to the Bottom of the great
Rivers and be washed away forever
with the Floods, and We now take
fast hold of the Chain of Peace
to be held between You & Us and
our Posterity forever.

Brother Governor! We have now
spoken from the Bottom of our
Hearts, as You have spoken from
the Bottom of your Heart. This We
have done under the Eye of the Great
Spirit above.

A long white Belt with 18 Rows.

Brother Governor of New York! Open your
Ears! Before We left our Council Fire
at Home, our Female Governors heard
your Voice or Message and were glad &
rejoiced, so did our Children. Our
Mothers advised Us to see You and
congratulate You on their Behalfs,
and to return to them with Messages

of Peace.

One String of four Rows of Cheque'd Wampum representing the four Governments & one String of four Rows of White Wampum representing the Children were then presented.

Clear Sky then sat down & Kahiste tote a principal Chief from Onondaga rose and requested the Attention of his Brethren the Oneidas, who were present as Witnesses to what had been said, observing that their Brethren residing at Buffaloe Creek had once fully spoken their Minds to the Governor and his Chiefs: Wherefore he requested that those who were attending as Witnesses might seal it upon their Memory

---

The Governor then replied that it gave him and the other Commissioners the highest Satisfaction to observe, that Harmony and Reconciliation was perfectly restored between our Brethren the Onondagoes: That they were so perfectly satisfied with the different Transactions which had taken Place since the Close of the War, with Respect to their Nation and above all that Peace and Friendship were so perfectly restored and established between them and Us.

He

We then observed, that if it was consistent with their ancient Custom it would tend to expedite the Completion of the Business of the Council Fire, if a Committee consisting of their principal Chiefs & Warriors were appointed to confer freely with the Commissioners on the Business, to bring it to a Close.

This Proposition was acceded to with great Readiness, as perfectly agreeable to ancient Usage and a Committee of 20 of the principal Chiefs & Warriors was accordingly appointed, who immediately retired with the Governor and Commissioners and adjusted the Business to the entire Satisfaction of the Onondagoes.

In the Course of this Transaction the Committee on the Part of the Indians mentioned, that they expected that those who were intrusted with the Management of their Public Affairs could receive some Gratuity for their extraordinary Trouble and Services

Services: This was agreed to by the Commissioners.

Kahiktoke also introduced to the Commissioners a young Sachem who filled the Place of his deceased Father. He observed that the Father had been a Man of the first Character and Consequence in their Nation. That long ago in a Council Fire at Albany Quedel Coda ++ or Colonel Peter Schuyler had been very kind to him and made him a considerable Present. That he had wished them for a small Piece of Land at the Falls (Oswego Falls) to carry his Boats over, and that they had promised it to him: That they understood Major Peter Schuyler as upon the Ground was his Descendant: They wished the Commissioners would give him a Piece of Land there.

To which the Governor replied, That as that Land was ceded to the People of the State, at the late Treaty it was not in the Power of the Commissioners to comply with their Request: That this was a Matter which

rested

rested entirely with the Legislature. and that these Circumstances and their Request would accordingly be reported to them.

The Committee then retired and soon after Ojageghte alias the Fish Carrier, a Sachem and a Number of others of the Cayugas residing at Buffaloe Creek arrived and waited on the Commissioners. The Fish Carrier mentioned that his Business was barely to announce his Arrival, and to inform the Governor that a Number of the Warriors who travelled by Land had not yet come in: That when they arrived and were refreshed, they would wait upon the Governor and Commissioners in Form and they then retired.

In the Afternoon the Onondaga Nation assembled at the Council Fire. — The Governor mentioned to them, that he presumed from their now assembling that their Committee had reported the Result of their Conference with the Commissioners to the Nation and that they

had

had approved and confirmed it:
That We were now ready to per=
fect the Business on our Parts,
and That nothing remained to be
done but the payment of the Mo=
=ney and the Execution of the Wri=
tings: To which they unanimous=
=ly expressed their Assent. —

The Governor then informed them
that he had a few more Words to say to
them, in Answer to the Messages and
Strings presented to the Board in Behalf
of the female Governesses and little ones
residing at Bassa Cove Creek: He observed
that it gave him and the other Com=
=missioners great Pleasure to be
informed of the friendly disposition
of our Sisters and their Children and
that as a Testimony of the Regard & Friend=
=ship of the People of this State towards
them, he now presented them with
Clothing and other Articles suitable
for them, which amounting in Value
to £611.11.0, was then laid before them.

The Money was then produced
and counted and the Instrument of
Writing executed

Ratification, comprising a Receipt for the Annual Payment for this Year, was executed in the Presence of the Oneida Nation and of Capt. Joseph Brant and others of the Mohawk & Cayuga Nations.

Captain Brant having previously, in full Council, in Presence of the Commissioners, called upon the Onondagoes to know whether the present Transaction was with their full Approbation and Consent, and being answered in the Affirmative, he inserted the Indian Names in the Instrument of Ratification and became a Witness thereto. The said Instrument is in the Words following viz.

"We the Sachems, Chiefs and
"Warriors of the Tribe or Nation of
"Indians called the Onondagoes, being
"assembled in full Council, at a Council
"Fire kindled at Fort Stanwix this
"day by his Excellency George Clinton
"Governor of the State of New York, the
"Honorable Pierre Van Cortlandt
Lieutenant

" Lieutenant Governor of the said
" State and Ezra L'Hommedieu, Abra-
" ham Ten Broeck, Peter Gansevoort
" Junr. and Richard Varick, Commissioners
" for holding Treaties with the Indians
" within the said State, Do hereby
" acknowledge to have received from
" the People of the said State the
" Sum of five hundred Dollars in Silver,
" being the Annual Payment stipulated
" to be made to the said Onondagoes
" on the first day of June Instant in
" and by certain Articles of Agreement or
" Deeds of Cession hereunto annexed and
" executed by and between the people of
" the State of New York by their Commis-
" sioners authorized for that Purpose and
" the said Onondagoes and bearing date
" the twelfth day of September in the Year
" one thousand seven hundred & eighty
" eight. And also the further Sum
" of five hundred Dollars as a Bene-
" volence. And We the said Onondagoes
" do by these Presents fully, freely and
" absolutely ratify and confirm the said
" Agreement & Deed of Cession and all
" and singular the Articles, Covenants &c
" Things therein expressed and contained
" on the part of the said Onondagoes

" done or to be done, executed or per-
" formed. In Testimony whereof the
" the said Sachems, Chiefs & Warriors
" of the said Onondagoes, for and in
" Behalf of our Tribe or Nation, have
" hereunto set our Hands and affixed
" our Seals this sixteenth day of June
" in the Year one Thousand seven hun-
" dred and ninety."

Tehanaghsherenton his X mark. (L.S.)

Honagheseini his X mark. (L.S.)

Tehanaghwaghshon his X mark. (L.S.)

Honghwenjageghte his X mark. (L.S.)

Shanawadegh his X mark. (L.S.)

Atthagseranen his X Mark. (L.S.)

Skayaneshe. his X Mark. (L.S.)

Ayanoo his X Mark. (L.S.)

Oyadgeghte his X Mark. (L.S.)

Aankeinte his X Mark. (L.S.)

Okwentageghte his X Mark. (L.S.)

Aonoghyoweaneagh his X Mark. (L.S.)

Kaghiehtoton his X Mark. (L.S.)

Kaghsadageagh alias Stenning Arrow his X Mark. (L.S.)

Skayendakhon

51 Shaqendaghon his + Mark. (L.S.)

Kasugslaghare his + Mark. (L.S.)

Schanaghsale his + Mark. (L.S.)

Aranghyesghtha his + Mark. (L.S.)

Jaghakison his + Mark. (L.S.)

Sagayenagha his + Mark (L.S.)

Karonyatarigeiva his + mark. (L.S.)

Onenabaccater his + mark. (L.S.)

Schaghweakarenti his + Mark (L.S.)

Kagnemayen his + Mark. (L.S.)

Agweiontongwagha his + mark (L.S.)

Aniengwighragktha his + Mark. (L.S.)

Onialaiyos his + Mark (L.S.)

Kanegaagh his + Mark. (L.S.)

Geo. Clinton (L.S.)

Peire Van Cortlandt (L.S.)

Jno L'Hommedieu (L.S.)

Attest

Wm Jon Brooke (L.S.)

Peter Ganseevoort Junr (L.S.)

Richd Varick (L.S.)

Witnesses present

Saml Kirkland Missionary

Interpreter

John Lansing Junr.

Jos: Brant.

David Hale

John Sayler.

Malachi Treat.

Abm: Hardenbergh.

Peter Wraigkette.

Chiefs of the Mohawk Nation

Aghwistonish his X Mark

Onoyantha his X Mark

Col. Honyery his X Mark

Chiefs of the Senecas

Snangaiekhon his X Mark

Thoghnanayin his X Mark

The Governor then addressed the Onondagoes as follows:

Brothers

Brothers! It affords us the highest Satisfaction that We have been able at this time, through the Assistance of the Great Spirit, to bring our Pipes together at this Council Fire; That the Business of it has been conducted with so much Unanimity and Cordiality, and that peace and Friendship is so perfectly renewed and confirmed between Us; but above all that Harmony and Good Will is restored and established between our Brethren the Onondagas who are of the same Blood; and whose Prosperity depends upon their Unanimity and Love towards each other.

Brothers! This is all We have to say. We pray that the Great Spirit may protect You on your Journey home, and preserve You when there, in Peace and Happiness.

The Onondagas then requested that the Money might remain in the Care of the Commissioners 'till the next Morning; when they would call for it and receive the Provisions necessary for their Journey.

On Thursday Morning the 17th. The Onondaga Committee attended

and the Money was again counted in their Presence and put upon Bares and delivered to them and the Gratuities with the usual Rewards to their Messengers were then also delivered to them.

On the same day, towit, Thursday the 17th June the Fish Carrier with a Number of Chiefs & Warriors of the Cayuga Nation from Buffaloe Creek assembled at the Council Fire and informed the Commissioners that they were there attending.

The Board being also convened, the Fish Carrier addressed them as follows;

Brothers! We are now met here at your Council Fire: We thank the Great Spirit for his Protection on our Journey and that We now see You here.

Brothers! According to the ancient Custom of our Forefathers, when an Invitation was given to the six Nations they all assembled, before any one of them undertook to return the Message

and

and Belt of Invitation. Our ancient Customs We are much attached to, and they ought always to be strictly regarded but it seems in the present Instance they have not been attended to. Our Brethren the Onondagoes have been received at the Council Fire, returned the Message Belt and have transacted Business before We arrived. This is contrary to our ancient Usages, which We do not wish to depart from.

The Fish Carrier then sat down and the Governor addressed them as follows.

Brothers! I do not pretend to be perfectly acquainted with all your ancient Customs. It is but a short Time since I was first called upon to transact Business with my Brethren of the 5 Nations. This much however I can say. That I have never intentionally on my Part deviated from your ancient Usages. It has invariably been the Case since I have transacted Business with your Nations, to conduct our Council Fires in the same Manner which has now taken place with our

Brethren

Brethren the Onondagoes. This was the Case at the Council Fire kindled at this Place soon after the Conclusion of the War. Some of the Nations then addressed me separately: This also was the Case at the last Treaty held at this Place and See many now here present who will recollect these Circumstances. Perhaps the peculiar Situation of our Brethren ought have induced them to desire, in some Degree, a little the Observance of their former Customs; but this is not to be imputed to me for it always has been my Desire strictly to adhere to them.

The Fish Carrier then again rose & addressed the Governor as follows, Brother Governor and you Chiefs, open your Ears and attend to what I have to say!

The Reasons You have assigned for any Departure which may have been made from ancient Usages are satisfactory to Us and remove from our Breasts some Difficulties which had lodged there.

I now wash away the Blood

57 Blood that may have been spilt during the late War and wipe the Tears from your Eyes on Account of your Friends who may have been slain and remove every Obstruction from the Path of Peace, so that Friendship may take Place and subsist between Us.

(A String of 3 Rows of Shequenock Wampum.)

He then observed that he had received the Message and Belt of Invitation at Buffaloe Creek. These had been returned by their Brethren the Onondagaes. He also observed that they had met at Kanadesegea a Messenger with a String from the Governor to hasten their Journey, which he was returned.

He then informed the Board that all the Nation had not yet arrived, but that he expected to be ready to attend to Business in the Morning.

On Friday Morning the 18th of June, the Cayugas repeated to the Council Fire and the Governor compliemented them in the usual Complimentary Manner

Congratulating Speech on their Health
and safe Arrival, and presented them
with a String of Three Rows of Chequer'd
Wampum to remove all Obstructions
to Business; which Captain Brant
at the Request of the Governor com-
municated to them in the Indian
Language.

The Governor then made
the following Speech;

Brothers!

According to our ancient
Customs it is now my Duty to explain
to You the Business for which this
Council Fire was kindled. — If in
the Course of my Speech any thing
should be mentioned that may be
unpleasant or disagreeable to You, I
intreat You to believe that it is not
done from an Intention to wound your
Feelings, but from a Desire that the
whole Truth should be disclosed and
that all now here present should be
fully informed of every Transaction
which has taken Place between the
People of the State of New York and
our Brethren the 5 Nations, since
the

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the Close of the late War and now I enter on the Task with Pleasure, from a Consciousness that when these Things are understood, I shall stand justified, not only before the Great Spirit, but with our Brethren the 5 Nations and all Mankind; for I can with great Truth declare, that it was always my sincere Intention to do Justice to our Brethren the 5 Nations, and to pay as much Regard to their Prosperity and Happiness, as would be consistent with Justice to my Brethren the White People.

In the Course of last Year, I was informed by Reports from the Westward, and afterwards by Letters which I received from our Brethren at Buffaloe Creek, that Uneasiness and Defatisfaction prevailed among them on Account of Agreements which had been entered into between the State and our Brethren the Onondagas and Cayugas; and all the I am sorry to remark that these Letters were not dictated in as friendly and respectful Terms as might have been

dictated

expected, yet I immediately returned an
Answer to them informing our Brethren
at Buffalo Creek, that the Powers of the
Commissioners for treating with the
Indians had expired; but that I would
lay their Letters before our Legislature,
who were to meet early in the Winter, &
that I thought it probable they would
authorize me to meet our Brethren
at a Council Fire, to enquire into
the Causes of their Dissatisfaction, and
afford any Assistance to heal the
Animosities and Discontents which
prevailed among them. Accordingly
did as I promised, and the Legis la
ture, with as much Expedition as Bu
siness can be done in large Bodies,
directed me and my Brethren whom
You see now present, to kindle this
Council Fire; and I thereupon im
mediately dispatched a Messenger with
a Letter of Invitation for You to attend
it. The Purport of this Message is contain
in what I have since related to You.
Brothers! We arrived here on the
Day appointed. We have exercised a
long Mind in waiting for You & have
discovered

60 discovered on every Respect a friendly & generous Disposition towards Your Brothers! It is now necessary, in Order to a full Explanation of Matters between Us, that I should give a Relation of the different Transactions which have taken place between me & our Brethren of the 5 Nations since the Close of the late War, & Shortly after that Period as was practicable I kindled a Council Fire at this same Place and Invited all our Brethren of the 5 Nations to attend it. The Object of that Meeting was to remove the Obstructions which had unhappily taken Place to our friendly Intercourse during the War: to renew the ancient Friendship which had subsisted between our Forefathers and to brighten the Covenant Chain. Some of the Nations attended and a respectable Number of the Chiefs & Warriors of all the Nations, some of whom I now with pleasure see here, were there.

Brothers! I then informed You that Peace was restored: That all Animosities which had arisen during the War had now subsided on our Part: That We received you as our Brethren and that We

We were desirous of renewing & confirming
our ancient Friendship: That We did
not blame you for the Part You had
taken; That We had always previous
to the War considered the King, whose
Cause You espoused, as our Common
Father and had frequently advised You
to hold fast to his Chain: That You
could not be supposed to be sufficiently
acquainted with the Causes which had
given Us Disgust & Caution and occasioned
the War, and it was therefore reasonable
in You to take the Part You did; That
many of our White People who had
better Opportunities of Information,
took the same Side and We had even
forgiven them and restored them to
our Friendship.

At this Meeting, Brothers
We told You that your Lands were
your own, and notwithstanding any
Cession made by Us on the Part of
Great Britain, We invited You to
return to your Country and possess
your Lands in Peace, and left Disputes
touching Jurisdiction

Transaction

62 Transactions which might take place between Yourselves, I took particular Pains to inform you of the Nature of our Government & Laws as to the Manner of doing Business with our Brethren of the 5 Nations. This I informed You was agreeable to our ancient Customs before the War, notwithstanding the Change which had taken Place in our Government; And that no White Person had a Right to bargain for or purchase your Lands, without the Consent of our Legislature: That if at any time You should be disposed to sell any part of your Lands, the State would be ready to purchase it from You. It is true (for I have no desire that any Part of the Truth should be concealed) that at that Meeting I mentioned to You the Loyalists we had sustained during the War and that a small Cession of your Lands to enable Us to reward our young Warriors for their Services would be very acceptable to Us, but finding that the Persons attending from your Nation did not conceive themselves authorized, agreeable to

your ancient Customs to make such
Cession, I did not persist in urging it.
These are the principal Matters which then took Place
for the South of what I have now said
I can with great Confidence appeal to
all who were present. We parted with
great Cordiality and Good Will towards
each other, and I had Reason to believe
that Peace and Friendship were again
restored and perfectly established.
Brothers! In this happy Situation We
continued for upwards of three Years. At
length Reports were brought to Us, that
some of our disobedient Children had
been among You and, without our Authority and Consent, had purchased from
our Brethren the 5 Nations all their
Lands. I was astonished at this and
could hardly believe it, after the very
full Explanation which had taken
Place between Us, as to the Manner of
transacting such Business.
I had almost concluded that
it was a Story of the little Birds; but
observing that a great Number, not only
of our own disobedient Children, but
of those from different States around
Us, were rushing into your Country
and

64 and allmg themselves down there, in
Defiance of our Laws and Government,
I began to credit the Report and was
soon after confirmed of the Truth of it,
by their producing to me your Deeds
for the Lands. This Conduct, so con-
trary to our ancient and established
Customs, I was apprehensive would
occasion much Evil, both to You and
to Us, and be the Cause of great Dis-
content. It is true, our Arm was long
and strong enough to have reached our
disobedient Children and to have removed
them from thence and to have punished
them: but We had Reason to believe that
they were countenanced by some of our
Brethren of the 5 Nations, and if We
were to pursue vigorous Measures,
Consequences of too serious a Nature
ought take place and disturb our
mutual Peace. This Brethren induced our
Legislature to direct me, agreeable to
our ancient Customs, to light up a
Council Fire and to invite our Bre-
thren of the 5 Nations to attend it, &
to concert Measures with them for
healing the Animosities which were like
to

to take Place, and to avert the Evils which were likely to result from your Conduct in departing from the ancient Custom established between Us.

Brothers! Two Year ago I accordingly proposed kindling a Council Fire at this Place and Invited my Brethren of the 5 Nations to attend it, in the Beginning of June. In my Letter of Invitation, I explained very fully the Nature and Importance of the Business and I not only invited, but intreated You to attend. But I soon after heard that Congress had proposed kindling a Council Fire at the Muskingum and had invited our Brethren of the 5 Nations to attend there. I was not particularly informed of the Nature of the Business to be transacted at that Council, and lest your Attendance there might interfere with the Council Fire I had proposed to kindle at this Place, I postponed my Council Fire to the 25th. day of August and renewed my Invitation to my Brethren

to

66 of the 5 Nations to attend at this Place
at that Time. I accordingly attended
here and found my Brethren the Onon
:dagaes on the Ground: but wishing to
have as many of that Nation present as
possible, I delayed entering upon Busi-
ness for 14 Days; when, being informed that
a National Representation, agreable
to their ancient Usage, were present,
and that they were ready to proceed
upon Business, We commenced our Negoti
:ations with them and in the Course of
which every Transaction was fully ex
:plained and after much Deliberation,
which was attended with great Cord
:iality and Soberness, an Agreement
was concluded to the mutual Satis faction
:on of both Parties and I am happy now
to inform You that this Agreement has
at the present Council Fire, been
confirmed by the whole Nation & to
that perfect Reconciliation and Harm
:ony appears to have taken Place among
them.

Our Brethren the Cherokees
also attended at this Meeting according
to Invitation and an Agreement equally
satisfactory to both Parties was entered
into

into with them. But our Brethren the Cayugas the only remaining Nation, with whom We had Business to transact, did not attend. We had invited You agreeable to the ancient Usage of our Forefathers. We exercised a very long Mind on waiting for your Arrival, but You did not obey.
You did not listen to our Voice. We could invite You, but it was not in our Power to oblige You to attend. I was on that Business near two Months from Home. It was still my Intention to meet my Brethren the Cayugas and Accordingly, before I left their Place, sent a Letter of Invitation to them to attend a Council Fire which I proposed to kindle at Albany in the Beginning of the Winter. This was the Place where our Forefathers annually met and I conceived that as I had come so far and waited so long to meet them, there could be no Objection to their coming to Albany to meet me, especially as the Business was of equal Importance to their Welfare and Happiness as to ours. I attended at Albany at the time appointed and

and waited there a long time in Expectation of seeing my Cayuga Brethren, at Length a Number of them arrived: We did not however enter upon Business with them, having some Hopes that a greater Number of their Nation would attend, but finding our Embarrassments to the Westward encreasing, by an additional Number of People going to settle there, and despairing that any other of our Brethren of the Cayugas would meet us, We proceeded upon the Business of the Council, being previously assured, by the Cayugas who attended, that having taken all Circumstances into Consideration they were sufficiently authorized and would stand justified to their Nation in entering into an Agreement with Us, to defeat the Evils which threatened our mutual Peace and Happiness. Many Days were spent in our Negotiations; Our Deliberations were conducted with Cordiality and in Sobriety and at Length We entered into a Covenant with each other to our mutual Satisfaction.

It is unnecessary to repeat the Particulars of this Covenant to You, as We are sensible You are fully informed

of it. It is sufficient to say that the Terms of it were equally advantageous to your Nation, if not more so, than those which We had concluded with our Brethren of the Onondagas & Oneidas. We paid a considerable Sum of Money down and with the Consent of the Cayugas with whom We negotiated & who appeared to Us disposed to do perfect Justice to the other part of the Nation, We retained a very considerable Sum of Money in our Hands until the first of June following, being the day of the first annual Payment and afterwards of three Months after the Agreement was perfected. This Sum, with an Annual Payment stipulated to be made We sent to this Place by our Agent on the Day appointed. He waited here a long Time for the Arrival of your Nation, a considerable Number of whom at Length came; among whom were several, who We understood resided at Buffaloe Creek and who joined in signing the Receipt for the Money. If equal Justice has therefore not been done to the different Members of your Nation, the Blame is

is not to be imputed to Us. We could use no other Precaution than what We did to prevent Injustice. We could ask You to attend but We could not compel You. This Brethren is a true and faithful Relation of the different Transactions which have taken Place between Us and our Brethren of the 5 Nations, since the Close of the late War and for the Truth of which I now appeal to all now here present. If in any thing I have mistaken let them come forward and correct me, for I am as all other Men are, liable to Error altho' I mean to speak the Truth only.

It will now be proper Brethren that We should take a short Review of these different Transactions, in Order that We may be able to form a proper Judgment on the Subject and determine who is to Blame. While I am doing this, I request your Attention & that You will divest yourselves of Prejudices and hear me with Candour, and if in the Course of what I shall say any Thing I shall say that may occasion disagreable Sensations in your Minds, rest assured that it will not be with

Design

Design to wound your Feelings, I come not here to irritate, but to heal Animosities and to promote Friendship.

It will appear then from what I have related, that as soon as the War was over I kindled a Council Fire and invited our Brethren of the 5 Nations to it, to renew our ancient Friendship and brighten the Covenant Chain. — This was agreeable to the ancient Usages of our Forefathers. These, Brethren We consider as sacred, for they are the Result of Experience and founded in Wisdom. We also, in Order to preserve our Friendship between Us, explained to You the Manner in which Business was to be transacted between Us in future. On the other Hand Brothers Let Us examine what has been your Conduct. You have listened to the Stories of the Birds You declined meeting Us at a Council Fire kindled for the Purpose of renewing Uneasiness & restoring Friendship. Was this Conduct in Brothers agreeable to the Customs of our Forefathers and ancient Usage? You remind among You our disobedient Children

entered into Treaties with them and
sold your whole Country to them even
the Places of your Nativity. What
was our Conduct on this Occasion?
notwithstanding all the Evils You had
by this Measure brought upon Us,
altho' the Peace of our Government was
disturbed and our Friendship with
our Brethren of the 5 Nations endangered,
We discovered no Marks of Resentment
or Ill will towards You. We again pro-
posed to kindle a Council Fire at this Place
in Order to concert Measures for our
Mutual Good and prevent the Evils
which threatened Us. This was another
Instance of our Attachment to the
Usages of our Forefathers: What was
your Condition at this Time, after You
had received our Invitation, You again
treated with our disobedient Children
and confirmed the Agreement with
them for the Sale of your Lands, which
had occasioned to Us so much Trouble
and threatened our Peace. You did not
assist Us, but declined accepting our
Invitation. Was this Brotherly agreeable
to your ancient Customs? Our Brethren
of the Onondagas and Oneidas listened
to our Voice. They met Us and casting
Arguments

Agreements were entered between Us & them respectively, which were for our mutual Advantage; and We appeal to these Nations, some of whom are now present, whether We have not faithfully performed those Agreements on our part. From this State of Fact then Brothers We may venture to ask even yourselves, which of Us has paid the greatest Regard to the Customs of our Forefathers, or who is to blame for the Evils which have taken place. I am conscious that my Friendship for You was sincere; that I proposed a Disposition to do You the strictest Justice, and to preserve inviolate your ancient Usages, and I now meet You disposed with the same Spirit of Peace and Friendship, and my first Desire is to restore Harmony and Reconciliation among my Brethren of the Cayugas, who are of the same Blood. It was for this purpose that I proposed meeting You at this Time. I came here upon the day appointed, and I have exercised much

Patience

74 Patience in waiting for your Arrivall,
allthe I had almost despaired of seeing
You; for on my Way to this place I
met a Gentleman, who is now present,
with a Power of Attorney from some
of you, to transact the Business
for You with Us. Was this Brothers
the Manner of transacting Busines
between our Forefathers & yours?
Is this agreeable to our ancient Cus-
toms for which You have professed so
sacred a Regard? —
Brothers! Formerly when any Diffi-
culties or Uneasinesses arose between
Us, they were adjusted at a Councill
Fire where We met Face to Face and
consulted for our mutual Good. This
salutary Custom Brothers, I have on
my Part endeavored to pursue and
I am now happy to see You here and
You may rest assured of our best Ser-
vices to promote Peace and Reconcili-
ation, and if in any Instance You have just
Cause of Complaint, be sure You the
most ample Justice, for without this
You can not expect the Blessing of the Great Spirit
Brothers!

Brothers! I have nothing further to say. When You have consulted together I shall be ready to receive your Reply and the earlier it can be given the more acceptable it will be to Us.

When the Governor had closed, the Fish Carrier rose and after mentioning that they had chosen Capt. Joseph Brant as their Mouth on this Occasion, through him he made the following Speech.

Brother Governor of New York and your Chiefs open your Ears & attend to what I have to say —

I thank the Great Spirit that he has protected Us & enabled Us again to meet together, and that We have thus far proceeded upon the Business of the Council Fire with Harmony & Satisfaction.

Brother Governor! You have repeated to Us the different Transactions which have taken Place between You and the 5 Nations since the Close of the War. You mentioned to Us your having kindled a Council Fire at this Place soon after that Period. Your Views and Objects in so doing

doing and the different Matters which
passed between You and those Nations
at that time. You informed Us at
that time that our Country was our
own and invited Us to return to it
and enjoy it: That nothing but Peace
prevailed with You and We to the
Westward were in pursuit of the same.
You also have mentioned to Us the differ
ent Transactions which have taken Place
since that Period: We will not go into
a particular Recapitulation of your
Speech. We are Witnesses to the truth
of all your Declarations. We acknowledge
that You have paid a due Regard to the
Customs of our Ancestors and that You
are not chargeable with any Evils
which have taken Place among Us
Brother Governor! We have listened
patiently and with Attention to what
You have said, and We have frankly
confessed that You are not to blame
for any of the Evils which have taken
Place. I now call upon You & your
Chiefs to attend in Turn and hear me
while I assign my Reasons to You
for my Conduct. We were in the quiet
Possession

Possession of our Country and thought
of nothing but Peace and Friendship,
when a Number of your People came
among Us and proposed purchasing
or Leasing from Us our Lands. We
doubted of the Propriety of such a
Measure, as We supposed it was
contrary to your Laws and our
ancient Customs; but they remov-
these Difficulties from our Breasts
by assuring Us that they were autho-
rized by our Brother the Governor
and the other Chiefs of the State to
make these Proposals to Us and as
some of them appeared to be Men of
Character and We knew from their
Names, they were connected with some
of the first People of the State and
others of them bore Commissions under
the State. We were induced to believe
them and accordingly agreed with
them for the Sale of our Lands, with-
out supposing that We were doing
any thing disagreeable to You or
what was wrong.

Brother Governor! You mentioned that
the

78 that the peculiar situation of the 5
Nations might have led them to depart
in some Instances from a strict Observ-
ance of some of their ancient Customs,
and this may account in some Measure
for our Conduct in disposing of our
Lands to your People.
Brother Governor! In the next Place
These same People again came to our
Great Council Fire at Buffalo Creek
about two Years ago. They were accom-
panied by People from Boston, who
had a Commission under the Seal of
that State, to purchase our Lands
from us, and they requested us to give
them a Confirmation of the Deed or
Lease which we had formerly given
to them. We were then deliberating
upon Affairs which were very interest-
ing to the Indians and We were also
preparing to attend the Council
Fire to the Southward. We at first
declined complying with their Request
or doing any Business with these
People, alledging that We had receiv-
ed your Invitation to attend a Coun-
cil Fire, which You proposed to
kindle

beside at this Place; but they found us very hard to comply. They alledged that if We did not, every thing would be in Confusion, and they would get nothing for their Lands and again positively asserted that they were authorized and sent to get a Confirmation from Us by our Brother the Governor and the Chiefs of New York, and We were the more easily induced to believe them from their being in Company with the People of Boston, who had Authority to purchase our Lands from Us as We were informed by our Superintendant. These People also then mentioned another Reason to induce Us to comply with their Request, which had great Weight with Us. They told Us that a great many People had settled at Sego Point and in that Quarter and that the State had granted to them their Lands, without paying Us any thing for them, and in the same Manner the State would grant all our Lands unless We complied with their Request, and gave them a Confirmation.

Brothers

Brothers! These Considerations induced
Us at Length to comply: We are convinced
it was wrong to listen to these Men: but
We can assure You that our Conduct
was not dictated by an unfriendly
Disposition towards You, for from
the Representations of these People,
We did not believe We were acting
against your Will or doing Wrong
by holding the Treaty.

Brothers! I have nothing further to
say but again to thank You for your
candid Speech and friendly Disposi-
tion to Us of the 5 Nations and parti-
cularly for the Desire You and your
Chiefs have expressed to heal the
Animosities which subsisted and of
restoring Peace among Us.

To which the Governor replied as follows

Brothers! I am happy to observe that
the Relation I have given You of the
different Transactions which have
taken Place between the State and
the 5 Nations is so perfectly satisfactory
to You and that You are now fully
convinced of the Friendship & Attention
We have paid to your Prosperity & Happiness

I have listened attentively to the Reasons You have assigned for your Conduct and I am at a loss to find You guilty of any evil or unfriendly Design in any thing You have done, being fully persuaded that the Measures which have taken Place & occasioned Discontent originated from the Story of the Birds and the evil Intentions of some of our bad People.

It gives Us Pleasure to be assured that the Truth is now so well understood on both Sides; for this being the Case, a just and amicable Settlement between Us cannot fail of taking Place.

Brothers! I have a few Words to say, to remove from your Minds any wrong Impression which may have taken Place with Respect to the Lands at Tioga Point. It is true, a great Number of White People had settled there, some of them from this but most of them unruly Men from the neighbouring States; They came there without our Consent, soon connected themselves with

82 with our disobedient Children, who had been leaving your Lands from You and held their Possessions under them. They bid Defiance to our Authority and drove off such of our People as went in that Quarter, and refused to take their Tillies under them; they boasted too that a Number of our Brethren the Indians would join to protect them in their unlawful Proceedings. We had Strength sufficient to have brought them to a Sense of their Duty; but this could have been by Means which would have interrupted the peace which subsisted between Us and our Brethren the 6 Nations. We therefore declined those Measures and were reduced to the Necessity of promising to those People Grants for their Lands, when the same should be legally purchased from the Indians who were the Proprietors thereof.

Brothers: This is a true State of the Matter, and You must be convinced that instead of being to blame, our Conduct in this Respect was an additional Evidence of a peaceable Disposition and of our Friendship towards You.

Brothers!

Brothers! I have nothing further to add only to request that You will retire and deliberate upon what has been said and to assure You that I will hear any Propositions, which You may have to make with Impartiality and Candour: That I consider myself as under the Eye of the Great Spirit and therefore bound to do the strictest Justice and that I am disposed to do even more than Justice, to remove every Cause of Complaint and to restore Harmony and Friendship.

The Cayugas then retired to their Hut

On Saturday the 19th of June the Cayuga Nation attended at the Council Fire and the Fish Carrier addressed the Board as follows:

Brother Governor with your Commissioners

You will now attend, as We have again met together, hearing some Waters shake the Protection of the Great Spirit since We and you last met. You will now attend to open your Ears well.

Yesterday

84 Yesterday You made Us fully acquainted with the various Transactions which had Taken Place between You and our Nations since the War.

You have brought them up to View as they are in your Remembrance; we are glad that they are so perfectly in your Recollection, and that You have so good a Knowledge of the ancient Customs of our Forefathers. We are exceedingly rejoiced that our Brother the Governor and his Commissioners are so well disposed towards their Brethren of the 6 Nations.

There is one thing more You said Yesterday which rejoiced Us more than anything You said; That is the Respect You had for the Great Spirit above and that You consider yourself answerable to him for all your Actions. That your Ears are open to hear Us.

We must conclude that You undoubtedly suppose that the Great Spirit had given Us this Country.

Everything You said has been grateful to Us. There is one Brother of the Confederacy at here which

moved

would have been agreeable.

Here are our elder Brother the Oneida and the Younger Brother the Delawares our adopted Brother the Tuscaroras and the elder Tribe of the Mohawks. These are now present & hear what I say.

Brother Governor & Commissioners open a candid Ear. I am exceedingly glad to see your Faces and to speak with You at this Place. This is what We have long wished for at our Council Fire at the Buffaloe. We have spoken much to You by Letter agreeable to your Customs and even sent to your Council Place at New York, all purporting an Adjustment of the Difficulties which had arisen; these are the Purport of what brought us Unanimous here.

Brother. Continue to open your Ear. I must again repeat it, that We have great Satisfaction at meeting You at this Place. It is true that our Minds have been for some time uneasy wishing for a righteous Adjustment of our Affairs. This Uneasiness has not only occupied the Breasts of the Chiefs, but even the Women & Children have inquired what is become of this

their Country, for they have received no Compensation.

Brother Governor, open your Ears! You have now heard in few Words what it is that has given Uneasiness to our Minds, and Brother You cannot have a calm Mind when your Brothers are uneasy: both Sides must have a contented Mind to make them easy Brother Governor continue to open your Ears, while We are speaking upon the Subject of mutual Friendship and establishing a permanent Peace amongst Us. If one Party enjoys Peace, he will still be wounded if the other Party is not easy. Now Brother attend while your Brothers the Cayugas speak about a Compensation for their Country, an excellent Country. They will ask You 11,000 Dollars as a full Compensation therefor.

Brother Governor! You will open your Ears to what was agreed upon in our Council at Buffalo Creek towards removing all our Uneasiness. We have a Reserve which You left to Us and We have agreed that a Part of it shall be given to Major Peter Schuyler. That Part We will presently point out to You

We have further agreed that our Cousin the Steel Trap shall remain where he is at what was formerly called the Lower Village.

Brother! You will continue to open your Ears when We assign a Reason for this Resolution at Buffalo Creek. We consider that Reserve assigned to us, as recommended by Lands to be given to others, and that they will be overpowered by the strong Nation. But if my Cousin Steel Trap chuses to continue there, why let him remain but it is our Judgment that it will not be his own, for We do not consider the Reserve as our own. This is the Purport of our Agreement at a full Council at Buffalo Creek and no one can hereafter say he was not acquainted with it.

And one thing more Brother, as to any annual Payment by Way of Quit Rent, We leave that to your Breasts.

(A Belt with Four and Three X Crosses of White Wampum)

The Governor requested the Indians

Indians to keep their Seats a few Minutes, until the Commissioners could take their Proposals into Consideration and then retired.

The Commissioners having returned, and being seated, the Governor by their Direction addressed the Cayugas as follows:

Brothers! We have listened very attentively to what You have said and have considered your Proposals with the greatest Impartiality and Candour.

Brothers! I informed You yesterday of the Covenant We had entered into at Albany with our Brethren of your Nation, and of every Circumstance respecting that Transaction. This Agreement was made after much Deliberation and sincerely believe it is calculated to promote our mutual Happiness. It therefore cannot be violated in any Particular. Several of your Brothers and Sisters of your Nation, with their little ones, attended the Council Fire at Albany. They were utterly averse to parting with the Place of their Nativity. It was their earnest desire to preserve to themselves and their Posterity forever, their present

Place

Place of Residence. This also appears to Us reasonable and We cheerfully consented to it; no part therefore of the Lands reserved to them, can be given to any other Person. We have hitherto performed our part of that Covenant faithfully and We can not answer for it to the Great Spirit or to our Constituents, if We should consent to its Violation. What would You Yourselves think of Us, were We to consent to a Breach of this Covenant? or what Confidence would our Brethren the Onondagas and Oneidas, with whom We have also entered into Agreements, place in Us if We should be guilty of so great an Act of Injustice?

'Brothers.' This Covenant must remain firm and unalterable forever.

'Brothers.' I am particularly instructed by the Commissioner to inform You that Major Peter Schuyler was concerned with Dr. Benton and others, who attempted, contrary to our Constitution & Laws and the ancient Usages which subsisted between Us, to purchase from You Your whole

90 whole Country whereby so much Uneasiness, Discontent and Trouble have been occasioned and to express to You in the strongest Terms, their Astonishment, that in Order to reward this Man You should now ask Us to violate a solemn Agreement by giving him a Part of the Lands reserved for our Brothers the Cayugas.

Brothers! By your unlawful Sales You had parted with the Places of your Nativity and even with the Bones of your Ancestors; reserving a few Acres only of your Country for the Convenience of fishing. We have no Right nor are We disposed to interfere, if some of You choose to reside in one Place and others in another; but while any of You wish to continue at your ancient Place of Residence, We cannot consistent with Justice, dispose of any of the Lands comprized in the Reservation.

Brothers! You might as well ask Us to reward a Child for lifting up his Hand against his Father, as to Reward a Public Officer for betraying the Trust reposed in him by the People.

Major

Major Peter Schuyler was a Commissioner
of Indian Affairs when your Transaction
with Benton and his Company (of
whom Mr. Schuyler was one) commence
-ed and he then held other important
Offices under the State.
Brothers! If on this Occasion I have dis
-covered some Warmth, You must ex
-cuse it; it is excited by your asking me
to do what I conceived to be wrong.
Brothers! We came not here to violate
Agreements, but to confirm them, and
to afford You our friendly Assistance,
to heal the Animosities and Divisions
which We were informed subsisted
between You, who are of the same Blood,
and whose Happiness depends on your
being united and loving one another.
This was the Purport of our Message
of Invitation to You.
Brothers! This desirable Object We
have already effected with our Bre
thren the Onondagoes at considerable
Expence, and they have gone home united
and happy, and We are disposed to be
equally generous to You if the same good
End

92 End can be accomplished.

Brothers! You demand of Us more than You sold your whole Country for to Benton and his Company. By your last Agreement with him, which as well as the first now lays here before Us, You and the Onondagas together were to receive only one thousand Dollars annually: The first Payment to commence the 4th of July in the next Year. By our Agreements with your Nation and the Onondagas We are to pay You and them 1,000 Dollars annually: The first Payment commenced last Year and have been actually made on the days stipulated; besides We paid to You and them very considerable Sums down, and secured to each of your Nations large Tracts of your Country, with other very important Privileges.

Brothers! Give Us Credit for what We have already paid and We stand ready to pay You, if not already done, as much for your Lands, as upon a fair Calculation You were to receive for it from Dr. Benton. This is all You can reasonably ask or expect. You have told Us in your Letters, that You have sold your Lands, and if

You are only paid the Money you are to get for it, it is immaterial to You who possesses it, for You have parted with it. This We are now willing to give You (if We have not already done it) and even something more, if thereby Reconciliation & Friendship on which your happiness so much depends can be restored among You. I am sensible it may be alleged that farther Sums than those specified in your Leases to Dr. Benton and others, were to be paid to You by them; but I am well assured of the Manner in which all that Business was transacted. I have no doubt but considerable Sums were promised to Individuals; This was the Case with our Brothers the Oneidas, to the Amount of more than 2,000 Dollars, but it was done without the Knowledge of the Chiefs or Principal Men and the Nation at large would have reaped no Advantage from those Promises.

Brothers! I have only to add that as

94 We expect that our Negociations will be solely with the Indians, without the Interference of any white Man; and that they will receive whatever we may agree to give them.

I shall now retire and leave You to deliberate on what I have said and expect an early Answer. If the Appointment of a Committee to examine the Papers and confer upon the Subject is agreeable to You, it will tend to expedite Business. This was the Case with our Brothers the Onondagas and they declared it to be perfectly consistent with their ancient Customs.

The Commissioners then retired and soon after the Cayugas went to their Flats.

On the Evening of the same day the Board were informed that the Cayugas had assembled a Committee of their Nation, who would attend with Mr. Street for the Purpose above mentioned on the next Morning, if agreeable to the Commissioners.

On Sunday the 20th. of June, the
Committee of the Cayugas consisting
of two Sachems from Buffalo Creek
accordingly attended at the Commis-
sioners Quarters accompanied by Mr.
Street, Captain Brant and D. Gale.

The Governor commenced the
Business by producing to them the
Deed of Cession entered into between
their Nation and the Commissioners
at Albany. He stated to them the
Sum paid in the first Instance as a
Consideration; The Measures which
had been taken by the Commissioners
to effect an equal Distribution of
the Money between the whole Nation,
by retaining the greater Part thereof
in their Hands until the first day
of last June, being the day appointed
for the first annual Payment; He also
shewed them that the annual Payment
of five hundred Dollars to their Nation
was equal to the Sum stipulated to
be made to their Nation by the Con-
firmation to D. Benton & others, admitting
their Country and that of the Onondagas to

to be equally valuable; whereas that of the Onondagas was a much larger Territory: That by the Agreement with the State, the first annual Payment had already commenced on the first day of last June, whereas by the Confirmation to Dr Benton & Co their annual Payment was not to commence till the 4th day of July 1791. That exclusive of this Advantage, a very extensive Tract of Country was reserved to them and the Privileges of Fishing & Hunting as usual; so that in every Point of View, the Agreement entered into with the State was the most advantageous to them, and he concluded by observing that notwithstanding they were placed in a much better Situation, than they would have been if the Agreement entered into by them with Dr Benton had been confirmed, the Commissioners were willing from a sincere Desire of restoring Harmony and Friendship among them and removing every Cause of Complaint, to give them as a Benevolence the same Sum of Money and Value in Clothing which they had given to their Brethren

&c.

Onondagas, whereby they would be enabled still to make such a Distribution among themselves as to remove Discord.

The Committee listened with great Attention to what the Governor said and appeared to be well satisfied. When Mr. Street officiously attempted Calculations upon what he alledged the Expences were to have paid, but of which no Evidence was produced. This Conduct of Mr. Street appeared to be intended to defeat the favourable Impressions made upon the Minds of the Indians. Captain Brant appeared to be displeased with Mr. Street's Behaviour as foreign to the Business of their Appointment.

On Monday Morning the 21st. of June the Fish Carriers with the two Sachems above mentioned and two principal Warriors from Buffaloe Creek again attended at the Commissioners Quarters, and the Governor again entered into the same Explanation with them, which had taken Place Yesterday; and moreover shewed the

the Receipt for the last Years Annual Payment, which appeared to be signed by several of the Indians residing at Buffaloe Creek, who had not attended the Treaty at Albany. He also agreed to give them a larger Quantity of Clothing than had been given to the Onondagas, on Account of there being a larger Number of that Nation who resided at Buffaloe Creek. The Indians expressed their Satisfaction with the Terms offered to them and retired to convene the Nation to compleat the Business.

In the afternoon the last mentioned Committee of the Indians returned to the Commissioners Quarters, and intimated a Desire of further Explanation upon the Subject of the late Conference; And Mr. Street who was present and through whose Influence there was Reason to believe some Dissatisfaction had taken place among these Indians, again attempted to make Calculations designed to defeat the Views of the Commissioners, but the Commissioners protested against admitting any Part of the Transaction

not to

with the Lefsees, as the Basis of the present Negociation; but his Reasonings appeared to have little Influence upon the Indians who again retired apparently well satisfied.

On Tuesday Morning the 22nd. of June, the Cayuga Nation attended at the Council Fire when the Fish Carrier made the following Speech to the Commissioners.

Brother Governor of New York with your Commissioners You will now attend, and open your Ears.'

The Great Spirit has given us this day to meet again at the Council Fire. After many Conversations together since our first Meeting, and after much Deliberation of both Parties, You have found the Means of restoring Peace and Amity between Us. This Great Brother We must attribute to You. Our peace is one and the same thing. The Great Spirit therefore will have Justice done to each Party when any Misunderstanding or Misrepresentation has interrupted their Peace, & Friendship is again restored it is agreeable

agreeable to his Pleasure. You have complied with every Desire & Wish of ours particularly in your last Proposal that You would make your Assembly acquainted with our Wishes and We have therefore acceded to every Proposal of yours to bring about this Accommodation.

Brother! Having determined to accede to all your Proposals and having perfectly understood them, after a Conversation among ourselves We have this Day determined to establish our Peace and accordingly confirm the Agreement between Us. We now therefore make this public Declaration in the Hearing of all here present, of our acceding to the Proposals and this day confirming the same.

Brother! This is all We have to say.

Whereupon the Governor answered as follows

Brothers! Our mutual Thanks are due to the Great Spirit for having brought us together this Day and for inspiring us with such Dispositions towards each other, as to remove all Causes of Uneasiness and to establish Harmony and Friendship between Us.

You may rest assured that We will hold fast to the Covenant Chain, and that every thing We have promised shall be faithfully performed; and that it shall be our constant Endeavour to promote the Happiness and Prosperity of our Brothers the Cayugas wherever they may reside.

Brothers! As a Testimony of our Affection for our Sisters of your Nation at Buffaloe Creek, and their little ones, I present You with this String to be delivered to them with a small Donation of Clothing which You see there laying for their Use.

Nothing now remains but to perfect the Agreement according to ancient Usage, and for Us to make the Payments stipulated and deliver the Benevolences promised to You.

The Money was then brought before them and counted, and the Goods produced, and examined with the Invoices by Mr. Street, and the Instruments of Ratification comprizing a Receipt for the Annual Payment for this Year, was executed in the Presence of

of the Oneida Nation, Captain Joseph Brant and many other Witnesses.

Captain Brant on this Occasion also inserted the Indian Names in the Instrument of Ratification. The said Instrument is in the Words following, viz.

"At a Treaty held at Fort Stanwix in "the State of New York, by his Excellency "George Clinton Esq. Governor of the said "State, Pierre Van Cortlandt Esquire Lieu- "tenant Governor of the said State, Ezra "L'Hommedieu, Abraham Ten Broeck, Peter "Gansevoort Junior & Richard Varick "Esquires Commissioners authorized for "that Purpose by and on Behalf of the "People of the State of New York with "the Sachems, Chiefs & Warriors of "the Tribe or Nation of Indians called "the Cayugas on the twenty second "Day of June in the Year one "thousand seven hundred & ninety.

"We the said Cayugas do hereby acknowledge "to have received from the People of the "State of New York the Sum of five hun- "dred Dollars in Silver, being the Annual "Payment stipulated to be made to Us "the said Cayugas on the first Day "of June Instant, in and by certain Arti- "cles of Agreement or Deeds of Cession "hereunto annexed and executed at the

" City of Albany by and between the People
" of the said State, by their Commissioners
" authorized for that Purpose, and several
" of the said Cayugas for and on Behalf
" of the said Tribe or Nation and bearing
" Date the twenty fifth day of Febru
" ary in the Year one thousand seven
" hundred and eighty nine; And also
" the further Sum of one thousand Dol
" lars as a Benevolence: And We the
" said Cayugas in Consideration there
" of, Do by these Presents fully, freely
" and absolutely ratify and confirm
" the said Agreement & Cession and all
" and singular the Articles, Covenants
" Matters, and Things therein expres
" sed and contained, on the Part of Us
" the said Cayugas done or to be done,
" executed or performed; And We the
" said Cayugas Do further hereby grant
" and release to the People of the State
" of New York, all our Right, Interest
" and Claim in and to all Lands lying
" East of the Line of Cession by the
" State of New York to the Commonwealth
" of Massachusetts, except the Lands reser
" ved in the said Deed of Cession there
" unto annexed to be reserved to Us the
Cayugas

1011 "Cayugas and our Posterity."

"In Testimony whereof we the
"Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Cay
"ugas as the Governor & other Commissi
"oners on Behalf of the People of the State
"of New York, have hereunto interchange
"ably set their Hands and affixed their
"Seals the Day and Year first above
"written.

Shogedas. his X Mark (L.S.)

Tehageaseregh tha his X Mark (L.S.)

Tchaghyoghsoyens his X Mark (L.S.)

Shodenghares his X Mark (L.S.)

Atsiaketatye his X Mark (L.S.)

Onguweghgowagh his X Mark (L.S.)

Eghskadaongh his Mark (L.S.)

Tekaraghko his X Mark (L.S.)

Towaghtaghgate his X Mark (L.S.)

Shonongheswenne his X Mark (L.S.)

Shanaghsyonton his X Mark (L.S.)

Kaghnawerjoo his B Mark (L.S.)

Ojigaghtiakeis Fish Carrier his X Mark (L.S.)

Shagoyeghwatha his Mark (L.S.)

Ogoughsaringonte his Mark (L.S.)

Karonghyagaten his Mark (L.S.)

Teyonthoroghgough his Mark (L.S.)

Karenhoden his Mark (L.S.)

Oghniohqwenton his Mark (L.S.)

{signed by the Fish Carrier in the absence of the above}

Teyoroughyongogh his Mark (L.S.)

Teyorenhagwente his Mark (L.S.)

Tehaghsharaneagh his Mark (L.S.)

Teyoyaghyagough his Mark (L.S.)

Karentagowa (L.S.)

Gerr Clinton (L.S.)

Pierre Van Cortlandt (L.S.)

Egbt L'Hommedieu (L.S.)

Jno Jas Beek (L.S.)

Peter Gansevoort Jun (L.S.)

Recd

106 Rich.d Varick

Sealed & Delivered
in Presence of }

The Word [States] was interlined
before the Ensealing & Delivery also
10 as interlined the Word [Instant]
before the Ensealing & Delivery

Sam.l Kirkland Miss.y.
Jos: Brant
Abm.m Bardenbergh
Sam.l Gale Interp.r
Geo: Jaspan
Ch: Nukerck
Elisha Kane
Peter Otsiquette

Mohawks: Ogh wostonis his X Mark
Oneydas: Onoyanka his X Mark
Tuscaroras: Ogheravela his X Mark

The Board then Resolved
that Richard Varick pay to John
Taylor Esq.r the Agent of this Board
the

the Sum of six hundred Pounds to be applied by him for defraying the Expences of the present Treaty; for which Sum he is to be accountable to the People of the State of New York.

The Remainder of this day was spent in auditing and adjusting the Claims of Samuel Kirkland the Interpreter and others who had performed Services or furnished Supplies for the Treaty and in making Preparations to set out for Albany the next Morning.

On Wednesday the 23d. of June about 8 O Clock in the Morning the Commissioners embarked on Board of Batteaus for Schenectady and arrived from thence at Albany on Friday the 25th. -

At a Meeting of the Commissioners appointed to hold Treaties with the Indians at the House of Abraham Bloodgood on Saturday the 26th. day of June 1790.

Present

His Excellency Governor Clinton
His Honor Lieut. Governor Van Cortlandt

Even

100 Ezra L'Hommedieu
Abraham Ten Broeck } { Silas Jarvis worth Esq.
and
Richard Varick

The Accounts of Abraham Bloodgood and others, for Services performed were audited and adjusted.

The Commissioners then also Resolved that Richard Varick, out of the Monies in his Hands, pay to John Taylor Esq. the Agent to this Board the Sum of four hundred Pounds to be applied by him to defray the Expences of the Treaty lately held with the Indians for which Sum he is to be accountable to the People of the State of New York.

The Commissioners then delivered to Mr. Varick a Certificate that out of the public Monies in his Hands he had at different Times, pursuant to the Directions of the Board paid to the Onondaga and Cayuga Nations and to particular Indians of different Nations attending at the Treaty as Benevolences and for Services performed by them, several Sums of Money, amounting in the whole to one thousand seven hundred and seventy three and an half Dollars.

The Board also deliver

John Taylor's Certificate, that in the
he had paid to the Oneida, Onondaga
and Cayuga Nations the Annual Pay
ments due to them respectively on the
first day of June Instant and amount
ing in the whole to one thousand six
hundred Dollars.

The Board also took into Consi
deration the Allowance to be made to
M. Taylor their said Agent, for his
Services; Whereupon they came to the
following Resolution; to wit, Resolved
that M. Taylor Agent to this Board be
allowed, as a full Compensation for his
Services, the Sum of five per Cent upon
all Monies received and paid by him
on Account of the Treaty, including the
like Allowance on the Albany Prices
of Merchandize furnished by him for
the Use of the State; And the further Sum
of two and an half per Cent on the Sum
of Sixteen hundred Dollars being the
Annual Payments stipulated to be
made to the Oneidas, Onondagoes
& Cayugas on the present Year which
were made by him.

On

RESERVE

Signatures to treaty with Cayugas at Albany, Feb. 25, 1789. n. p., n. d. 3 l. f°.

Typewritten copy.

RESERVE

1. Indians (N. A.) : Cayugas.— Treaties. 2. Treaties, U. S.: New York : Cayuga Indians.
N. Y. P. L. May 19, 1913.

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N. Y. P. L. May 19, 1913.

THE NEW YORK
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534583
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
R 1913 L

22d June
at Fort Stanwix

In Testimony whereof as well the Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Cayugas as the said Governor and other Commissioners on behalf of the People of the State of New York have herounto interchangeably set their hands and affixed their seals the day and year first above written.

Ojuwecht alias Fishcarrior his X mark (L.S.)

Sogoyechwatha his X mark (L.S.)

Oronghsaniyonte his X mark (L.S.)

Karonghyageter his X mark (L.S.)

Teyonthoreghqongh his X mark (L.S.)

Karonhodon his X mark (L.S.)

Oguniokwenton his X mark (L.S.) igned by the Fishcarrior in the absence of the above.

Teyoronghyongogh his X mark (L.S.)

Teyoronhagwente his X mark (L.S.)

Iehaghsharanegeagh his X mark (L.S.)

Teyoyaghyagongh his X mark (L.S.)

Kanentagonra (L.S.)

Shoteos his mark (L.S.)

Tohgeaserehtha his mark (L.S.)

Tehachyoghsaven his mark (L.S.)

Thodoagharen his mark (L.S.)

Atsiaoktatye his mark (L.S.)

Ongweghgowegh his mark (L.S.)

Orhshadagough his mark (L.S.)

Tekarahko his mark (L.S.)

Tewaghtaghgote his mark (L.S.)

Shononghsowan his mark (L.S.)

Kanonghsyonton her mark (L.S.)

Kachnowiyoo her mark (L.S.)

Geo. Clinton (L.S.)

Pierre VanCortlandt (L.S.)

Ezra L'Hommedieu (L.S.)

Abm TenBroeck (L.S.)

Peter Gansevoort Junr (L.S.)

Rich'd Varick (L.S.)

Signatures to the Treaty
with the Cherokees at
Fort Stanwix June 23, 1790

Copy

In Council

Philadelphia May 11th 1790

Brothers,

We have maturely and seriously Considered your Letter directed to the President and Supreme executive Council of Pensylvania.

It gives us pain to hear from you that some bad people have plundered your Camps and taken your Property. Our Laws do not permit one man to injure another. We are willing to give you an Opportunity of laying before the Government of Pensylvania your Grievances and of explaining your Wishes, and as a mark of our regard we have by this invited three of your Chief Councellors and Warriors, Sii Johnson Planter, Half Town, and the Fish to come to Philadelphia on Wednesday the first of September next when the General Assembly will be in Session.

We have given a Commission to your Countryman Denis Joseph Nicholson to act as the Interpreter for your Three Chiefs and will give him directions to

to conduct them to their City

Signed) Thomas Mifflin (Seal)

340

To

Kanlwoughka	alias Corn Planter	The chief Councillors and Warriors of the Six Nations
Guyaugt Shote	alias the Great Hogg	
Kachuwood	alias Half Town	
Kyendo.		
Shendeshowa.		
Wa dus gusta		
Ga gan gust.		
Ye che ga ond	alias the dog barker	
O e ukon gra ga	alias the Old Town	
Can da go wa	alias the Large Tree	
Te ua nie as	alias the Broken Tree.	

Copied from the Original at the request of the Commissioners July 8th 1790 and carefully compared by

Signed Thomas Mastlack
Secretary

241

Account of the Expences of Robert King and Robert Lee during one Journey in the Indian Country by order of his Excellency Thomas Mifflin Esquire and the Supreme Executive Council July 18. 1790

1790		£	s	d
July 19	To Cash paid provisions and Horse feed for two men going through the Wilderness to Tiago	2	12	—
23	To ditto paid Expences to Geneva		3	6. 1
29	To ditto paid for provisions for the Indian Interpreter		1.	7. 6
30	To ditto paid expences at Geneva			17. 6
Aug. 6	To ditto paid Lodging Liquor & Horse feed at Canadaugee lake waiting until the Indian Chiefs arrived from Buffaloe Creek	8	7.	9 —
13	To ditto paid Jones for Lodging and Housekeeping during the time the Indians had the letter from Council and his Excellencys Proclamation under consideration at Genesee River		5	17 —
15	To Cash paid expences back to Geneva		1.	17 —
21	To ditto paid ditto to Tiago Point		3	4. 8
24	To ditto ... to Pine Creek		2	0 2
	To ditto paid for a mare and canoe to bring me from Pine			

21	To ditto paid ditto to Tiago Point	3	4	8
24	To ditto . . . to Pine Creek	2	0	2
	To ditto paid for a man and canoe to bring me from Pine Creek to Juniata and taking the canoe back	1	5	—
26	To Cash paid Expences going to Philadelphia	2	17	9
Sep 5	To ditto . . . paid in ditto	2	15	6
19	To ditto paid going back in the Indian Country	6	5	5
24	To ditto paid ditto back to Tiago Point	1	18	8
30	To ditto paid ditto to Northumberland	3	16	8
Oct 3	To expences . . . in ditto		19	10
	To pasture Hay and Oats for my Horse in Northumberland from the 3d October till the 20th Dec. 8	3	19	8
1791 Jany 1	To expences from Pine Creek to Philadelphia	2	13	7
8	To my expences in Philadelphia	3	2	6
		£ 58	5	6
	To a Note given to Horatio Jones for the sum of Seventeen pounds 3/4. it being for provision given to the Indians	17	3	4
		Specie £ 75	8	10

Cr

By Cash received from the late Supreme Executive Council

Sept 4. 1790 in paper Money £75.0.0

NB. In this Account there is no charge for the time that Robert King was employed in the service of the U.S. by Col. Pickering: See his Certificate.

True Copy

A. J. Dallas.
Secretary

Account of Robert Kings
expences in his Journey to the
Seneca Nation.

No. 4.

Read in Senate Feb 7. 1791.

Proceedings of a Meeting between Colo. Butler and some of the Principal Chiefs of the Seneca Nation from Buffaloe Creek at Niagara 25th July 1790.

The Farmers Brother, Speaker,

After going through the usual Ceremonies of Condolence &c, he Proceeded as follows —

Brother,

We Sent you word by the Messenger who preceded us that we intended to come down and see you upon some Business that Concerned our Nation; We are now come accordingly.

Brother,

We Sent you word that we intended to have a Meeting amongst Ourselves, concerning the Annual Payment we were to receive from Mr. Phelps in Consequence of the Sale of our Lands, this we do not at present mean to accept of, as we look upon Ourselves cramped in that Matter, we have therefore sent to Mr. Phelps desiring him to keep the Money and Goods until we come to further into this Affair, since which we have received an Invitation from General Washington, inviting them to Meet him at Philadelphia on the 1st of Sept. next, this was forwarded to us by O'Bale, who wished us to meet at his Place in order to proceed to Philadelphia according to the Invitation.

5 Chiefs Black & White Wampum

Brother,

O'Bale has sent a Message to the Principal Chiefs of our Nation at Buffaloe Creek requesting when they received the Invitation, they would comply with the request as it was for the General Good of their Nation, and hope they would not be backward in Complying, as this was a favorable Opportunity for them to Speak to General Washington upon Matters interesting to themselves, and in the mean time they would Bury all the Hatchets that had passed between them and the Americans since the Peace. That they could not conceive the reason why all the Affairs that concerned themselves, were left in

peace

(32)

care of Colo Butler, and hopes they would explain this business before they set out upon their Journey, and otherwise hopes Colo Butler would have no Objection to their proceeding their Journey

5 Strings Black & White Wampum

Jow Keller, Speaker,

Brother,

We hope your Brother and the Commanding Officer will make your minds easy upon what we inform you we agreable to O Hales request, we mean to Comply and attend, Some of our principal Chiefs from Buffalo Creek are appointed for that Purpose 5 Strings Black & White Wampum

Brother,

We have heard that Sir John Johnson was Arrived here and that he Sent he would wait us on his return either at the Black Rock or at this Place, We expected when Sir John came up that he would take us by the hand we also expected an answer to our Speech last Spring

3 Strings Black & White Wampum

Brother,

We have now informed you of what we intend to do and hope you will make your Minds easy, we look upon Brothers wrongs and wish to go to the bottom of the proceedings with as respecting our Journey; Brother we are going a long Journey and hope will take Pity upon us, We are destitute of Cloathing and wish to appear Clean Decent among Strangers, otherwise it might be a reflection upon us, and the Six Nations Father who has always Cloathed us. When we go down we do not mean to Speak to one Nation but the whole, if we cant do this we will not do any business. when we return we will inform you of every particulars, and if necessary we may to go down and inform Sir John Johnson 3 Strings White Wampum

Brother,

We now repeat that we have informed you of our business, and hope your mind will be easy, we have informed you of every thing, and wish you to tell us your Mind upon this matter, and give us your advice

as we always consult you upon Our Affairs, we have left proper persons to hear what Sir John may tell us when he returns —

At White Stones —

Answer by Col. Butler

Brothers,

I have been attentive and listened to what you have said, I shall wait upon the Commanding Officer to-morrow Morning and Inform him of your Speach, after which I shall return you my Answer —

Col.o Butler & the Sioux
Prisoners July 1790

1780 July 24 (360)

Agreeable to my Promise to you yesterday, I have waited on the Comanding Officer this Morning and am now ready to Answer your Speach

Brothers,

You inform me of your intention to go to Philadelphia to Attend in Council from the 1st of Sept.r next, in order to lay your Complaints before Congress respecting the Sale of your Lands in expectation that Congress will do you Justice —

As to any Sales made of your Country to the States it was done when I was in England, Therefore know it Only from Hearsay at that time when I Started with you, I saw you at the Black Rock when you intended going to the first Treaty at Fort Stanwix, my advice to you then was not to Start with your Lands if you could avoid but if you could not to Sell them a Small Piece, this would Convince one of the Lyes the Americans told you, Saying the King has given them your Country — for if that was the case they would have no occasion to buy it. this you must all remember, upon my return from England I was Sorry to find you had not followed my advice but had Started with the Whole of your Country, When I found this was the case I did for Likes and by your Request exert myself for your Intrest and Got the Greatest part of your Country back, at Buffaloe Creek in 1768, to this you were Witnesses, Therefore any of the Proceedings at Buffaloe Creek you have no right to complain of. as it was done by you in full Council, and in the presence of all the Six Nations, and Mr Kasbal and Douglas of the 55th Regt — & the Writings that were agreed upon there was done with your Desire and Approbation and fully explained to you by Capt.n Brant, which is well known by all that were present, I looked upon that Transaction and do Still that it was for your Intrest you had Started with the Whole of your Country, and had no other way of recovering any of it but Selling what you then did in which I did my endeavours to Assist you —

5 Nations

Brothers,

Agreeable to your request all the papers that were left in my Care will be given to you, these papers were left in my care as well at the request of Oswald as the rest of the Chiefs —

5 Nations

Brothers,

From what you have said using to attend Congress it does not appear to us to be necessary, but as you are your own Masters, you will of course do as you Please — but at the Same time recommend you to pay attention to what Sir John Johnson has to you on his return —

3 Strings

Brothers,

After Sir John Johnson Sent you word that he would Speak to you on his return, you will of Course be Surprised and Disappointed on finding your principal men acting contrary to what he recommended, On his return it is probable he will give you an answer to your Speech Sent last Spring in the mean time advises you not to hold any treaty's with the American

3 Strings White

Brother,

of the Commanding Officer and Myself are willing to comply with your request for Goods — but before a little will Satisfy you as you will of Course expect Cloathing from those you are going to attend as you know it always been customary to receive Presents when you attend Great Councils, but instead of your reaping any advantage from this Journey, Look upon it as meant to Get you from us, Friends Brothers advise you to be upon your guards and not to let them persuade you out of the little Lands you have left —

Brothers,

I have now answered your Speech as you have heard my advice I have before told you my Opinion of the Matter —

To the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania.

Brothers,

We received your letter and verbal message on the 7th of this Inst. – Brothers we are very sorry to hear of the Murder of Two of your people committed on Pine creek which you say you are much concerned for – Brothers you say you have offerd a Reward of Eight hundred Dollars for the murderers, which we are very glad to hear & hope they may be taken, and that we may see them Executed, as it is natural to look for revenge of Innocent blood – Brothers, the two men you have killed were very great Men & were of the great Tuscarora Tribe, one of them was a Chief, & in one year the other was to be put in the great King Canoughtas place who is Dead also – Brothers you must not think hard if we speak rash, as it comes from a wounded heart, as you have struck the hatchet in our head, and we can't be reconciled until you come & pull it out; We are sorry to tell you, you have killed Eleven of his Pine place, and we never said any thing until the other day, when in liquor we got a fighting with one of our brothers, and hurt him a good deal, and our Brother Genl Chapin insisted upon having a number of us taken

through

though the man was in no danger, and is now well; this is what makes us tell you how many of us have been killed by you, and now we take you by the hand and lead you to the painted Post, or as far as your Cannoes can come up the Creek, where you will meet the whole of the Tribe of the deceased, and all the chiefs, and a number of Warriors of our nation, where we will expect you will wash away the Blood of your Brothers, and Bury the Hatchet, and put it out of memory, as it is yet sticking in our Head—

Brothers, it is our great brother, your Governor, who must come to see us, as we will never bury the hatchet until our great brother himself comes & brightens the chain of friendship, as it is very rusty—Brothers, you must bring the property of your brothers you have murdered, and all the property of the murderers, as it will be great satisfaction to the families of the deceased—Brothers, the sooner you meet us the better, for our young warriors are very uneasy, and it may prevent great trouble. Brothers, as soon as you get on your feet to meet us, and turn your face this way, you may walk all day, and lay down & sleep at night in safety and peace

until

until you come to the place we have mentioned.

Brothers, this is from your brothers, Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Senecca nation, dated at Genecco River & Flats, August 12th 1790.

Little Beard his mark — Bear Tribe

Sangoyeawatau

Gischaoka his mark — Wolf Tribe

Caunhyongo his mark

Judicial Petition
1790

No 14.

To the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania

Brothers

No. 5

We received your letter and verbal message on the 7th of this Inst.— Brothers we are very sorry to hear of the murder of two of our people committed on Pine Creek which you say you are much concerned for. Brothers you say you have offered a reward of eight hundred dollers for the murderers which we are very glad to hear and hope they may be taken and that we may see them executed as it is natural for to look for revenge of innocent blood. Brothers, the two men you have killed were very great men and were of the Great Tortle tribe one of them was a Chief and in one year the other was to be put in the Great King Garoughtas place who is dead also Brothers you must not think hard if we speak rash as it comes from a wounded heart as you have stuck the hatchet in our head and we cant be reconciled until you come and pull it out. We are sorry to tell you, you have killed eleven of us since the peace and we never said any thing until the other day when in liquor we got a fighting with one of our brothers and hurt him a good deal, and our Brother Gen.l Chapen insisted upon having a number of us taken though the man was in no danger and is now well this is what makes us tell you how many of us has been kil-

led by you and now we take you by the hand and lead you
to the painted post or as far as your canoes can come up
the Creek where you will meet the whole of the tribe of the
deceased and all the Cheifs and a number of Warriors of our
Nation where we will expect you will wash away the blood
of your brother and bury the hatchet and put it out of one-
mory as it is yet sticking in our head, Brothers it is our great
Brother your Govenor who must come to see us as we will never
bury the hatchet until our great brother himself comes and
brightens the chain of friendship as it is very rusty. Bro-
thers you must bring the property of your brothers you have
murdered and all the property of the murderers as it will be
great satisfaction to the families of the deceased. Brothers the
sooner you meet us the better for our young warriors are ve-
ry uneasy and it may prevent great trouble, Brothers as
soon as you get on your feet to meet us and turn your face
this way you may walk all day and lay down and sleep at
night in safety and peace until you come to the place we have
mentioned. Brothers this is from your Brothers Sachems Cheifs
and Warriors of the Seneca nation. Dated at Genesee river
& flats August 12. 1790.

his
Little × Beard mark — Bear tribe

Saugoyaentau — Wolf tribe

Gosekehe + his mark

Caunhefongo + his mark

Kandandeas + his mark

Big tree + his mark

Sowiwanda + his mark

Jos Smith Interpreter

Received of Robert King a Note of hand of the sum of £
Seventeen pounds three shillings and four pence money of the State of
New York being for provision delivered to said King for the Indians
at Jenesee flatts as Witness my hand this twelfth day of August
1790

Horatio Jones

Witness Present
Joseph Smith
Robert Lee

17 " 3 " 4

Copy.

A. J. Dallas.
Secretary.

The Note referred to in the above receipt has been
discharged, and is left, cancelled, by Robert King
in the Secretary's Office.

A. J. Dallas
Secretary.

Receipt for a Note given by
Robert King to pay for provisions
supplied to the Indians.

(B.)

Read in Senate Feby 7. 1791

A Warrior of the
Seneca Nation to
the President & Council
of Pennsylvania
dated at Genesee Lake
& Flats Augt. 12. 1790.

(Copy)

Two departments, northern - including all the Indians northwards of the Ohio - and Southern, including the residue within the limits of the U States.

Each Superintendant must correspond with the Secy of the department of war.

When either of the Superintendants thinks a treaty necessary he is make report of the the object, & the reasons for it, & an estimate of ye expence.

All monies & public property coming to the hands of ye Superintendants, to be annually accounted for - oftener if required.

Not to appoint any deputies without the permission of the President of US

Superintendants to license traders in their respective districts - Unless the President shd otherwise specially direct.

Only citizens of ye U.S. can be licensed.

Superintendants to assign the limits within which each trader shall trade

If the Conduct of the Indians requires that they should be deprived of the

Quere Copy. 28 Nov. 1790

3

Extracts from a letter from Oliver Phelps Esq. to President Mifflin, dated.

Canandargua Augt 14. 1790.

"Mr King has assured them [the Indians] that your excellency will hold a treaty with them & take the hatchet out of their heads, & heal up the wound."

"I am of opinion the speech delivered by the Indians is not literally translated."

Appears to think it necessary to make "pecuniary satisfaction to the friends of the murdered Indians."

Niagara 27th August 1790.

At a Meeting with the Chiefs of the five Nations at Navy Hall.

Present

Sir John Johnson Bart. Supy Intendant General & Inspecto Genl.	Captain Brant and the Chiefs of the Mohawks and Tuscaroras
Lt. Colo. Butler D. D. I. A.	Seneca Chiefs &c
Joseph Chew Esqr. Secretary	Onondaga Chiefs &c
Robert Kerr Esqr. Surgeon	Cayuga Chiefs &c
William Johnston Interpreter	----------
Sundry Officers of the Garrison and Several other Gentlemen	----------

The Ceremonies of condolence & Welcoming &c being gone through on both Sides —

The Supy Intend. General

Thanked the Chiefs for the manner in which they had received him, saying he had intended to take them by the Hand in his way up at their own Village or Block rock but the wind coming fair he proceeded on his Voyage with an intention of doing it on his return, was now happy to meet them, and was now ready to hear what they had to say Respecting Public Affairs, or what concerned themselves that he was Sorry to find Provisions so scarce in the Garrison that he could not Supply them as he wished.

When a Chief from Buffalo Creek Spoke as follows, —

Brothers.

Two Years ago we receivedy a Messagey that you wishedy to get a smally peice of Landy for a Family, near Buffaloy Creek we Thought it adviseable for some of us to go downy to Iowy but we couldy not andy being toldy Iowy would be gladd it shouldy be neary 18 Mile Creek andy as ourr Brotherr Col: Butlerr wantedy somey we marked-edy the Boundsy Largery that he might Get what he askedy for,

4 Strings
a Senecar Chief thenr saidy

Brother.

We wishy nowr to informr your that last springy Col: Butlerr desiredy us to considerr andy grant to Ebenezr Allens Childrenr a tract of Landy Six Miles Squarer at Genesecay andy saidy he Thought it best we shouldy Grant this as Allenr Livedy withy us andy was oner of ourselves, andy it might be usefull to us as Allenr might us withy provisionr hereafterr andy whenr ourr otherr Landy werer gonr this wouldy remainr for whichy Reasonr we gavey the Deedy andy Col: Butlerr was to keepy it but we have Latelyy heardy Allenr is disposingr of this Landy sayingr it is hisr ownr, andy that he has writingsr fromr Colonel Butlerr to do it,

Andy some time agoy Mr. Rosecranse oner of youry peoplee made a purchasee fromy twoy Chiefsy of a peice of Landy on Genesea riverr fourr miles squarer by whichy means all ourr Landy are goingr fromr us peicey afterr peice, We therefore pray You to looky into the Mattersr andy preventy suchy thingsy beingr done.

10 Bunches of Strings

Day which by Col: Butler desired to answer what had been said with respect to the Lands given to Allens Children and Said

Brothers,

You mention that at my request You Granted a piece of Lands to the Children that Allen had by one of Your Women, but as You have not explained that matter in the manner it took place I must insist on reminding You and putting You right when Ebenezer Allen found You were selling Your Lands, he applied to You as Guardian to those Children for as much Land to them as You thought might come to their Share supposing the Country had been divided as they were equally entitled to it with the rest of the Indians and by getting it now it would become More Valuable to them when they Grew up, and in Consideration for what benefit he would receive from planting it he proposed to give You a Certain Quantity of Corn- This is what You told me last Winter and asked my Advice, upon which I told You that I thought his request no more than Reasonable as those Children were Your own Blood and undoubtedly had an equal right with the Others to a proportion, but advised You at the same time to give the Lands in trust to some person who should be accountable to the Children for it, this is still my opinion. Upon which you consulted and Complyed with his request and gave the Deed in trust to Allens for the Children, for a tract of Land Six miles Square, this I believe

You must recollect is what passed respecting that Matter. —

The Superintendant General & Inspector General answers.

Brothers. Some Years ago I desired Coll Butler to ask you for a small peice of Land in some Corner for two Young People then in the States, I wanted none nor did I ask for any Land for my Self, and this word I sent to you by Dequagne I have heard that You Granted it and that a Deed was given in my name which never was my Intention, and as it was made a Matter of Consequence and must be Confirmed by a Mr. Phelps I declined having any thing to say to it and ordered the Deeds to be Delivered up particularly as I heard it was for a Large Tract, There is many reasons for my not desiring to have any Lands in that part of the Country, it being Contrary to the Kings wish that any of his Officers should get Lands from the Indians on the American Side. —

Brothers. I am thankfull for Your Good wishes and Intentions as much so as if those I wanted the Lands for had got them. — Brings Wampum

Brothers. You Surely Remember the Advice I gave You Several Years ago at the Black Rock not to

dispose or part with Your Lands on any account but desired you to be United together and keep possession of them, I now repeat it to You and hope you are wise Enough to take care of yourselves, as it is not in my Power if You Contrary to Your own and the Interest of your Posterity, will sell your Lands, to prevent it as those who purchase them are no longer Subject of the King but become Subjects of the American States, &c

A Belt

Brothers,

I observe you repent Granting Lands to the Children of Allen by one of your Sisters at Col: Butlers request. You hear what the Col: tells You which is all I know respecting the Motives that induced you to make that Grant, and can do nothing to set it aside and the Lands Mr Rosencraft has purchased is just in the same Situation as what I have before mentioned and he is not now a subject of the kings but of the States, and not under our controul, that from all I have now heard there is the greater Necessity for Your Attending to the advice I have before and now give you again, the regard I have for you occasions my Speaking so plain and informing You of what is for Your Interest, when I met You I thought Business of more Consequence was to be transacted than the trifling matters that have now been mentioned. &c

A Bunch of Sticks

Brothers, Sachems, Chiefs & Warriors of the Seneca nation.

I address you in the name & by the authority of the United States of America, in pursuance of the orders of their President & Great Chief, General Washington.

Brothers, The killing of two of your nation at Pine Creek has kindled the resentment not only of Pennsylvania, but of the United States; and diligent endeavours are used for taking the murderers, that they may suffer the punishment due for their crime. Our Great Chief abhors such wicked men; and is determined that no injury done to our brothers of the Indian nations, at peace with the United States shall go unpunished, if the offenders can be found. Brothers, our Great Chief, General Washington, is renowned through the world for his justice and goodness; and you and all the Indian nations may perfectly rely upon his virtues. But tho' his arm is strong, and extends over all the thirteen states, yet wicked men may sometimes escape. For we are a great people, numerous as the stars which in a clear night brighten the heavens. Among such multitudes, a few bad

men

men may pass unknown; or they may hide
themselves in the forests, or going to the sea-coast,
get into the big vessels, & sail over the great
water to other countries. If therefore for any
injuries done to you, brothers, or to any other
of the Indian nations, the bad men who
commit them should not be brought to punish-
ment, rest assured it will be because they
hide themselves where they cannot be found,
or flee from their country.

Brothers, As all business between you and
the citizens of these states is in future to be con-
ducted by the authority of the United States, through
their president, I now inform you that I am
appointed by him to wash off the blood of your
murdered brothers and wipe away the tears from
the eyes of their friends. For these purposes I
will meet the relations of the deceased at Fort
on Monday the 25th day of October next. And
Brothers, the President, our Great Chief, desires
that the Chiefs of the Turtle tribe and other

great

great men of your nation will on that day come to Sioga with the relations of the deceased, to be witnesses to the above transaction, to receive the assurances of his good will towards you & of the friendship of the United States. Then to the chain of friendship between us shall be brightened: and may the Great Spirit lead your Nation & the United States to keep it always bright while the Sun shines.

Dated at Philadelphia the 4th day of September 1790. Timothy Pickering.

Copy of my Letter to
the Seneca Nation
Dated at Philadelphia
the 4th of Sept.r 1790.

Dear Sir, Philadelphia Sept. 4 1790.

~~The Presidents of the United States is now in this city.~~

You will proceed with the letters committed to your care with all possible despatch to the Seneca nation of Indians, that you may be sure of arriving by the time they prescribed. In all your transactions if present consult Mr Phelps, & follow his advice. Return with your answers by the way of Tioga. Perhaps I shall be there: if not, proceed down the river to Wilkesbarre, where you will find me.

I am Sir
Your humble Servant
T. P.

Mr King.

Letter to

Wm. King, messenger

to the Seneca Nation

Sept. 4. 1790.

Philadelphia Sept. 4. 1792.

Dear Sir,

By a late law of the United States, all transactions with the Indians are to be conducted by their authority, tho' the principal [illegible] here, it is now [illegible] the President of the United States [illegible] Congress. [illegible] Supreme Executive authority of this State have laid before him the papers relative to the murder of two Indians at Pine Creek, on the West Branch of Susquehannah. In consequence of which the President has desired me, in behalf of the United States to meet the relations of the two murdered Indians, the principal men of their tribe, at some convenient place, and at as early a day as will admit of the transportation from thence of a few goods to be given, as a compensation, to the friends of the deceased. With that spirit of just economy which marks all his public acts, the President wishes the assembly of the Indians on this occasion may be as small as possible. He sees no propriety in the idea suggested of holding a treaty with them: for the United States are already at peace. Nothing appears to him necessary but reasonably to compensate the relations of the deceased, to give them satisfactory assurances that the most diligent endeavours will be used to bring the murderers to condign punishment, and to request the presence of the chiefs, or head warriors of the tribe, that they may be witnesses to their information of the justice of the United States. The atrocious murder above mentioned the President views with utter abhorrence, and is determined to pursue the offenders with the same zeal as if the unfortunate men then killed had been citizens of the United States.

These sentiments I pray you to impress on the minds

mind of the Indians. You know the justice & inviolable integrity of ~~the President of the United States~~ the President and that they Indians may perfectly confide in his assurances. I will meet the Indians at Rome on Monday the 25th day of October next, ~~for the purpose mentioned~~. And in pursuance of the views of the President, I request you, so far as prudence ~~& propriety~~ will admit, to endeavour to prevent the assembling of a multitude, & to procure me such information of the number which may probably attend & how long they will continue together that adequate provision may be made for their subsistence. Any other information which you shall think will be useful I beg you to communicate.

~~Thomas Pickering~~ Mr. King, gives me ground to hope that you will attend the meeting; nothing will make me more happy than to meet you there.

I am, dear Sir,
with respect and esteem
Yr. obed. Servt.
P.O.

P.S. I have directed Mr. King to take your advice in every thing he will have to perform.

Oliver Phelps Esq.

Letter to Oliver Phelps
Sept. 4. 1790.

General Assembly
of Pennsylvania
Sept. 2. 1790.

1 v 6.

Philadelphia September 2. 1791.

Sir,

In the public letter which accompanies this you will receive such instructions for your conduct in your mission to the Seneca Tribe of Indians, as may without impropriety be communicated to them. Some others shall here be added more peculiarly proper for your own ear.

It is particularly desireable that they be made to understand that all business between them and any part of the United States is hereafter to be transacted by the general Government; and that the person who will attend you on the part of the Executive of the State of Pennsylvania be

induced to corroborate this explicitly by his de-
-clarations to them.

The Indians have demanded that the property of the deceased Indians, taken by the murderers, be restored: I am informed that this has been secured by the Executive of Penn-
-sylvania, to whom therefore you will apply for the same, and take proper measures for restoring it. They have further demanded that the property of the murderers be given up to them.- I am informed that they had no property but lands- you will explain this to them, and of course that there is nothing to render under the demand.

The Executive of Pennsylvania had proposed to purchase goods suitable to the Indians to the amount of 266 2/3 dollars to be given to the friends of the deceased as a satisfaction for the wrong done them. You will take on behalf of the United States so much of this purchase as has been made, for which they shall be repaid, and you will complete the same to the amount before mentioned if it be not completed; and you will take measures for having the goods conveyed to the place of meeting, where you will cause them to be so distributed among the friends of the deceased as shall be most likely to give complete satisfaction.

It is desireable that they be induced to content them-
-selves with this peace offering; but should they consid
it as absolutely inadequate, you will, in your discretion
give them such assurances of further gifts as the
necessity of the case shall require.

So also, should a
presents to the Chiefs of the nation appear to you
necessary you will do therein what in your discretio
you shall perceive to be indispensable

You are to receive for your time and trouble a
dollars a day from the date hereof until your retu
in addition to your reasonable expences as well
personal as for the general objects of your mission

It is expected that you will be at

at the place of meeting by the instant, and
ave there at the same time if possible the presents
rovided, or otherwise that you take measures for
heir being conveyed thither by as early a day as
ossible.

In all your proceedings you are desired
adhere to as strict economy as the objects of
our mission will reasonably admit.

I am
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant
G. Washington

Colonel Timothy Pickering

Colonel Timothy Pickering,

You are hereby authorized and required forthwith to proceed to the United [illegible]

to such other place or places as may seem proper, there to meet in behalf of the United States, the Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors of the Seneca nation of Indians, or any person or persons deputed by them: To assure them that the murders committed at Pine Creek on some of their people are causes of great displeasure to the United States: To explain to them what measures

have been taken, and are still proposed to be tak
to apprehend, and bring the offenders to justice:
To communicate to them in a plain and fair
manner the late act of Congress respecting the
trade and intercourse with the Indian Tribes:
To declare to them the friendly disposition of
the federal-government towards them, and its
readiness to extend protection and support t
them on all needful occasions; and in genera
to do such matters and things as may be
necessary for the more complete execution of

the foregoing powers.

Given under my hand and seal this Fourth day of September 1790.

G. Washington

The President's Order
to T. Pickering
to meet & confer
with the Indians of the
Seneca tribe

Sept.r 4. 1790.

v 16

Sir, Phila. Sept. 4. 1790.

I am appointed by the President of the United States to meet the relations of the two Indians who were killed at Pine creek in Pennsylvania, & such of the Seneca chiefs & warriors of the tribe to which they belonged, & by the Seneca nation as shall manifest to me a need & desire to receive satisfaction for the murder, & to satisfy the whole nation of the Justice of the United States. The relations of the deceased, with a few of the chiefs and warriors, the President thinks will be sufficient for that purpose. It is therefore to be hoped that no more will attend the meeting. I have proposed the 20th inst. to be held at Tioga in the State of New York. Mr. King, the bearer, informs me of the assistance you rendered him when he delivered his former message to the Seneca nation. I request your assistance at the proposed meeting when I will make you reasonable satisfaction for both.

I am Sir
Your friend &c.
T. Pickering

Mr. Joseph Smith
Interpreter to the Seneca Nation.

Letter to
Joseph Smith
Interpreter to the
Seneca nation
Sept. 4. 1790.

Sir, Philadelphia Sept. 5. 1790.

The messenger to the Seneca nation set off this afternoon, with a letter addressed by me to the Cachems Chiefs, Warriors, of that nation, informing them of my appointment to meet them under the authority of the United States, inviting the relations of the deceased Soldiers to come with, to Fioga on the 25th of October next and expressing your desire that the chiefs of the Seneca tribe & the other Great Men of the Seneca nation would accompany them, to be witnesses to their treaty of the Justice of the United States, & to receive assurances of your & their friendship. I also wrote to Mr. Phelps, & to Smith the interpreter. In each letter I have pointedly expressed, declared that it was the relations of the deceased & the chief men whom I desire to meet, & have urged Mr. Phelps to use his influence to prevent a large assembly. However, on conversing with Mr. McClay esq. who has had some experience in such business, I find that notwithstanding any precaution to prevent it, a considerable company may be expected. I have therefore in the estimate subjoined stated them at 200, [illegible]. I first supposed six days provision would be sufficient, but Mr. Wilson assured me that I must reckon upon their getting each day, including the supply when [illegible] they [illegible]. However, the Chief of Oswego [illegible] at Fioga in its neighborhood, I purpose to make an absolute purchase of [illegible] part of the quantity mentioned in the estimate, taking care at the same time to reserve a full supply, if more should be wanted.

Estimate of the expence of necessaries for the meeting of the Seneca Indians at Tioga Oct. 25. 1790.

4 barrels of ~~New England~~ Country rum 120 gallons @ 7/.	£18.0.0
Provisions for 200 Indians 12 days, including the supplies they must receive when going home, viz.	
3200 lbs of beef @ 3d.	40.0.0
32 ~~Cwt~~ flour @ 15/.	24.--.-
~~24 pounds powder, 48 lbs lead, for the Chiefs, 1 rifle~~	~~4.--.-~~
A silver gorget & other trinkets	10.--.-
1 Gross of tobacco & pipes	2.10.-
	94.10.0
Provisions & necessaries for Mr Pickering & Col. Wilson, agent for Pennsylvania, & for the boatmen	12.--.-
Transportation of goods & stores from Philadelphia hire of boat & boatmen	20.0.0
Pay of the interpreter	12.--.-
Contingencies	10.-
	£150.0.0

19

Philadelphia September 6th 1793.

Sir,

Inclosed is an order in your favor on the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States for the sum of four hundred dollars, agreeably to your estimate.

It is my wish that in conducting the negotiation with the Seneca Indians you should endeavor, by all possible means, to prevent any considerable number of them from assembling at the place of treaty, as a numerous meeting would not only greatly enhance the expence, without facilitating the object of your mission, but would be directly repugnant to the nature of the business.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant

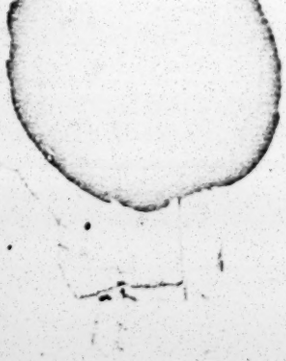
G. Washington

Timothy Pickering.

Letter to U.S. Sept. 8, 1793

Letter from the
President of the U. States
Dec. 31. 1790.
Approving the Conduct of T.P.
in the treaty held by him
with the Seneca Indians
(4 T.P's answer Dec. 31)
4 Knox to Pres. Dec. 27

Recd. January 3. 1791



Washington's
Seal of Arms

The United States

To Timothy Pickering Dr.

1790.

Sept.r 7. For my time & trouble in Philadelphia two days, in various matters preparatory to the intended conference, at 8 dollars a day — Dollars 16.

For my time & trouble in procuring provisions for the Indians Holding a conference with them from Oct.r 17th (when I set off from my house in Wilkesbarre for Tioga) until Nov.r 29th at night (when I reached home) both days included, at 8 dollars a day . . 352.

{ 15 / 29 / 44 days }

For my travelling expences from Wilkesbarre to Tioga and back 3. 37

For my time, trouble & expences, after my return, in transcribing the rough minutes of the proceedings, to report to the President — in making a journey from Wilkesbarre to Philadelphia for that purpose & to get the account of expences settled — and in completing the payments yet to be made to sundry persons in Luzerne county & York State, equal to 12 days @ 8 dollars — — 96. —

Dollars . . 467. 37/90

T. Pickering's Acct

Dr. The United States

1790 To amount of expences incurred in holding a conference with the Indians at Tioga, pursuant to the orders of the President of the U. States, dated Sept. 4. 1790. as by account herewith ~~No 2~~ equal to Dollars

Sept. 7th To my time & trouble in Philadelphia two days in various matters preparatory to the intended conference at 8 dollars a day 16. —

To my time & trouble in procuring provisions for the Indians holding a conference with them from Oct. 17th (when I left my home in Wilkesbarre for Tioga until Nov. 29th at night (when I reached home) both days included, at 8 dollars a day 352. —

44 r. 752

To my travelling expences from Wilkesbarre to Tioga Flats — 3. 37

To my time, trouble & expences after my return, in transcribing the rough minutes of the proceedings to report to the President — in making a journey from Wilkesbarre to Philadelphia (116 miles) for that purpose & to get the accounts of expences settled — and in completing the payments yet to be made to sundry persons in Luzerne County & York State, 12 days 96. —

467. 37

150
22.10
2. 12. 6
3. 1
175. 5. 7

with Timothy Pickering Esqr

1790			Dollars
Sept: 6	By Cash received on the Presidents warrant		£400.
	By 60 lb tallow at 4d	20/.	
	an iron pot cost	17.6	
	a pocket inkhorn	2.6	5. 30
		40/.–	

272.8.8.7½
102.11 4½
375

I have to pray W Hollenbach
his acct rendered ——— £76.4.2½
Additional bill for Satterlee — 1.18.9
Acct of Saudrier 40. 3. 1½
Bowman ——— 4.13.1
Cash 17 dollars ——— 6.7.6
Do — 5 Guineas by Gore 8.15–
Order paid for thing ——— 7.10–
14.5.11.8

Hollenbach's Acct.

An Account of the Expences incurred in holding a Conference with the Six Nations of Indians, at Tioga, in the month of November 1790; pursuant to the orders of the President of the United States to Timothy Pickering.

				£	s	d
1790.						
Sept.	6.	Paid to Job Butcher for bacon, salt & rum	No. 1.	9	19	11
		Paid porterage of the same			1	5
	7.	Paid Hewes & Anthony for 110 gals. N.E. rum	No. 2.	16	19	2
	"	Paid Benedict Dorsey for sundry stores	No. 3.	3	9	9½
Nov.	6.	Paid James Irwin for carriage of a tierce of rum from Northumberland to Tioga	No. 4.	1	11	10
	8th	Paid Isaac Hancock for 1226 lbs beef @ 3d	No. 5.	15	6	6
	11th	Paid Rudolph Fox for 457½ lbs beef £5.14.4 & 10 bushels wheat @ 4/4 — 2.3.4	6.	7	17	8
	17.	Paid Wm. Scott interpreter, 22 days @ 5/.	7.	5	10	0
	19.	Paid Benj.a Allen (for Jos. Spalding) for 143 lbs pork @ 3d.	8.	1	15	9
	20.	Paid Ashbenaz Shappee in full of Joseph Pendries acct. for interpreting &c. to Robert King	9.	2	0	0
	21.	Paid the Indians for one mourning belt £3.15. & for one ditto — 7.10.	10.	11	5	0
	26.	Paid Jeremiah Baker for beef &c. pr. acct. by my acceptance of his order to Wm. Ross	11.	4	13	6
	"	Paid Ira Stephens for 20 bushels potatoes d/d	12.	1	10	—
	20.	Paid Samuel Stephens for sundries, pr. acct	13.	10	18	4½
	25.	Paid Hieronymus Shingle, Smiths work in repairing &c. Indian tomahawks	14.	4	15	4½
	"	Paid Joseph Smith, interpreter pr. acct.	15.	44	6	10½
	"	Paid Jasper Parish, interpreter, pr. acct.	16.	11	17	1½
Dec.	18.	Paid Wm. Ross pr. acct. for beef &c.	17.	24	9	2
	24.	Paid Saml. Hodgdon in full for transportation	18.	7	16	5
Nov.	25.	Paid Saml. Harris's acct. for repairing guns	19.	2	13	6
				£188	17	

	The amount of Expences brought over . .		£ 188. 17. 5
	Due to Israel Chapin Esq. for two steers furnished to the Indians for beef, at Geneseo, Oct. 31. 1790	No. 20	12. — —
	— to Elisha Satterlee for 32 bushels potatoes @ 1/6	21	2. 8. —
	. the amount of Ichabod Patterson's acct. 19.18.6 & for 1 more bushel of corn — .2.6 / 20.1.0 deducting the price of a canoe — 1.2.6	22	18. 18. 6
	. the amount of Benajah Boardman's acct. —	23	16. 4. 6
	. the amount of Lt. Wm. Wilson's acct. . . .	24.	16. 15. 11
	. the amount of James Miller's acct. . . .	25	6. 12. —
	. to George Hornel for beef &c	26	8. 1. —
	. to Isaac Baldwin for flour &c . . . & to Thomas Baldwin for carriage from	27.	2. 6. 3 . . . . 5. —
£ 78.4.0	. to Matthias Hollenback esq. for sundries of Guy Maxwell per account	28	78. 2. 11
£ 37.11.6	. to Robert King for services &c. per acct. —	29	37. 11. 6
£ 175.4.0 1.7 / 175.5.7	. to Timothy Pickering for pay &c. as per accounts	32	175. 5. 7
	. to Obadiah Gore for 1435 lbs beef @ 3. £ 17.18.9 100 lbs corn for @ 2. .16.8	30.	18. 15. 5
	. to Joel Thomas for a large canoe borrowed to transport the old & lame Indians from Newtown to Niagara Point, and which was afterwards stolen off the bank . — — — — — — — —	31	1. 17. —

The United States, in account with Timothy Pickering - - - - C.

1790		Dollars
Dec.r 29.	To sundry accounts for supplies, pay & expences, as by account annexed, - - - - -	

1790		Dollars
Sept.r 6.	By Cash received on the Presidents warrant. —	400.—
	By the amount of articles procured on account of the Conference with the Indians remaining on hand, by certificate Sec.y's No. 33. £4.3.4 equal - -	11.10
	By Cash for the balance	

40.11.6
3.
37.11.6

124

16.4.5
14.9.7
1.14.
2.2.
82.12.9½

Account of Appendix
of the Conference with
the Indians at Tioga
in Novr 1790.

500 blankets — }
750 yards of strouds } already ordered
20 pieces of ~~blue~~ ribbon, purple green & green @ about 5/. £5.0.0
2 pieces of 6/4 scarlet cloth for legging for the Chiefs & blankets
for a few of the chief women .. - cost supposed — £18.0.0

12 surtout coats, without buttons, to reach a little below the knee, the forebodies so broad as to lap 8 or 10 inches over each other — to be made of beaver coating, the edges bound with green binding yds @ & making @

4 dozen black silk handkerchiefs, at about 52/6 ₰ doz. — 10.10.—

12 pieces of callico, chiefly of gay colours, @ about 40/. — — 24.—

12 dozens of penknives. — — @ about 4/ to 5/. — — 2.14.—

2 dozen cutteaus . — — — — — about — — 9.—

~~1~~ 1 dozen scissors . — — — — — about — .16.—

~~pieces of ribbons, purple & green~~

2 dozens brass kettles to hold from 1½ to 3 gallons about — 10. 0. 0

4 quarter casks best Rifle powder ..... about — 6.— —

4 ℔t. of lead in small bars . about ~~(illegible)~~ 10.— —

5 or 6 hundred flints for rifles — —

10 ℔t vermilion M. Hollenback will furnish on the spot at the price of it in the city . — — — — — — }

and silver broaches and arm bands at the whole sale prices in the city — if it should be thought proper to order any.

200 ℔t smoking tobacco.

3 or 4 gross of tobacco pipes

50 corn hoes

Received of T. Pickering twenty five dollars relative to the Indian business, for which I am to account. Sept. 6. 1790.

Jon.a Wilson

Philad.a

Purchases

Bought of

1 Cask ham 21¾ lb. 1. 3 — 1 2

Cask 3/ Cooperage 9d

½ Bushel Salt 4d — 1 6

16 Gallons Rum 4/ — 3 0

2 Do. — 3 3

Do. — 1

3 6

Rec.d payment for Jos. Butler £ 0 12 11

Joshua Coles

Philad.a 9 Mo. 7th 1790.

Timothy Pickering

Bo.t of Benedict Dorsey

P

1 lb. Souchong Tea			£ —	9. —
12 Loaf Sugar 9 lb. 10 oz.	15½		—	12. 5½
12 lb. Chocolate	11		—	12. —
25 lb. Brown Sugar	15/ p. Cwt.		—	17. —
6 lb. White Coffee	17d		—	8. 6.
for 16 lb. Water Biscuits	9d		—	9. 4.
for a Cag for the above			—	1. 6.
			£ 3	9. 9½

Wm Wilson
Sept. 6. 1790
£9.7.6

B. Dorsey
N.° 3.

Received 9 Mo. 7th. 1790 of C. Pickering Three Pounds Nine Shillings and Nine Pence ½ in full for the Goods mentioned on the other side

£3.9.9½

for Benedict Dorsey
W.m C.° P.° Pritchett

Philadelphia Sept. 7. 1790

Mr. William Wilson

Bot. of William Chancellor

2 pieces	3/4 twill'd Legging Cloth	60 yards	3/3	£9. 15. 0
1 pc	6/4 Scarlet Cloth	14 3/4	13/	9. 11. 9
1 pc	large Indian Blankets	No. 6. 15 Inc		7. 15
2 pcs	— D°	— 15 in each	133/.	13. 6
2 pcs	6/4 blue fine Strouds	21 yds each is 42 yds	6/11	14. 10. 6
1 pc	dark gro. Calicoe	14 3/4 yds	2/6	1. 16. 10
1 pc	purple. D° No. 14.		3/	2. 2
1 pc	— D° 25. 14.		3/	2. 2
1 pc	half chintz	2. 14.	3/3	2. 5. 6
1 pc	D°	6. 14.	3/3	2. 5. 6
1 pc	D°	7. 14.	3/	2. 2
1 doz.	linen Handkfs	1	1/	0. 0
1 doz.	D°. blue			15
1 doz.	D°. check			11
2 pcs	12 ps fine Fancy Handkfs		3/	1. 16
1 doz.	Striped Silk Hdkfs			2. 10
1 doz.	large black D°.			2. 14
6 lbs	Bears		2/6	0. 15
1 doz.	Buck handle junk Knives	No 1		0. 5.
1 doz.	Buffaloe D° D°	— 2		0. 5
1 doz.	common buck hdled Knives			0. 3
1 doz	— D° D°.	No. 20		0. 5
1 doz.	Stain'd bone — D°	— 3		0. 5
1 doz.	Cutteau's	4		0. 4. 6
2 doz.	Scissars	1	5/	0. 10
1 doz.	D°	2		0. 6
1 doz.	Large Shears			0. 7. 6
2 lbs	Vermillion		10/	1. 0. 0
100	Flints			0. 3

over £84. 7. 1

Amount brought over £81. 7. 1

4 pcs Ribbons purple & green	6/6		1. 6	
1 Cask powder			1. 15	
1½ Cwt Lead Shotbags	52/6		3. 18. 9	
2 doz Knives & forks		4/	0. 8	
3 doz. Pewter Spoons		3/4	0. 3. 4	
4 doz Jew Harps		1/	0. 4. 0	
	£89. 2. 2			
100lb Smoking Tobacco		6	2. 10	
6 haps Kettles	16¾	3/3	2. 12. 5	
1 Cask 3 qrs pipes			12 6	
			£94. 19. 1	
6 Kettles more			2. 19 3	
			£97 18 4	

Mr Bickham

Market 11

B. Dorsey No. 2

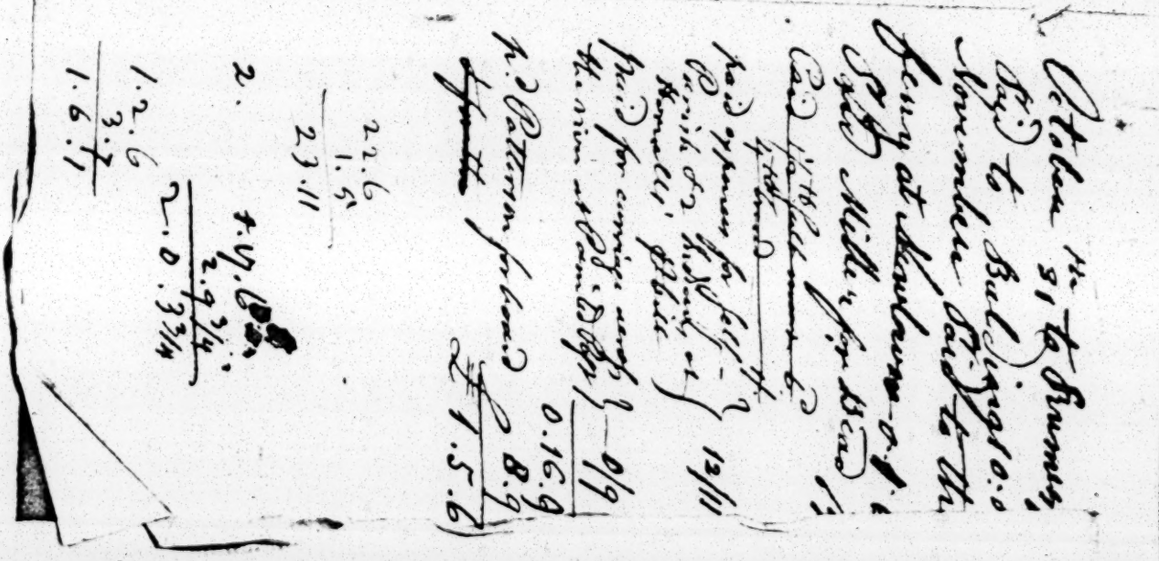
Sept 7. 1790

Mr. Wilson's

Bill

Received of Timothy Pickering twelve pounds five shillings Cash for which I promise to deliver him good fat cattle at Tioga by the twenty fifth day of October next at the rate he gives for others of equal goodness. Wilkesbarre Sept. 20. 1790.

Wm Hughs



For value received I promise to pay to Isaac Hancock or order Fifteen pounds lawful money of Pennsylvania by the first day of January next. Tioga Point Nov. 7. 1790.

£15.0.0

Wm Rofs
£12.5.—

57

Wm Rofs

My Note to
Isaac Hancock
paid Decr. 30. 1790
to M. Hollanbach
£15.0.0

Isaac Hancock

Ephraim Patterson's beef 530 lbs. £ 6.12.6

2.3.2
- 5¼ bushels of corn @ 2/6 ——— .13.1½
- 6 bushels of turnips @ 9d ——— 4.6
- 12 do. potatoes — 2/. ——— 1.4.—
- 84 pumpkins ——— ——— .8.—
- horsekeeping ——— .1.8
- head and offal of an ox ——— .5.—

£ 9.8.9½

Nov. 11th.

a canoe to be del.d 1.2.6

10 bushels of potatoes to be del.d ——— 1.0.0

11.11.3½

Timothy Pickering to Ephraim Patterson Dr.

1790.

Nov. 11. To 530 lbs of beef del.d Robert King for the Indians, at 3. .. £ 6.12.6

Nov. 12. To 5¼ bushels of corn — do — @ 2/6 — — .13.1½
6 bushels of turnips do — @ 9 — — .4.6
12 bushels of potatoes do — 2/. . . 1.4.0
84 pumpkins . . . do . . . . . .8.—
horse keeping — — — — — — — — 1.8
the head & offal of an ox — — — — — .5.—

£ 9.8.9½

Beef £ 6.12.6
Corn — . 13.1½
residue 2.3.2
£ 9.8.9½

Canoe . — 1.2.6
10.11.3½

Cash paid by Robt. £ 2.0.3¾
do do by P.B. 3.10.—
Order on Maxwell 4.5.8
£ 10.5.11¾

Received 14 November the 8th 1790 of Wm Frost two Dollars
Three Shillings New york M. In Part Pay for
Buff Breech by Ephraim Patterson

£2.3.– York equal in Penn.a C/y £2.0.3¾ Jacob Patterson
3.10.–
£5.10.3¾

Nov.r 20. 1790. Rec.d of Timothy Pickering two English Guineas
on account of Beef for the Indians. Jacob Patterson

B. Dorsey
1.0.2

Mem.o ~~Rec.d~~ Gave Patterson an order on Maxwell for £4.5.8
being for the vegetables &.c supplied Nov.r 11. £2.3.2
a canoe to be del.d. King —— 1.26
10 bushels of potatoes &.c —— 1.——
£4.5.8

Tioga Point Nov. 20. 1790.

Please to pay to Ichabod Patterson four pounds five shillings & eight pence out of your store in goods & charge the same to T. Pickering

Mr. Guy Maxwell

Col. Timothy Pickering In acct with Gy Maxwell
In behalf of Matth. Hollenback Dr.

Nov.r 1790

To your Order in favr of Ichabod Patterson		£4.5.8
" your Order in favr of Joseph Smith		8
" Cash advanced to Joseph Smith	30 Dollrs	
Ditto to Jesse Rusk	31 55/90 Dollrs	23.2.1½
" Your Order in favor of Cronomus Swingle		4.15.4
		£40.3.1½

E. Tioga November 25th 1790

Guy Maxwell

Tioga Point Nov. 25. 1790.

Sir Pay to William Rose four pounds thirteen shillings & six pence, which will be in full of my account against you relative to the Indian Treaty.

To Timothy Pickering. Jeremiah Baker

Accepted Nov. 25. 1790.

~~Timothy Pickering~~

Patterson
Rec.d
Ephm Patterson
Mar.h 2. 1790
£2.3.0
2.0.3½

£4.5.8

For value received I promise to pay to Joseph Smith or order twenty eight dollars and fifty two & a half ninetieths of a dollar on demand after the first day of January next.

Dollars 28. 52½/90

Hollenback

The amount as within —— £40. 3. 1½
Cash paid J. Pickering 15 Dol.s 5. 12. 6
& James Miller (for acct.) 15 —
Robert King 1 —

Mr. Joseph Smith To G. Maxwell Dr.

18 Meals victuals ..	£0. 18. 0
87 quarts Oats	14. 6
11 nights Hay	16. 6
	£2. 9. 0
4 quarts cyder	4
1 Wine Gl. Grog 6d. 1 Do 3d.	9
1 Gl. Rum Given the Indians	2
	£2. 18. 0
deduct	7
Amt. Currency	£2. 11. 0

Mr. Guy Maxwell change the above two pounds eleven shillings to the account of J. Pickering

General Chapin Dr. To G. Maxwell

To 29 Meals Victuals	£1. 9. 0
12 nights & days Horse Hay ..	18
54 quarts Oats	9
1 pint Rum 1/. 2 Grogs 1/	2
4 qts. cyder 2/. Half pint Sling 1/2.	5. 2
2 quarts NE Rum	4
	£3. 7. 2

Mr. Maxwell. As General Chapin came to attend the Treaty at Tioga at the special requisition of the Indians, & as an inducement to them to come forward, to advance the public service, you will charge the above £3. 7. 2 to my account

Tioga Nov. 25. 1790 Pickering

Genl Rob. Lettered with the Box &c.
Jany 25. 1791.

Orders
paid by Maxwell
Novr. 1790.

(3)
Jasper Parish

Genl. Chapin
£3.7.2

(2)

Note to
Joseph Smith

Smith, Gill

Mr Maxwell, Please to pay Jasper Parish Thirty one dollars & 55/90 ninetieths of a dollar & charge the same to

Nov: 25. 1790: T. Pickering

Mr Parish to Gallagher Dr.
To 27 Meals Victuals ... 1.7.0
1 gl Rum for Indians ... 2 ... 1.9.0

Charge the above £1.9.0. for Parish's board during the Treaty to T Pickering

Tioga Nov: 25. 1790.

Mr Maxwell

Be pleased to pay Hieronymus Swingle four pounds fifteen shillings & four pence half penny for Smiths work done for the Indians, and charge the same to me

Timothy Pickering

Tioga Point Nov. 25. 1790.

Sir.

Be pleased to pay Mr Joseph Smith eight pounds Pennsylvania currency, value received by me in behalf of the United States, & charge the same to my account

Timothy Pickering

Mr Grey Maxwell

142

Recd Nov: 26. 1790. of Timo Pickering eight pounds fifteen Shillings, in part for beef supplied to the Indians.

Obad: Gore

Received of Timothy Pickering a bay horse which he purchased of Andrew Budd for the Principal Indian Chief called the Farmers brother, with a Saddle & Bridle. Tioga Nov: 26. 1790.

Robt King

Sir) It was too Late for me to Examine the Beef that Mr Wilson Left at this Place for Colo Pickering last Night as it was Dark before I Arrived at the Point and this Morning I Examined it & find it is not fit for Use Therefore if you Can Supply me with Six or Seven Hundred Weight of Beef at three Pence P. Pd Pound I will take it if Delivered this Day Please to Send me an answer by the Bearer and oblige your friend & Humble Servt

New Town Point Robt King

Novr 27th 1790

Mr Isaac Baldwin Jnr

1113

Order
Wm Rose
£1.13.6
Pd. M Hollenback
Dec. 30. 1790.

Elijah Hunt
Dec. 31. 1790

Wm. Hunt

£8.15

Bay Horse
Nov. 26. 1790

Sir I Cant afford to Carry
Beef from here to the Point
for Three Dollars Pr Pound
and the Letter is to Let Him
I Cant Have Beef to Day the
Sleigh Shall Come on to Night
or in the Morning Sir this
from your humble Servt
Isaac Baldwin

Mr.
Bruce & Robinson

Capt. Dennis

Col Pickering Sir please to pay unto Matthias Hollenbeck the Sum of one pound thirteen Shilling & five pence and plase the Same to acct of Sir Your humble Sert

Withsborough [illegible] £1-13-6 Wm Kipp

December. 18. 1790

Expenses of P.D. in Indian Treaty 1790.

December 31st 1790

Account of my trouble and and Damage by the indians to keeping a Hors too nights ---0 2 0

to one Bushil of Corn ---0 3 0

to one Bushil of potatoes --0 2 0

to trouble in my house 6

Little Baindle his family 6

£0-7-6

Elijah Hunt

the indians are now sick at my House and How Long they will remane so I Can't tell E: H

Withsborough Dec.r 18. 1790. Settled with Capt. William Kip for Supplies and Services relative to the late Indian treaty at Tioga and there appears to be due to him eleven pound fifteen Shillings & five pence three farthings, which I promise to pay on demand. Timothy Pickering

11.15.6 3/4
4.13.6
16.9.0 3/4
4.0.0
12.5.0 3/4

4.2.6
1.6
4.4.0

20 yards cloth & 1/2 yd. baize

Rec.d of Mr
Maxwell -
Flower — 196
217
200
611 Mer

Jn Sundard Boards
& Plank, Boards 34
Plank — 250 —
12 Bushels corn

6th Dem. 1790. Counted Mr
John Shepherds Boards & P
lind 57 Boards & Planks.
Samuel Harris 1/3 of the
above mentiond Boards in
his Custody & saith he
says Measures 210 feet

Novem[illegible] 1[illegible] 1790

Rec[d] of Jeremiah Baker twenty four Bushels of Potatoes for Col[o] Timothy Pickering

B[y] Mr. Rob[t] Hoing

Oct[r] 5th 1790

Rec[d] of Mr. Jacob Hoffner three Hundred & Seven Pounds of Beef for Col[o] Timothy Pickering B[y] Mr. Rob[t] Hoing

Oct[r] 7th 1790

Rec[d] of Mr. Jesse Hancock twelve Hundred & twenty six Pounds of Beef for Col[o] Timothy Pickering

B[y] Mr. Rob[t] Hoing

Rec^d of Mr Ephrem Patterson five Hundred & thirty Pounds of Bt. and the Offalk on Acct of Col^o Timothy Pickering. Rec^d B^s. Mg. Octr 11th 1790 Robt King.

Rec^d of Mr Ephrem Patterson five Bushel of Corn, this 9 a half Bushels of Potatoes.

Rec.d of Mr. Ephraim Patterson five Bushels & one Peck of Corn — Six Bushels of Turnips — twelve Bushels of Potatoes Eighty four Pumpkins & 1/2 for Horse Keeping on Acct of Col.o Timothy Pickering

Rec.d Payment

Oct.r 12.th 1790 Rob.t King

Rec.d of Joseph Spalding one hundred & forty three Pounds of Pork on Acct of Colo Timothy Pickering

Rec.d Payment

Rob.t King

Novem.r 19th 1790

Rec.d of Mr. George Hornel. five Hundred & twenty one Pounds of Beef and Seventy two Pounds of bread Rec.d
B.r Mk Rob.t King
Norw.k 13th 1779.

Rec.d of Capt. Benejah Bordman. Two Hundred and Seventy, one Pounds flower. Nine & a half Bushels of Potatoes and Sixty Pumpkins Rec.d for Col.o Timothy Pickering. B.r Mk
Norw.k 13th 1779. Rob.t King
one Pork Barrel forgot.

Rec: of Capt. Elisha Satterlee for Col. Timothy Pickering Forty two Bushels of Potatoes Rec. 6. Mo. Novr. 15th 1790 } Robt. King

No. 17. Rec. of Daniel Moore five Hundred & Eighty Eight Pounds of Beef for Col. Timothy Pickering's Rec 6. Mo Robt. King Novr. 16th 1790

No. 17.

Rec.d of Josiah Marshd
three Hundred & twenty
one Pounds of Beef
for Col.o Timothy
Pickering Rec.d P.
me. Robt King
Comm.y
16th 1790

No. 30.

Rec.d of Obadiah Gore
Esq.r one Thousand four
hundred & thirty five
Pounds of Beef and one
hundred Weight of Veneg.r
for Col.o Timothy Pickering
Rec.d P.r me.
Comm.y 20th 1790 Rob.t King

Rec^d of Jeremiah Baker
two Hundred & Sixty five
Pounds of Beef for
Col^o Timothy Pickering
Rec^d Decr 11th.
Novem^r
20th 1790 } Robt Kerr

Rec^d of Jno Stephens
twenty Bushels of
Potatoes for Col^o
Timothy Pickering
Rec^d Decr 11th
Novem^r
21st 1790 } Robt Kerr

Recvd of Guy Maxwell
611 lbs Flour, 12 ⅌ Bushels corn & 9 Bushels
Potatoes. Novr 23^d. 1798
for Col T Pickering
Robt King

5.

Recvd of Mr. Isaac
Baldwin two Hundred weight
of Wheat Meal — & two hun-
dred weight of Indian
Meal — Delivered at Ver-
non Point for Col^o.
Timothy Pickering
Rec^d Novr 11th —
Vernon
27th 1798 } Robt King.
Mr Baldwin Insisted for
Pay for the Carriage of the
Meal to the Point — But I
told him that to your Instruc-
tions

Sir

Please pay Mr. Ephraim Patterson or order ten Pounds two Shilling & six pence three farthings for Sundries Beef & Vegetables for Ord. last

Painted Post 30th Nov. 1790

Robt. King

Col. Pickering

Rec.d a canoe of Chickasaw Indians at Fort Wm. Henry. which I Maynadier Answers ——— Robt. King

The Indian Meal that I Rec.d of Mr. James Sears Baldwin was ground for Indians & not Bolted — Robt. King

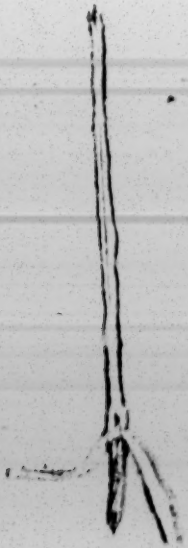
No. 31.

I Do hereby Certify that on 14th Novr. I did borrow a large Canoe of Mr. Joel Thomas, to Carry the old & Lame Indians Down the River from Newtown to Pioga Point Which Canoe was Stolen of the Point at Pioga Point —

turn over

and never returned to Mr
for which he Charges £1.17.6
Thomas . given under my
hand this 2d Decr 1796

Robt King



Accounts arising
Arrears & Expences
for the treaty at
Newtown Point in
1791.
Presented by Mr.
M.Hollenbacks

Niagara Point
in 1790-]

1794.

Mem.o I suppose no-
thing can be done
with them. P.B.

[The accounts follow,
numbered (1) to (8)-]

Rec.d of Mr. George Hornick Five Hundred &
twent one Pounds of Beef & Seventy two
Pounds of Bread - for Col.o Timothy
Pickering Rec.d P.r me -
~~13.th~~ Novem.r 13.th 1790 Rob.t King

Two dollars and a half to be allowed
for the within account
Tioga Point Nov. 18. 1790. T. Pickering

Minutes for the answer
in case —
Augt. 8. 1792.

(2)

To Sundry by the Runners going to
Tioga Point — £0-10-10½
To Ditto by the Indians — 2-9-
And Company — 9
Bread by the Canoemen — 9
Ditto by two Indian boys — 4-10½
Sundrys to the Indians after
Mr Kings departure — £1-0-0

Sir Please to pay the above
Sum to Capt Benajah Boardman
And you will much Oblige
Your &c
Col. Timothy Pickering
Newtown Point Nov. 15th 1790 Geo Hornell

(3)

Rec.d of Mr Isaac Baldwin two Hund.d
=red Weight of Wheat Meal — & two
Hundred Weight of Indian Meal
at New Town Point — for Col.o —
Timothy Pickering — Rec.d Pa. 11th
— Novem.r 27th 1790 — Rob.t King

N.B. Mr Baldwin Ingeted for
Pay for the Carriage of the Meal
& Brought Brasher to leave that to you
Waighed to — Mile —

2	0	2
3	1	7
1	1	4
2	14	0

2	11	3
	7	0
6	3	

(4) 156

Please pay Mr Ephraim Patterson
or order Seven Dollars Sterling
& six pence for Sundrys for Provisions
Fruit Vegitables &c & Cart —

£9.9.10.3d Pennsyla Paid Post 30th Nov.r 1790
Rob.t King

Col.o Pickering

(5)

Sir Please pay Capt.n Benjah Boardman
fifteen Pounds sixteen Shilling — it bing
for Beef & Vegetibles furnished at Newtown
Point for the Indians — & Received P.r Mr
Decem.r 2nd — 1790 —
to Col Pickering
Rob.t King
for Col.o Pickering

£10-16-0 = £15:16:0

Pennsylvania currency

Sir Please to Pay Capt.n Benjah Boardman
nine Shillings & Sixpence it Being Corn
hay for Little Beard who is lying sick at
Newtown Point & Big Tree who Stays to take
Care of him & an other sick Indian the two
familyes Consists of ten Persons —
From your Hum.e Ser.t —
Col.o T. Pickering
£0.9.6 9/6
Rob.t King
3rd Decem.r 1790

Sir pay the within to Matthias Hollenback or Order
being for Value Recivd — Tioga December 9th 1790
Benjah Bunnerman

Col. Pickering
Gut Marquett

Order

Recd Decr 13th 1790
Matthias Hollenback

Newtown Decemr 13th 1790
Please to pay the Within to Degm Gronnell and
Send this Shall be your Rec.t from your
humble Servt
Isaac Patterson

Col Pickerin

£9. 6. 10½ Dumpst Carriage

I do hereby Certify that Mr. Josh Thomas Did Lend me a Large Canoe. to Carry the old & Lame Indens Down the River from New Town Point to Tioga Point; on the 14th Novmr 1790. which Canoe I had hawled out of the River at Tioga. and she was Shortly after Stolen. Mr. D. Charges five Dollars for. D. Canoe given. my hand this forth Decm: 1790.

Robt King

Col. Timothy Pickering

£1.17.6

---

(8)

Wilkesbarre Feb.y 9. 1796.

Sir

Be pleasd to pay Mr. Colt forty Shillings (out of the money I paid you by mistake for Capt. Satterlee) for a Saddle & Saddlecloth bought of him at Tioga in Nov.r last

T. Pickering

Matthias Hollenback Esq.

nber the 20 day 1790 -
Test Sam: Swan the Witness Sat
to Jorg Harnel - Jas Thomas

Rud the within Contents
Rdy 11 Fe 1791
Andr Scott

Memorandum of the Purchases made by Governor Clinton Commissioners of the State of New York, from the Six Nations.

1785. June 28. Treaty at Fort Herkemer. Lands between the Unadilla and Chenango, purchased of the Oneidas, for 11,500 dollars. 11,500

1788. Sept. 12. Treaty at Fort Stanwix. All the Land of the Onondagas – with a reservation of a tract for their use – for 1100 Crowns, Francfort equal in dollars . . 1237½
and 500 dollars in goods 500
and a perpetual annuity Annuities payable June 1st of 500. } 1,737½

1790. June 16. a "Benevolence" to the Onondagas, for confirmation – ,500.

1788. Sept. 22. Treaty at Fort Stanwix. All the Land of the Oneidas – with a reservation of a tract for their use* – in money 2000
clothing 2000
provisions – 1000
for mills 500 . . . 5,500

And payable June 1st an Annuity of – – – 600.

1789 Feb. 25. Treaty at Albany with some of the nation – All their Land of the Cayugas – with a reservation of 100 Square miles for them & the use of their adopted brethren the Tuscarora use – Consideration, money down – 500.
to pay June 1st 1789 – – – – 1625 2,125.

and payable June 1st an annuity of. 500.

1790. June 22d. Treaty at Fort Stanwix – Confirmation of the Cession of all the Cayuga Lands – the reservation excepted – for "a benevolence" of. – – [redacted] 1,000

Dollars 1,600. – 22,362½

* A reservation for the New England Indians at Brotherton was also made – and one of six miles Square for the Stockbridge Indians.

Dear Brother, Philadelphia Sept. 7. 1790. 97

I inclose a deed of the Middle-Field lot, executed according to the usage of this State, the Judges of the Supreme Court (as well as the Judges of the Common Pleas) being authorized by law to take the proof of deeds by one or more of the witnesses, as well when the grantor is living as after his death. And as the deed was to go out of the State I have procured the Public Seal to the authority of the Chief Justice.

The Convention of this state rose last ~~Friday~~ Thursday, having concluded their deliberations on a constitution for Pennsylvania. I inclose a copy for your perusal.

The President of the United States was here last week, and requested me to undertake a mission to the Seneca nation of Indians, to give them satisfaction for the murder of two of their people on the West Branch of Susquehanna in Pennsylvania. I have agreed to do it, & have sent by an express to the Chiefs of the nation that I will meet them at Tioga (the northern end of Luzerne county) on the 25th of October next.

I shall leave this city this afternoon, to return home. I rarely hear directly from Salem; the

the last transient news I heard was, that brother Williams was greatly indisposed. I am anxious to learn that he has recovered.

I wish my son would write to me: or if he is backward to do it, I shall be obliged to you, the next time you write, to give me some account of him, & particularly of his progress in literature.

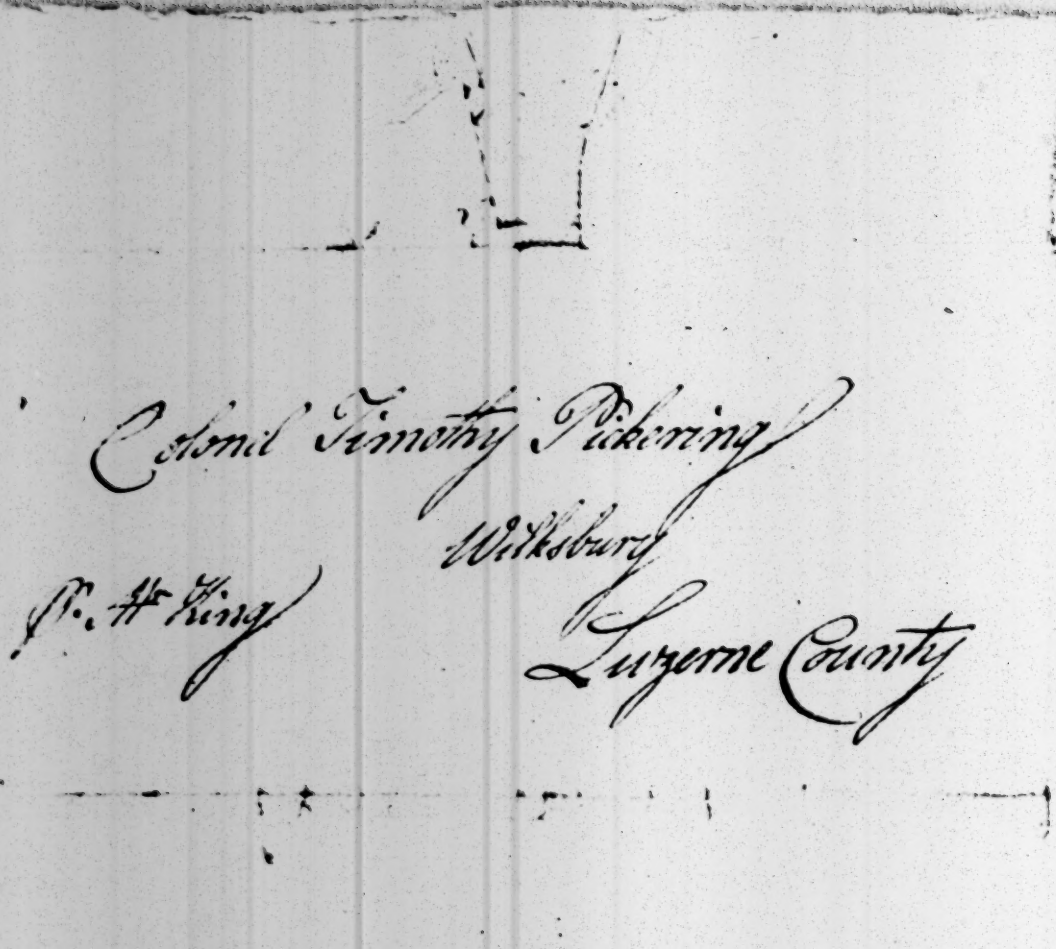
My family were lately very well. I pray God this may meet you & my easter friends in health.

I remain dear brother

most affectionately your

T. Pickering.

Salem, Sept. 7. 1790


Colonel Timothy Pickering
Wilksbury
P. H. King
Luzerne County

Geneva Sept. 12. 1790

Sir

Your favor of the 4th is noticed I have conferred with Mr Smith the Interpreter and pointed out to him what I judge to be the most proper method of conducting the business with the Indians. I have advised Mr Smith to use his influence to prevent the assembling of a large multitude that have no concern with the business as it seams to be the Presidents as well as your opinion. that it will be unnessary for any more to attend then a few of the Chiefs. Head Warriors and the friends of the deceased. I have also directed him to impress on their minds the greatness and goodness of the President and to assure them that they will receive the truth from him through you. — as Mr King informed me you had directed him to return to you. and as it will be unnecessary for him to go with the Indians as he cannot talk their Language I have therefor advised him to return — and have

&c.

Gen. Knox
Northumberland Sept. 9. 1790

directed the Interpreter that should any thing
special happen to give you seasonable Notice
— The Indians will send forward a Runner
to inform you when they will arrive and the
number that will attend. I think it probable
they will not exceed five hundred — I think
it of importance to you to have an interpreter
that you can conside in. it is probable the
Indians will have one Jones with them but
his integrity cannot be relyed on. Smith is
a better hated man then Jones but perfectly
under his influance and should you depend
on them you will be in danger of being impos
on (this I mention in confidence) perhaps Mr K
has a better opinion of them then he ought
have — I am now on my way to New Engla
should have been very happy to have waighted
on you at the treaty. but my business is such
as renders it impracticable — perhaps young
Gorham Son of Mr Gorham. who is now in
County will waight on you at Tioga —

I am Sir your real
& Humble Servant
Timothy Pickering

Oliver Phelps

Dated Geneva Sept. 19. 1790.

answer to mine on the Negociation to be had with the Indians at Tioga Oct. 25. th

rec.d Sept. 27. by Mr. King.

Memo. This day (Sept. 27.) wrote to Col. Wilson, advising him of the substance of this letter; & requesting him to write to his friends in Cumd. to get effectual measures taken for apprehending the murderers of the Indians; & to use his own endeavours for that purpose in the county where he lives.

Wednesday 4 [illegible] 1756 29

Sir as I understand you are appointed to hold
a Conference with the Indians at Diega point
I expect you will Indeavour to treat them with
with precision kind and if you will want
Beef Cattle it Shall be in my Power to supply you
with two or three I Should be glad if you
want them to let the Bearer Mr Bennet
know soas he may let me know

From your Humble Servant Isaac Hancock

To Colonel Pickering

Albany 9th 1791.

To

Colonel Fleming

Hemmings Sept.r 28.th 1758 p 30

Sir

Being informed that Commissioners from the States of Pensylvania are to treat with the Indians at Fioza the 25.th of Next Month in consequence of some misconduct of some of the inhabitants towards the Indians We are thereby much alarmed for our safety for they must pass directly through this Town to the Treaty, & they have often been here in small Numbers only disturbed & Insulted by the inhabitants by killing & pilfering their Property & we fear that when so great a Number are here as will be down at the treaty, that they will for Lack of Provision destroy much of our Property & drink perhaps may occasion some of the inhabitants to so great a degree as to cause to bloody Deeds, & the consequences be a final ruin to this Settlement in the above being mentioned to Mr. Fisher he advised us to request your favour to send an order to supply them with Provision to pass passing through this Town - & as that appears to be the only means to prevent the evil we so much fear, we now earnestly request that you will please to provide Provision immediately at Newtown Pinter some place above, that they may be supplyed with a sufficient quantity to last them to Fioza as they will soon be Strolling down in large Numbers - your compliance with the above request will be a favour never to be forgot by yours

Sir Sincerely Pickering Esq.r

most obed.t Humble Servants

Ezekiel Selby Esqr.
Lothian
Channing Sept. 28. 1790.

If my answer Oct. 5. 1790.
relative to provisions for
the Indians.

Ezekiel Selby Esqr.
Lothian
Channing Sept. 28. 1790.

If my answer Oct. 5. 1790.
relative to provisions for
the Indians.

Canandagua Oct. 4th 1790

Sir.

I have just arived from the Indian Countey and I Delivrd your Speach according to your desire and the Indians seem to be well satisfied with your message and they will meet you at Tioga point at the time appointed the King inform'd me that you wonted to know how many Indians their will attend the Treaty according to the best of my Judgment their will be between three and four Hundred you wish to that you wanted more of the Chiefs and relations of them that were killed but it is not in my power to prevent a large Number from coming for the Indians is such People that at such a time they think their will be somthing more than common

Your Hum. Ser.
Timothy Pickering Joseph Smith

Joseph Hinchman

Abner Kelley.

Thomas Baldwin.

Answer to the foregoing letter.

Gentlemen, Wilkesbarre Octr. 5. 1790.

I duly received your letter of the 28th ult.o & than
you for the information it contains. I intend setting ou
for Tioga very soon after our general election on th
12th instant; & will then make the provision for supp
ing the Indians on their arrival at Newtown, agreea
to your request. Should any accident detain me,
I beg you to procure such provisions as shall be esse
tially necessary for those Indians who may reach
you before my arrival, & I will see you compen
sated.

I am gentlemen

your obed.t Servant

Timothy Pickering

Messrs Bezaleel Seely
Joseph Hinchman
Abner Kelly
Thomas Baldwin

Shepherdstown Oct.r 7th 1790 34

Sr I received yours of the 1st Instant by
Mr Colt also the Ticket formed for
this County — I am informed of another Ticket in which
Mifflin is to be run for Govr and Wells
Representative — I cannot learn
the Objections againft me — however
people muft act their own Judgement
one favour I wish of you
that you will Supply yourself with
flour for the Indians at Shepards
mill provided you can have it as
good and cheap as at other places
this from Shepards will be from new
wheat — Cattle as I wrote before
I believe may be had in abundance

I am Sr yours &c
Obad Hoge

Col.o Pickering

Joseph Swearingen
Oct.r 4. 1790.
Indian Affairs
Shepherdstown

Col.o Timothy Pickering
Secretary at War
Philadelphia

Cond.r Gore esq.
Oct. 9. 1790.

Wishes me to get flour
for the Indians at
Shepherds mill

Northumb.d Town 18th 11th 1790

Dear Sir

Yours Recd for Robt King, I received a little Eight days ago from Mr. George Boyce informing me of the Indian goods arrival and he wished my Brother to send them on, I knew of no boat being down - Immediately there was no time to lose in sending for them - I immediately sent of Robt King and two more in a Canoe for them - they arrived Five days after the ~~arrival~~ with all but one Trunk of the Rum and about of the ~~flour~~ which they were obliged to give to Indians and waited three days for the arrival but have heard nothing of them as yet, I had Engaged with James Miller to take up the whole Cost 7/6 p Ct which I found to be more Reasonable than to Engage a Boat and hands I Discharged Robt King to take charge of the Store and to allow him what we ~~thought~~ Reasonable - the Walker and three Friends has declared the will take his life and he is obliged to keep out of the way in this Country situation I concluded we ought to give him some business and as we shall want some person to take charge of the goods and provision when we are holding the treaty, I hope this will meet with your approbation I wish to hear what accounts you have received from the Indians - I expect to set out from this place about the 20th inst James Miller desires me to inform you provided you can not borrow Rum to the amount of what it Cost he will dispose of you

and I shall have it at last use by the first convenience

they will have in this Country but what they

have taken cannot leave — I have sent all the Indians Guns

Who were Pd. and the Rifle Gun, the Gorget and two

Grand Sands shall take up my Bill —

I am Sir your Most Obd. Hble

Jno. Wilkins

N B since writing the above the Room I live in is wanted

you may direct by the Next Opportunity

Jno. W.

Col. Innes & Richmond

37

Timothy Pickering Esqr

Secretary of
War

Washington

Received of Timothy Pickering ten dollars to procure supplies for the Indians, for which I am to account. Oct. 31. 1790.

settled

Wm Rich

Nov. 17. del. John Hollenbach a copia, en Sol. Romet.

Lois Wilson, Portland.

Oct. 15. 1790.

Oct. 11. 1790.

Rec'd by mr. Williamson

Sunday Oct. 17th. 1773. set out from Virga.

19th [illegible] Spalding — Shipwrights — Shipwrights
20th [illegible] 6. 8.
21st [illegible] 6. 0 1. 0. 0. 8.
22d [illegible] 11. 0. 0 0. 4. 8.
23d (Hutchinson) Went to Newton
24th returned from Newton 1. 0. 0. 8.
25th (Hutchinson) 6. 0. 0
came to Newcastle — 26th returned to Egg Harbour
26th 6. 0. 8.
27th 1. 6. 4. 0.

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at Maxwells
Sunday Oct. 24th. dinner & grog
27th 6. 6d.
28th 6. 4. 8. 1
29th 6. 4. 8. 1 Shin remove, Seamen arrived.
30th 6. 4. 8. 1 2 Seamen ship left Port [illegible]
31st 6. 4. 6. 1 Gone Capt. Reft to [illegible] 2 [illegible]
1. 6. 0. 0. 0 went to Sleigh [illegible]
2. 0. 0. 8. 1 returned from D°
3. 6. 4. 8. 1 S. Billy stopped Work
4. 6. 4. 8. 1
5. 6. 4. 8. 1
6. 6. 4. 8. 1 3 Men Worked — Mr Spalding
7. 6. 4. 8. 1
8. 6. 4. 8. 1
9. 6. 4. 8. 1 Mr Elliott & Brother breakfast
10. 6. 4. 8. 1
11. 6. 4. 8. 1 Spalding Horse died. 2 young Indians stopped. Mowed
12. 6. 4. 8. 1 2 chiefs stopped

The conference with the Indians being proposed to be held at Tioga on the 25th of October,
Sunday. I set out from Wilkesbarre on the 17th for that place, for the purpose of procuring & engaging a supply of provisions for them.

Tuesday & Wednesday Oct.r 19th reached Chefsequineung, within four miles of Tioga; and the next day went thither & contracted for 100 bushels of wheat and 100 bushels of Indian Corn, 30 bushels at 2/6. Upon enquiry finding a plenty of both [redacted] might be obtained, & made no engagements for more. — In my way up contracted with Isaac Hancock for 3 beeves at 3.d a lb for the beef.

Thursday Oct.r 21. Having returned yesterday to Chefsequeunung, went to examine 5 fattening bullocks of Esq.r Gore, & agreed to take them, as they should be wanted. — Divers other persons offered fat cattle; but I forbore making engagements, finding there was a plenty.

Friday Oct.r 22.d Proposed going to Newtown, to make

Some

some provision for the Indians at that place, agreeable to the request of Esq. Secly Lothen, to prevent the inhabitants being distressed by the Indians. But Col. Spalding agreeing to go with me if I could wait till the next day, I postponed my journey

Saturday Oct. 23. Went to Newtown & engaged Esq. Secly to supply the Indians with Corn; Col. Spalding thinking that might suffice.

Sunday Oct. 24. Returned to the Shegequinning.

Full supplies for the Indians being thus secure, & hearing no news of their approach, - An

Monday Oct. 25th Went to Townadie; it rained all the afternoon, & in the night & the next forenoon it snowed.

Tuesday Oct. 26. Returned to the Shegequinning. Stopped at Esq. Gores. ~~Col. Wilson arrived~~

Wednesday Oct. 27. Col. Wilson arrived at Esq. Gores. After dinner we went to Tioga.

Thursday 28th at Tioga

Friday Oct. 29th Went with Col. Wilson as far as Newtown, with a view

of going to the Lakes — as I heard nothing of the coming of the Indians. Just calling at Esq. Seely's, was informed that 5 runners had left his house an hour before, & proceeded in a canoe for Tioga. So we returned, & reached Tioga late in the Evening.

Saturday Oct. 30. The five Indian runners came to my quarters, with Scott (whom they found the day before at Newtown) as an interpreter. The principal chief (named Tishkaaga — usually called Seneca Billy) ~~[illegible]~~ rose and addressed me in substance as follows.

(Suppl. f. 86) "We are sent on to inform you that the Indians will meet you here, agreeably to your request. We had been desired to attend another treaty: but the business of the present one being of great consequence, we determined to attend it. Great numbers will come to see you; and we request you to help them on their way, by having provisions prepared for them at the Painted Post & at Newtown Point."

He then delivered his Letters, with four strings of Wampum. One of the letters was [illegible]

public. It was signed Horatio Jones, & said to be written "at the request of the Sachems & Chief Warriors of the Seneca Nation." This letter is dated at Genesee Oct. 24. 1790.

To the Speech of Tiihdaaga I returned the following answer.

Suppl. t. 56 "Brother, I am glad to see you. I am pleased to find that altho' you had been invited to attend another treaty, you chose rather to attend the negociation proposed at this place.

"Brothers, I will consider of your request, relative to provisions for your brothers who are coming on, and speak to you again to-day.

To the question — How many were coming? — The Chief answered — "500. from Buffaloe Creek, and about 300 from Genesee."

To the question — When they might be at the Painted Post? He answered "That it was about ten days since they left Buffaloe Creek, and their people were to set out the next day after them; and in seven days they might be at the Painted Post."

Oct. 30. This afternoon I addressed the following speech to the 5 Indians.

Dupl. f. 5 ℣

"Brothers, I have considered of your request to have provision prepared for my brothers the Indians at the Painted Post and at Newtown Point.

"Brothers, It will give me pleasure to help them forward on their journey hither. I am desirous of doing the business on which I was sent by our Great Chief General Washington as soon as possible; and that my brothers the Indians may travel with more speed & convenience, I will supply them with provisions at the Painted Post and Newtown Point. But the provisions furnished at those two places can be no more than what will be absolutely necessary to enable them to come on to this place, where alone I expected to provide for them; and where I will have ready plenty of beef, flour & corn, to refresh and make them strong, and some rum to cheer their [illegible] hearts."

To

(Copy) Genesee River Oct. 21st 1790

Sir, [This was found in a letter of same date from H. Jones. – O.P.]

the indians is about coming forward to your Treaty at Tyoga, and they wish for provisions to be delivered them at this Place and should they not get it they will distress the inhabitants by killing their Cattle, and Stripping their fields of Corn, should you wish to furnish them with any, I can serve you with such provisions as you shall want

I am Sir

Your Humble Servt

Timothy Pickering Esq.r Sir. Wm Ewing

Genesee October 21st 1790

Sir

I take the liberty of informing you by letter of the trouble I have been at since the Commissioners for the State of Connecticut first came out into this country, to call the indians to treat with you at Tyoga, and I presume had not Mr. King the Gentleman who came out to call in the indians, have did me justice in informing your States I should have been called on at this time when Mr. King came out here in July, I rendered this business to the indians and was interpreter for him until he left the Place, the last time he came out he came within thirty miles of this Place and delivered your letters to a certain Mr Joseph Smith who brought them forward to me and requested that I would interpret them to the indians, and also send an Express on to Buffalo creek, and other grand to call in the indians, Mr. Smith at the time of delivering the letters did not inform me that he was invited to meet you at Tyoga and that I was not requested to do the Business as before, but I shall leave it to yourself to judge who is to be paid, but if there is any thing to be paid for what is done, I expect it as there was no Business

dick in Council but what I did, you will find by the Books what is right.

I am Sir Your most obed. Humble Servt

(Sign'd) Horatio Gonel

Timothy Pickering Esqr.

Genesis river Oct. 24th 1792

Dear Sir,

I have been inform'd you are appointed Commissioner for the State of Pensilvania, to treat with the Seneca nation of Indians at Tyoga, and they are now abo coming down to your Council fire, and they wish t be furnished with some provision at this Place and unless they are, they will distress the inhabita by killing their Cattle, & stripping their fields of co this is an acquaintance of mine Mr Horatio Gonel an Indian interpreter, who did the business for Mr King when he was out, and indeed is the only interpreter who can do business with in this Count who thinks he has not been well used by not being call'd on to do the Business at Tyoga, as he has had all the trouble in getting the Indians t part, and I am fearfull he will not prevent the Indians of doing damage to us at this Place

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obed. Humble Servt.

(Sign'd) Wm Ewing.

NB. if you wish to give them any provision at this Place I can furnish you with what you

Lieut. Wilson Esqr.

Tioga Point

Geneseo October 24th 1790

Sir

The bearer of this five Indian Men, are sent forward to your Council-fire, as an express to inform you that this People, not giting on by the Time appointed. is not intended to prevent their meeting. You, and that they hope their Brother, will not git out of patiance to lengthen the Time a little. and also to Inform you the Number of Indians which you may expect at your Fire, and that you may expect to see the faces of all the Suntah Tribe agreable to your request, and that they wish not to detain their Brother on no other business. but to settle that of Murdering two of their Warriors, at Pine Creek and they also expect their Brother, will not forget the antient. customes. of helping them forward to his fire- viz to hang some Kettles along the road, and also give them a little Staff. to cheer up their Spirits, they hope he will be kind enought. to send back a runner as soon as this express arrives to set the Kettles a boyling, they wish for a part of their Provisions at the Geneseo River and a part at the painted. Post and a part at New-Town point- Sir I have wrote you this Letter by the request of the Seechams and Chiefs Warriors of the Seneca Nation. and I also have furnished the express with provision to forward the business without your request- I am Sir Your Most Ob.t Humble Servt.

Timothy Pickeron Esqr.

Cornelius Wells

Horatio Jones - written
at the request of the Sachems
& Chief Warriors of the
Seneca Nation!

Rec? by the 5 Nations Oct: 30. 1790.

Sir Newtown Point Feb 27th

The five Indians have been here
And by them We Learn that the Will be
a Large body of Indians down to the
Treaty, We Also Expect that there
Will be Provisions Provided Less
for them. Mr Seely has sent
here for Capt Boardman to let
them have a few necessarys
When the Come but as there will be a
great number of them, it will
take a great Quanty of Provisions
therefore if you think proper
I Will (in Company with Capt
Boardman) Provide what ever
will be necessary for them
if you will Let me know by a few
Lines you will highly Oblige
your Humble Servant
Geo Flowell

Of Frederick Hillback, for twenty-two breakfasts furnished to a part of the Cumberland county militia, on the twenty-fourth of December, 1776, while on their march to Camp, amounting to sixteen shillings and six pence.

The committee on the petition from William Dean and others, relative to the return of Sheriff in Montgomery county, agreed to meet this day.

The Council met.

PHILADELPHIA, Friday, October 29th, 1790.

PRESENT:

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire, President.

Samuel Miles,	Amos Gregg,	Esquires.
Zebulun Potts,	Lord Butler, and	
Richard Willing,	Nathaniel Breading,	
James Martin,		

The committee on the complaint of William Dean and Christian Dull, respecting the election of Sheriffs for the county of Montgomery, requesting that John Richards, Henry Sheetz and John Pugh, Esquires, in whose hands the boxes containing the talley lists and votes are, be supœnaed to attend Council on Tuesday next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, in the Council, with the boxes containing the papers aforesaid.

The Cornplanter and the five Indians who accompanied him attended, and made to Council the following representation:

The Fathers of the Quaker State, Obeale or Cornplanter, returns thanks to God for the pleasure he has in meeting you this day with six of his people.

FATHERS:—Six years ago I had the pleasure of making peace with you, and at that time a hole was dug in the earth, and all contentions between my nation and you ceased and were buried there.

At a treaty then held at Fort Stanwix between the six nations of Indians and the Thirteen Fires, three friends from the Quaker State came to me and treated with me for the purchase of a large tract of land upon the Northern boundary of Pennsylvania, extending from Tioga to Lake Erie for the use of their warriors. I agreed to the sale of the same, and sold it to them for four thousand dollars. I begged of them to take pity on my nation and not buy it forever. They said they would purchase it forever, but that they would give me further one thousand dollars in goods when the leaves were ready to fall, and when I found that they were determined to have it, I agreed that they should have it. I then requested, as they

were determined to have the land to permit my people to have the game and hunt upon the same, which request they complied with, and promised me to have it put upon record, that I and my people should have that priviledge.

Fathers:—The six nations then requested that another talk might be held with the Thirteen Fires, which was agreed to, and a talk was afterwards held between them at Muskingum. Myself with three of my chiefs attended punctually, and were much fatigued in endeavoring to procure the attendance of the other nations, but none of them came to the Council Fire except the Delawares and the Wyandots.

Fathers:—At the same treaty the Thirteen Fires asked me on which side I would die, whether on their side, or the side of those nations who did not attend the Council Fire. I replied, listen to me fathers of the Thirteen Fires, I hope you will consider how kind your fathers were treated by our fathers, the six nations, when they first came into this country, since which time you have become strong, insomuch, that I now call you fathers.

In former days when you were young and weak I used to call you brother, but now I call you father. Father, I hope you will take pity on your children, for now I inform you that I'll die on your side. Now father I hope you will make my bed strong.

Fathers of the Quaker State:—I speak but little now, but will speak more when the Thirteen Fires meet, I will only inform you further, that when I had finished my talk with the Thirteen Fires, General Gibson, who was sent by the Quaker State, came to the fire, and said that the Quaker State had bought of the Thirteen Fires a tract of land extending from the Northern boundary of Pennsylvania at Connewango river to Buffaloe creek on Lake Erie, and thence along the said Lake to the Northern boundary of Pennsylvania aforesaid. Hearing this I run to my father, and said to him father have you sold this land to the Quaker State, and he said he did not know, it might have been done since he came there. I then disputed with Gibson and Butler, who was with him about the same, and told them I would be satisfied if the line was run from Conewango river thro' Chatochque Lake to Lake Erie, for Gibson and Butler had told me that the Quaker State had purchased the land from the Thirteen Fires, but that notwithstanding the Quaker State had given to me one one thousand dollars in fine prime goods which were ready for me and my people at Fort Pitt, we then agreed that the line should be run from Conewango river thro' Chatochque Lake into Lake Erie, and that one-half of the fish in Chatochque Lake should be mine and one-half theirs. They then said as the Quaker State had purchased the whole from the Thirteen Fires, that the Thirteen Fires must pay back to the Quaker State the value of the remaining land. When I heard this my mind was at ease, and I was satisfied. I then proposed to give a half mile square of land upon the line so agreed upon to a Mr. Hartzhorn who was

an Ensign in Generals Harmar's army out to a Mr. Britt a cadet who acted as a clerk upon the occasion, and who I well know by the name of Half-Town, for the purpose of their settling there to prevent any mischief being committed in future upon my people's lands, and I hoped that the Quaker State would in addition thereto give them another half mile square on their side of the line so agreed upon for the same purpose, expecting thereby that the line so agreed upon would be known with sufficient certainty, and that no disputes would thereafter arise between my people and the Quaker State concerning it. I then went to my father of the Thirteen Fires and told him I was satisfied, and the coals being covered up I said to my children you must take your course right thro' the woods to Fort Pitt. When I was leaving Muskingum my own son who remained a little while behind to warm himself at the fire was robbed of a rifle by one of the white men, who, I believe, to have been a Yankee. Myself with Mr. Joseph Nicholson and a Mr. Morgan then travelled three days together thro' the wilderness, but the weather being very severe they were obliged to separate from me, and I sent some of my own people along with Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Morgan as guides to conduct them on to Wheelen. After I had separated from Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Morgan, I had under my charge one hundred and seventy persons of my own nation consisting of men, women and children to conduct thro' the wilderness through heaps of briars, and having lost our way, we, with great difficulty reached Wheelen. When arrived there being out of provision I requested of a Mr. Zanes to furnish me and my people with beacon and flour to the amount of seventeen dollars, to be paid for out of the goods belonging to me and my people at Fort Pitte. Having obtained my request, I proceeded on my journey for Pittsburg, and about ten miles from Wheelen my party were fired upon by three white people, and one of my people in the rear of my party received two shot thro' his blanket.

Fathers:—It was a constant practice with me throughout the whole journey to take great care of my People, and not suffer them to commit any outrages or drink more than what their necessities required. During the whole of my journey only one accident happened which was owing to the kindness of the people of the town called Catfish, in the Quaker State, who, while I was talking with the head men of the town, gave to my People more liquor than was proper, and some of them got drunk, which obliged me to continue there with my People all night, and in the night my People were robbed of three rifles and one shot gun; and though every endeavour was used by the head men of the town upon complaint made to them to discover the perpetrators of the robery, they could not be found; and on my People's complaining to me I told them it was their own faults by getting drunk.

Fathers:—Upon my arrival at Fort Pitt I saw the goods which I had been informed of at Muskingum, and one hundred of the

blankets were all moth eaton and good fornot'g. I was advised not to take the blankets, but the blankets which I and my People then had being all torn by the briars in our passage thro' the wilderness, we were under the necessity of taking them to keep ourselves warm; and what most surprised me, was that after I had received the goods they extinguished the fire and swept away the ashes, and having no interpreter there I would talk with no one upon the subject.—Feeling myself much hurt upon the occasion, I wrote a letter to you Fathers of the Quaker State, complaining of the injury, but never received any answer. Having waited a considerable time, and having heard that my letter got lost, I wrote a second time to you Fathers of the Quaker State and then I received an answer.

I am very thankfull to have received this answer, and as the answer intreated me to come and speak for myself, I thank God that I have this opportunity, I therefore, speak to you as follows. I hope that you, Fathers of the Quaker State, will fix some person at Fort Pitt to take care of me and my People. I wish, and it is the wish of my People if agreeable to you that my present interpreter Joseph Nicholson, may be the person, as I and my People have a confidence in him, and are satisfied that he will always exert himself to preserve peace and harmony between you and us. My reasons for wishing an interpreter to be placed there, are that often times when my hunters and People come there, their canoes and other things are stolen, and they can obtain no redress, not having any person there on whom they can rely to interpret for them and see justice done to them.

Fathers of the Quaker State:—About a year ago a young man one of my Tribe who lived among the Shawanese, was one of a party who had committed some outrages and stolen a quantity of skins the property of David Duncan, being at Fort Pitt, was seized by the White People there who would have put him into confinement and perhaps to death had not some of the Chiefs of the Seneca Nation, interfered and bound themselves to the said David Duncan, who insisted upon satisfaction, for payment of the sum of five hundred and thirty dollars for the said skins so stolen, upon which the young man aforesaid was released and delivered up to them.

Fathers of the Quaker State:—I wish now to acquaint you with what happened to one of my people about four years ago, four miles above Fort Pitt: A young man who was married to my wife's sister, when he was hunting, was murdered by a white man. There were three reasons for his being killed: In the first place he had a very fine riding horse; secondly, he was very richly drest, and had about him a good deal of silver; and thirdly, he had with him a very fine rifle. The white man invited him to his house, to light from his horse, and as he was getting off his horse, his head being rather down, the white man struck him with a tomahawk on the head and killed him, and having plundered him dragged him into the river. Upon the discovery of the murder, my people, with Mr.

Nicholson and Mr. Duncan, had a great deal of trouble, and took a great deal of pains to find out the person who had committed the murder; and after three days' searching, they discovered him.

Fathers of the Quaker State:—About five years ago, one of my Cheifs, named Half Town, was sent to Fort Pitt to deliver up into your hands your own flesh and blood who were taken in the war, and before he returned two horses were stolen from him by the white people. Now, Fathers, I will inform you of another accident which happened to my people last winter, fifteen miles below Fort Pitt. My nephew, with a hunting party, being there, was shot thro' the head in Mr. Nicholson's camp, the particulars of which Mr. Nicholson, who is here present can inform you of.

Well, Fathers, I beg of you once more not to let such bad people be 'longside of me. And, Fathers, you must not think I or any of my people are bad or wish evil to you or yours, nor must you blame us for mischiefs that have been committed by the other nations. Fathers, consider me and my people, and the many injuries we have sustained by the repeated robberies, and in the murders & depredations committed by the whites against us.

It is my wish and the wishes of my people to live peaceably and quietly with you and yours, but the losses we have sustained require some compensation. I have, with the consent of my people, agreed to receive from you eight hundred and thirty dollars, as a satisfaction for all losses and injuries I and my people have sustained, and this being paid me by you, to enable me to satisfy such of my people as have sustained those losses and suffered those injuries, we shall, I hope, in future live peaceable together, and bury in the earth all ill will and enmity to each other.

Fathers of the Quaker State:—I have now had the pleasure to meet you with six of my people. We have come a great way, by your desire, to talk with you and to shew to you the many injuries my nation has sustained. It now remains with you to do with me and my people what you please, on account of the present trouble which I and my people have taken for your satisfaction, and in compliance with your request

Fathers, having come this great way at your request, and as it is necessary for some of us to remain here to talk with the Thirteen Fires when they meet, I have concluded to send back four of my people, and to remain here myself with Half Town and my interpreter, Mr. Nicholson, untill that time, which I hope you will approve of. But should you not approve of it, I must be under the necessity of returning with the whole of my people, which will be attended with a considerable expence.

Fathers of the Quaker State:—You have now got the most of our lands, and have taken the game upon the same. We have only the privilege of hunting and fishing thereon. I, therefore, would make this further request, that a store may be established at Fort Pitt for the accommodation of my people and the other nations when they go out to hunt; and where they may purchase goods at

a reasonable price. For, believe me, Fathers, you yourselves would be frightened were you to know the extravagent prices we are obliged to pay for the goods we purchase.

There is a man (Esquire Wilkie,) in Pittsburg, who has taken a great deal of pains to serve my people, and has pitied them; my people, when there, are very kindly treated by him, and give him a great deal of trouble, but he thinks nothing of it; he is the man my people wish should have the charge of the store.

Fathers of the Quaker State:—I have heard that you have been pleased to present to me a tract of land, but as yet I have seen no writings for the same; well, Fathers, if it is true that you have given me this tract of land, I can only thank you for the same, but I hope you will also give me tools and materials for working the same.

Fathers of the Quaker State:—Five years ago, when I used to be with my present interpreter Joseph Nicholson, he took care of me and my people. Considering his services and the difficulties he underwent in his journey from Muskingum to Fort Pitt, the Six Nations wished to have him seated upon a tract of land of six miles square, lying in the Forks of Allegany river, and Broken Straw creek, and accordingly patented the same to him, this being the place where a battle was fought between my people and yours, and where about thirty of my people were beaten by him and twenty-five of your people, and where he was shot thro' the thigh. Now, Fathers, it is my wish, and I tell you it is the wish of the whole six nations, in behalf of whom and myself, I request that you would grant and confirm to our brother and friend, the before named Joseph Nicholson, the aforesaid tract of land, as described in our patent or grant to him.

This, Fathers, is all I have to say to the Quaker State, and I hope you will consider well all I have mentioned.

Philadelphia, October.

his
CORNPLANTER, ⊁
mark.

his
HALF ⊁ TOWN,
mark.

his
BIG ⊁ TREE,
mark.

his
JAMES ⊁ HUTCHINS.
mark.

his
SENECA ⊁ BILLY,
mark.

his
JOHN ⊁ DECKART,
mark.

The Council met.

PHILADELPHIA, Saturday, October 30th, 1790.

PRESENT:

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire, President.

Mr. Samuel Miles,	Lord Butler,	Esquires.
Zebulun Potts,	Nathaniel Breading, and	
Richard Willing,	Amos Gregg,	
James Martin,		

The Comptroller and Register General's reports upon the accounts of George Wall, Esquire, Agent for the sale of Confiscated Estates in Bucks county, for his commissions and the expences attending the sale of a tract of sixteen acres of land in Bensalem township, in the said county, forfeited by the attainder of Samuel Biles of high treason, which was read approved in Council on the thirtieth day of June last, was this day laid before the Board; and thereupon, an order was drawn upon the Treasurer for the sum of nine pounds eight shillings and one penny, in favor of the said George Wall, being due to him for the expences aforesaid.

And a certificate for the sum of £2 17 2, was directed to issue to Mr. Wall for his commission upon the said sale.

A draft of a letter to the Cornplanter and the five Indians who accompanied him, in answer to the representation which they made to Council yesterday, was laid before the Board, read and adopted as follows, vizt:

In Council, Philadelphia, October 30th, 1790.

BROTHERS:—Council have seriously considered the several matters which you laid before them yesterday morning, and assure you that it is their sincere desire to have all your complaints examined into and satisfactorily and speedily removed.

But the change which has been made in the government of the State, puts it out of the power of this Council to give special answers to the most material parts of your speech.

On the first Tuesday of next December, the Legislature of Pennsylvania will meet under the new form of Government, and on the twenty-fourth of the same month the new Governor will commence his administration.

When those events take place, your speech, together with such further representation of a public nature, which you may think proper to make to us, shall be faithfully communicated to the new Government for their consideration and decision.

There are, however, two points on which we may with propriety now decide.

The first, the grant to the Cornplanter of one thousand five hundred acres of land by the General Assembly, on the twenty-fourth day of March, 1789.

We would long ago have ordered the survey of the land for the Cornplanter, but being willing to gratify him in his choice of a tract, we instructed General Butler to consult with him on that subject, and have waited to this time for his determination.

If he will inform us in what part of the unlocated lands of the State he wishes his survey to be made, we will order the Surveyor General to have the tract laid out without further delay.

The second point on which we shall decide, is the Cornplanter's request, that Half Town and Mr. Nicholson may remain with him in Philadelphia untill the meeting of the Legislature of the United States, or untill the President shall arrive here.

We cheerfully comply with that request, and approved of his sending back the other Chiefs and Warriors.

And in order to make the residence of the Cornplanter, Half Town and Mr. Nicholson in Philadelphia, as convenient and agreebly as possible, Council will instruct their Secretary to provide suitable lodgings for them in a private family.

Chiefs and Warriors who are to return to the Seneca Nation —

We desire you to inform the Seneca Nation that the Government of Pennsylvania entertain sentiments of the most sincere friendship for them, and are anxious to prevent injuries being done by its citizens to their persons and property.

But as evil disposed men exist in every society, and as violence may sometimes be committed by such men upon the persons and property of the Indians, the Government will think it their duty upon complaint being made of such violence having been commited, to endeavour to have the offenders apprehended and brought to Justice.

In the instance of the Walkers and Doyle, this Council has done everything in their power to have them secured and brought to tryal, they have succeeded only with respect to Doyle, but will continue their exertions for the securing of the Walkers.

Doyle will be conveyed next week to Sunbury under a strong gaurd, to stand his trial; should he be convicted, there is little doubt of his being capitally punished.

We wish you may arrive at your own homes in good health, and find your families in the possession of the same blessings.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Mr. George Hornell, Tioga Point Oct. 30th 1790.

Sir, I rec'd your Letter of the 28th offering to furnish provisions for the Indians on their arrival at Newtown Point. Before the receipt of it I had requested Esq. Seely to do it, & I expect he will provide accordingly. I thank you for the tender of your service ~~if there~~. I directed Mr. King to haul up your canoe, & informed Mr. Hepburn that you requested him to take care of it until you come down.

I am &c.

J.C.

Letter to O. Seely Esq.
& George Hornell
at Newtown
Tioga Oct. 30. 1790.
(copy)

Newtown Point Oct. 28. 1

George Hornell – Offer
supply provisions to th
Indians on their arriv
there.

Answered Oct. 30. 179

Col Pickering
Sec. Rumd.
Dep. of Indian Affairs

Sir

Tioga Point Oct. 30. 1790.

I have received a message from the Indians. They are on their way. They desire that at the former Post at Newtown Point they may be supplied with provisions. As they will depend on such supply, & it may induce them to hasten their journey, I have agreed to furnish it. Captain Ross goes forward for that purpose. With him one of the Runners who arrived here last evening with the message from the Seneca Nation. They are to return and meet the body of Indians, to inform them that provisions will be furnished at those two places agreeably to their request. I have written a letter to the Chiefs, which Captain Ross will hand to you; and I request you to accompany the Runners to interpret the letter to them. As you can well interpret, they will have no pretence for sending for Mr. Jones, & thus delay their journey. I desire you to urge them forward as fast as possible.

I am Sir

Yr. friend

T. Pickering

Mr. Jasper Parish,
at Newtown.

Letter to Jasper Parrish
Interpreter —
Tioga Oct. 30. 1790.
(Copy)

Fioga Point Oct. 30. 1790.

Sir,

I find the Indians will depend on having provisions furnished to them at the Painted Post and at Newtown Point. To prevent a disappointment, & with a view to hasten their journey hither, I have concluded to supply them at those places. You will take with you from Newtown a couple of fat cows or steers to be killed at the Painted Post. If Indian Corn can be got there, furnish a bushel to every thirty souls. To these articles you may add pumpkins and potatoes, in such quantities as you think proper, if they can be procured, & the Indians desire them.

This supply is designed only to serve them till they get to Newtown, which they may reach in one day. At Newtown Point it is probable Esq. Secly will have provisions ready for them. I gave directions for such a supply yesterday, when I was there, to prevent the Indians pillaging & distressing the inhabitants. I have now written to the Chiefs that at Newtown they shall receive beef, corn meal, & a little flour to cheer their hearts. You will help them to walk more cheerfully

Colo. Proctor Newtown

will receive these of Augt. Inst., and distribute them
as lavingly as you can among the Indians.
~~On the receipt of this you will of Augt. Inst. allow~~ The
little flask (or ~~the~~ liquor) you have, may be con-
sisting two thirds whiskey and one third water. Of
this you may deliver ^ what may amount to
one gill to each ~~man~~
woman grown per day ^ and no more. - ~~Of Augt. Inst. and during~~
The supplies you promise by the next ~~the~~ you pay for beyond the number of
your ~~people~~ ~~will~~ will pay for by the first of January next.
~~If~~ If you find any disposition in the Indians
to delay their journey, ~~I will~~ you ~~to~~ use your en-
deavours to hasten them forward.

I am, Sir,
Your friend & Servt.
J. P.

Capt. William Ross.

[Christian Lupe, has two very fat bullocks at Newtown Point.]

Instructions to
Captain Ross
Oct. 30. 1790.
Copy

Sir Tioga Point Oct. 30. 1790. 59

The Message delivered me by the Runner from the Seneca Nation, has determined me to make some provision for them at the Painted Post as well as at Newtown Point. Captain Rose, the Bearer, goes up for that purpose. On his return he will receive the provisions you get ready, & distribute the same among the Indians. The Runner informs me there will be seven or eight hundred of them. One pound of beef and one pound of meal (or Indian Corn equivalent) to each person, with pumpkins & potatoes, will be sufficient to serve them until they reach Tioga Point; and I would have nothing more given them; except a gill of liquor consisting of about two thirds whiskey and one third water.

The supplies for the Indians will be four times greater than was expected, & cannot therefore be paid for on the delivery. But for whatever you furnish I engage payment by the first of January next. I have found for some time past at this place: but what more I shall want has been offered me at 2/ a pound Pennsylvania currency, and I presume Capt. Rose will readily obtain it. What will be requisite for the Painted Post & Newtown Point at this price - I mean for the beef alone,

I am &c.

J.P.

Colo. Zebulon Seely Esq: Newtown.

Letter to the Chiefs &c.
of the Seneca Nation,
coming to Tioga -
Dated Oct. 30. 1790.

(copy)

For Mr. Parish the
interpreter.

[See f. 43, 44 dupl. of this]

Kishkaaga's Speech. [Seneca Billy.] Saturday Oct. 30. 1790.

Brother, We are sent on to inform you that the Indians will meet you here agreeably to your request. We had been ~~invited~~ desired to attend another treaty: but ~~as~~ the busines of the present one being of great consequence, we determined to attend it. Great numbers will come to see you; and we request you to help them on their way, by having provisions prepared for them at the Painted Post & at Newtown Point.

He then delivered his letters and ~~then~~ four strings of wampum.

Answer

Brothers, I am glad to see you. I am pleased to find that altho' you had been invited to attend another treaty, you chose rather to attend the negociation proposed at this place.

Brothers, I will consider of your request, ~~and~~ relative to provisions for your brothers who are coming on ~~their way~~, and speak to you again to-day.

To the question How many were coming? Kishkaaga answered; 500 from Buffalo Creek, and about 300 from Genesee. The number of the former he well knew: he ~~was from~~ & ~~the~~ his four companions were from Buffalo: but the number from Genesee he was not certain.

To the Question - How soon they might be expected at the Painted Post?
He said - That it was about 10 days since they left Buffalo Creek, & their people were to set out the next day after them; in seven days they may be at the Painted Post.

---

30. 1790. Brothers, I have considered of your request to have provisions ~~prepared~~ made ready for my brothers the Indians at the Painted Post and at Newtown Point. Brother, it will give me pleasure to help them forward on their journey hither; * and I will ~~therefore~~ supply them with provisions at the Painted Post & Newtown Point. But the provisions furnished at those two places can be no more than ~~will be only~~ what shall be absolutely necessary to enable them to come on to this place, where along I ~~am told~~ expected to provide for them, & where I ~~am~~ will have ready a plenty of beef, flour & corn to refresh & make them strong, and some wine to cheer their hearts.

Brothers, * I am desirous of doing the business on which I was sent by our Great Chief General Washington as soon as possible; & therefore request our brothers the Indians may travel with me as speedily & conveniently as ~~possible~~ they can, & that they may again return before

Sunday Oct. 31. 1790. Employed Capt. Ross to go to Newtown & the Seneca Nation by the United States to procure provisions for the Indians at that place. — Wrote also to Jasper Parish to accompany the two runners just back to meet the Indians, to interpret my letter ~~of this date~~ dated yesterday.

Speech from the Seneca Nation by
5 Runners
Tiihkaaga, or Seneca Billy, the Speaker.
Oct. 30. 1790.

Brothers, I have considered of your request to have provisions prepared for my brothers the Indians at the Painted Post and at Newtown Point.

Brothers, It will give me pleasure to help them forward on their journey hither. ~~for~~ I am desirous of doing the business on which I was sent by our Great Chief General Washington as soon as possible; and that my brother the Indians may travel with more speed and convenience, I will supply them with provisions at the Painted Post and Newtown Point: But the provisions furnished at those two places can be no more than ~~will~~ what ~~shall~~ will be absolutely necessary to enable them to come on to this place; where alone I expected to provide for them; and where I will have ready plenty of beef, flour & corn to refresh and make them strong & some rum to cheer their hearts.

Answer of ~~Farmer Billy~~ Kishkaaga.

Brother. ~~I~~ I thanke you for your good will. We were sent off in a great hurry. I will send a runner to meet the body of Indians, to hasten them forward, as they will now find provisions at those places. ~~If~~ You will provide me a horse I will myself go to meet them.

To which the Chief returned an answer to this effect.

Dupl. f. 57] "I thank you for your good will. We were sent off in a hurry. I will send a runner to meet the body of Indians to hasten them forward, as they will find provisions at those places. Or if you provide me a horse, I will myself go to meet them."

However, it was concluded to send back two of the runners, to inform the Indians that provisions would be got ready for them at the Painted Post & Newtown Point, and to urge them to hasten their journey.

The Chief desired that I would write a letter to the Chiefs &c. but this I declined, lest if they should have no interpreter with them they should halt, & send back to Genesee for Jones, & thus greatly delay their journey. However, the Chief was so urgent to have a letter written, I agreed to do it, & to send young Jasper Parish (who lived at Newtown) with the two runners, to read & interpret it. to

Oct. 31. Sunday. The two runners were sent off to meet the body of the Indians. At the same time I agreed with Capt. Ross that he should go to Newtown Point & the Painted Post, to procure the necessary supplies for the Indians, and at Newtown to deliver his horse to Parish, to proceed with the two Indian Runners. Captain Ross went off for the above purpose.

Monday Nov. 1. Col. Wilson & I went down the river to Sugar Creek, to view our two tracts of land. His lies about 2 miles up Sugar Creek, and adjoins the one in which I am interested.

The 3 Indians expressing a desire that Scott the interpreter might stay till another arrived.

Nov. 2d We returned to Tioga.

Monday Nov. 7th Major Hoops (who arrived this afternoon from the Painted Post) informed that Capt. Ross overtook him, & said Parish & the two Runners had arrived there; that the Indians were advancing; but not in such numbers as had been first mentioned: and that Mr Ellicott was at Newtown on his way home from the Indian country; & could give some account of the Indians & the cause of their delay.

28 [illegible] wages oxiller £1.1.4
74 meals victuals (self) 3.14.–
victuals for the Indians
at different times 104 meals 5.4.–
sundry persons ferried 12 meals .12.–
bread butter Cheese for the
Indians at last ferried time 1.2.6
horsekeeping one day 2.10.10
others
14.4.8
1 bottle wine —4.–
Expences of my joining to
Tioga & 4 miles back 1.5.7
last hire
10 gallons rum sent from
Philadelphia to Tioga — 2
which the waggoner or boatmen
drank out 1.
gave Andw Elliott 7.
ended at my quarters for
the Indians & Letter company 10
Two Liquors of N.E. rum were provided
for the Indians exclusively

Novr 25th 1790 [Robertson's Journal Nov.–Dec 1790]

I Set out from Tioga Point in Company with Mr Street & an Indian that Evening, arrived at Newtown Point—

26th Neither Chiefs nor Runners arrived till Evening, and then but a few, the old Chieff that Came first to Tioga in Company with Seneca Billy, was one of the first that Came forward, I Showed him the Beef that Mr Ross had Left at Newtown Point, but he objected taking it, alledging that it was not good—I had made application to Mr Isaac Baldwin to Supply me with Beef if the beef before mentioned Should Prove not to be good, but he Refused to furnish either Beef or flower. Except I would pay him for the Cattle to Newtown Point, which I Refused to do, Though afterwards he Sent the flower to the Point—& I Rec.d for it.

27th It Stormed all Day & the Snow fell about one foot Deep— 28th with Difficulty I Prevailed on Capt Bourdman to Kill three of his young Cattle which I Issued out to the Indians with other Victuales Next Morning, & then Set out for the Painted Post in Company with Mr Street, we arrived at the Post on the 30th but no Runners Came forward, tho the Chiefs had Promised me to find two to meet me & Receive the Provitions— 1st Decr the Chiefs arrived in the Evening & I Delivered them Part of their Provitions that Evening & part the Next morning— then I Proceeded to the Canoe which Lay about half a mile from the House. when I Came there I found the River frozen up— and I was obliged to Leave the Canoe & Return on foot. I Came to Newtown that Evening it Snowed all that Night & the most of the Next Day and I could not travel that day on account of the Depth of the Snow & the Woods not being Cross— I Set out on the morning of the 3d and I got to Tioga Point that Night with a great deal Fatigue— Sunday the 5th it Snowed & Stormed all Day

and Sett off by Myself all that Day, on Monday 6th with Difficulty
I got a Canoe & Proceeded Down the River to Capt. Gores
ys Proceed Down to Mr. Gaylords. & Lt to the Walnut
Bottom 9th in the morning the River Drove so full of ice that
I was oblidge to hawl my Canoe out & take in my Pack
on my Back & Proceed Down the River throw the
Snow, about one foot Deep to Tankhannock, 10th in the
Morning it Rain'd and Thawed which incouraged me to go back
for my Canoe 16 miles to Black Walnut Bottom 11th & Proc-
=ceded Down the River 12 Miles below Tankhannock
Where I Put up for the Night. & in the Morning I
Went to the River and found my Canoe Sunk with
much Difficulty I got her Hawl'd out, & then
Set out on foot and arrived at Wilksberry on the 14th

Robert Hamp Junr
Decr 31st 1790.

Brothers Chiefs and Warriors and the attendance
of the Big fire at Tioga Point we must inform
you that we Received your message on the thirde
Day of November Last at Canandaigua we Gave
you Great thank for Granting our Request acoding
to the Request of [illegible] the Runners that we Sent
wish
to you Brothers we you to Consider that we Expect
to Com all togather When we Due Com to the
Big fire that we may Due our Bisnes as Sun as
we com we must inform you that there is not
So menny as we Did Expect to Com there is abou
four anagoages and but a fue the[illegible]ourmus we
mus inform you that we are about two hunded
and thirty fore in this Compeny wich will Com
in one Company to the Big fire Brothers we desir
that you will not have any harm[illegible] thought it has
Ben along time Sence you have Ben Calling us to
your fare Brothers with two of our nation and
one of yours friends we Send tham Back with
a few words Brothers you must Consider that
we have Sum old People with us and Sum Little
Children We Expect to Com to the Big fire
nine Days from this Day if the we the is good

This is from your Bolkers Sachems Chiefs and
Warricons walking to the Big fire at Tioga Point

November 6. 1790

Col

Timothy Pickering

Tioga Point

Messrs. [illegible]
on their way to Tioga Point
Date Nov.r 6. 1790.
Rec.d by the Rhinebeck Nov.r 9.

Tuesday Nov.r 9. This morning Mr. Ellicott arrived. He informed that some white men, with ill designs, had prevented the Indians coming on sooner. That however they had concluded to attend the treaty. That General Chapin had killed two open for them at Geneseo, to put them in good humour, & meant to come himself to the treaty. That Smith the Interpreter would probably set off with Gen.l Chapin, and be here by Thursday. That the British at Niagara had endeavoured to prevent the Indians coming to the treaty. That he was at their council at Buffalo Creek, when they asked the opinion of a British Captain of Grenadiers, who advised them not to come. That the Indians then desired his opinion. He frankly gave it that they should attend the treaty. They desired him to read some letters which they said they had received. The British captain objected. But they desired it he read them. (Being surprized to find they were duplicates of the very letters he (Mr. Ellicott) had brought with him from President Mifflin) The Indians told him the interpretation given of them by the British had been very different from that now given from his reading.

Tuesday Nov. 9. Capt. Ross also returned this forenoon. He left Parish to deliver provisions to the Indians at the Painted Post. — The two Runners also arrived soon after.

P. M. The 5 Indians came to my quarters to deliver the answer to my letter of Oct. 30th. The Chief Tishcaaga delivered a speech to the following effect.

"I am glad the Runners have returned; and hope you are also glad: Many stories have been told among the Indians, which occasioned their holding councils; and so they were delayed. Bad weather & cold mornings also retarded them; for many are without mockasins; & I hope you will help them to mockasins on their arrival. The old men women & children who are with them also oblige them to proceed slowly. Now that the Indians know of the provision made for them at the Painted Post & Newtown Point, they will come on faster; and I hope you will have patience. tho' we began to be tired of waiting (as we suppose you was also the case with you). Every thing looks well; & we hope the treaty will be agreeable." — He then delivered 4 strings of wampum, & a letter written by Parish, in the Indian [illegible] Chiefs called Nov. 6. 1790

To this speech I immediately answered to this effect -

"Brother, I am very glad your two brothers the runners have returned in safety; & bring us news of the coming of the Chiefs & others of your nation to the treaty. Now that I know they are advancing I shall patiently wait their arrival. I told you the other day that I did not suppose the Indians were to blame for so long a delay; but some bad white men who were among them, who told them false stories; that therefore I was not out of patience with the Indians, but with those bad men who were the cause of their delay."

Tuesday Nov. 9. P.M. Finding by the accounts received that the Indians were coming on in good humour, and apprehensive that the restricted provision made by Capt. Ross would be insufficient for I had before no idea of their voracious eating, I concluded to despatch Robert King to the Painted Post, to procure all necessary additional supplies; & accordingly enjoined him to be there to morrow before night.

night, by which time they were expected to arrive, I gave Capt. Ross restricted orders, because I had been uniformly told since my arrival here, that Indians, were disposed to remain in any place so long as they could get provisions; & that they might have no inducement to delay, I directed only a small supply at the Painted Post, and but a moderate one at Newtown Point. But I now find they will eat two or three pounds of beef a man per day, besides bread & vegetables, Mr King therefore has orders to supply them to the full, but without waste; and without giving them the means of delaying their journey: I directed him to take with him two kegs containing ten gallons of rum, to leave at Newtown: but as their carriage will oblige him to move slow & prevent his reaching the Painted Post by to-morrow night, I have since ordered him to leave them for me to send up by another conveyance.

Nov. 11. Sent 10 gallons of rum by Capt. Thos. Baldwin to Newtown Point. He engaged to have it there against the arrival of the Indians.

Dear Sir, Tioga Point Nov. 11. 1790.

I have been waiting here above a fortnight for the coming of the Indians: but they are not yet arrived; tho' they will undoubtedly be here next Saturday. Some white villains among them, who wish to make themselves important & necessary on all such occasions, have greatly contributed to this delay. Tho' as soon as I arrived here, Col. Spalding (who is well acquainted with the Indians) told me I must not look for them in less than a fortnight: tis their usual practice to be extremely dilatory.

I am disposed to think the issue of the business will be satisfactory on both sides.

Mr Ellicott arrived here last Tuesday, & proceeded by water for Middletown, on his way to Philadelphia. He has completed his business. He says Presqu' Isle falls about mid-way of the purchase made by Pennsylvania of the United States, westward of the New York line. This territory contains about 200,000 acres - not a third of what it was imagined to amount to. - The Indians, he said retarded

retarded his business, and the British from Niagara endeavoured to prevent their attending this treaty. I have certain information of 234 advancing, & stragglers may make up 300. It is probable, from their deliberate manner of doing business, that I shall not get clear of them till the last of next week.] I shall stay at Wyoming till our county court is over, the first week in December, & in a few days after proceed to Philadelphia.

Our four tracts of land in this quarter are all occupied. The Shepards talk of buying the mill tract: but think 10/ an acre too high; and nothing is concluded. The occupants of the other tracts would purchase if they were able. On this subject I can be more particular when I see you.

We have had in the county a disagreeable Autumn — The weather has been for the most part raining & cloudy. I remain affectionately yours.

T. Pickering

S Hodgdon Esq.

Samuel Hodgdon Esq.

Philadelphia

Honble by
Major Hoops

New York 13th November 1740

Brothers

I have received your Letter of the 27th of last Month - I am sorry to hear that your Nation are divided into Parties and that Heats & Animosities exist among you - This ought not to be - You are Brothers of the same Colour and Blood, and you ought therefore to love one another - It is a Duty required of you by the Great Spirit and you cannot expect his Blessing to rest upon your Nation unless you obey his Will.

Brothers, as to the Agreement which we mutually entered into at Fort Stanwix, I can only mention what the Commissioners said on this Subject to your People who were at this Place last Winter and what I repeated to the Chiefs of your Nation when I was at your Castle last Summer, viz. That you have no Right or Authority to lease any Part of the Reserved Lands except a Tract of four Miles in Breadth on the South Side of it and even that for no longer Term than one Life, that is prescribed by the Agreement - That all the rest of the reserved Lands is to remain for the Particular Use and Accommodation of your Nation and their Posterity & are not to be leased or otherwise disposed of - This was made a Part of the Agreement at the Request of your Nation & the Chiefs had Warning to discommit that if they pretended Power either to lease or sell it the White People would soon get Possession of the whole of it so that your Women and Children would not have a Place left to build a Fire upon in their Native Country.

Brothers

Brothers

The Agreement between us as you wisely observe is for our mutual good — It must therefore stand inviolable forever and we are bound to each other to observe it in all its Parts — If therefore any of your People have or may to it Leases any of the Reserved Lands at Canandaigua They have done very wrong and so have the White People who have taken such Leases; and if any of them have already or shall hereafter attempt to settle on those Lands The Government of the State will on the Complaint of your Nation and being furnished with the Names of the Aggressors cause them to be removed as Trespassers.

Brothers — It is necessary for me to advise you with respect to the Division which you first are to make of the reserved Lands among your different Tribes — I candidly say that it does not appear to me to be repugnant to our Agreement if unanimously agreed upon by you, and I could wish the Measure to take Place if there is a reasonable Prospect that it will tend to promote the Interest of your Nation and Restore Harmony & Friendship among you — If this however I must leave yourselves to Judge. It may be proper at the same Time to observe that should such Division take Place it will not authorize the different Tribes to sell or Lease any Part of their Shares as this would be contrary to our Agreement

Brothers

8289

Brothers,

The Land on which Col. Dan Jenkins lives belongs to Individuals who have long ago bought it from your Nation and honestly paid for it — It is not therefore in my Power to interfere in that Business otherwise than by transmitting to them his Letter and your Request in his Favour; which I shall do; and if they give me an Answer I will send it to you.

Brothers

Agreeable to your Request I send you enclosed a Copy of our Law respecting Debts contracted by Indians with White People by which you will observe the Care our Great Men take to prevent Imposition from being committed upon you

Brothers I address this Letter to your Tribe because it is an Answer to your Letter to me; but it is my Desire that it may be read to the whole Nation as I owe any one any Thing but I wish them all to Clear

I am your Friend

To the Wolfe Tribe of the Oneida Nation

Dan. Clinton

Sir

Suffield 14 Nov. 1790

I wrote last week in Phila & sent a Letter sent with Capt. Obriel, who with one or two of his Chiefs are a going to recall them to the Congress get together, in order to represent to Congress the abuses they have met with, by the White People - he has a Speech prepared to deliver to the President, the Substance of which is, that I have cheated his People out of one half the sum I agreed to pay them for their Lands, that you & Butler and myself altered their Note from ten thousand to five thousand Dollars, by which means I have paid but one half of what I ought to have paid &c - in order to shew the Jealousy of their representatives will be necessary for me to have your & W. Deans Deposition to prove that the Writings were made right & were read & explained to the understanding of the Indians - As this is of importance to me, I must beg the favour of you to get W. Deans Deposition respecting this business, & also write you to make Oath before some Justice of the Peace of what you know on this subject, & send to me with W. Dean as soon as possible, for I am in trouble & Distress indeed - If you can send the Depositions & W. John

Jn.d B.n Jn.o Sanders at Shamokin, I wish
you to do it — & write him word that
Done by express — In haste I am
most affectionately, Sir your
most Obed.t Humble
Servant

Oliver Phelps

P.S. If you should
hear the Country Go
to Phila.a see Sanders
I wish to have your opinion,
& follow you what is
necessary for you
Sir to do — I am as
above — O Phelps

N.B. I omitted to have Mr. Dean mention that
he attended that treaty, that the Shaw
nese nations were together, that they
unanimously agreed to sell the tract
lands, that I signed a Deed for 5,000 Dol.s in one year &
for your Service, that the writings were
made accordingly & fully explained to the
Indians & in the writings delivered to
Col.o Butler — &c —

Oliver Phelps

Sunday Nov. 14th The Indians arrived late in the afternoon. I invited the principal chiefs to ~~spend the evening~~ with me at my quarters in the evening. They came, I manifested much good humour. They ~~made~~ some apologies for their delay in coming to the treaty; and told me they must wait two days for the Cayuga Chief, or to hear from them. That they had sent my letter by the Fish Carrier to the Grand River, & it had not been brought back. That if the Cayuga Chief did not arrive in two days, they would proceed to business without them. In answer I ~~told~~ reminded them how long I had been waiting, & the necessity of dispatching the business: but they said they must wait two days.

July 1. Friday. The Senators who agreed yesterday to meet this day at the Council House, and adjourned their complimentary speech; which they in familiar terms I addressed them, and adjourned them to this Council Fire. On both sides all tears were wiped away from our eyes, our ears opened & their throats cleared; and all our misfortunes were unanimously thrown away & buried. — Then they desired to hear how long I wd wait for the rest of their people coming from the southwestern settlements. I agreed to wait till Monday the 4th of July; but told them that then the [illegible] must proceed to business, and continue it without interruption until the whole shd be accomplished.

Speeches on Monday
Nov. 15. 1790.

The conference with the Indians of the Seneca nation relative to the murders of two of their people which took place in Pennsylvania, was proposed to be held at Hoge on the 25th of Oct. 1790. But they did not arrive till Sunday the 14th of November late in the afternoon. I invited the principal Chiefs to smoke a pipe with me in the evening: but all the chiefs & the warriors and at a very early hour: before it was possible they could have got over the fatigue of 25 or 30 came to my quarters. Having provision cooked for such a company, I ordered bread, butter & cheese; on which they feasted; and having plenty of rum and grog, they were well pleased, & spent the evening chearfully. The next day I invited them to meet me at the Council House. They came and the Conference with it as described took place. The preceding evening I found particularly with Mr Morgan that some Indians of the other nations, had come with the Senecas; and that the latter considered the injury done to them as an injury to the six nations, & that they must be addressed as representing the whole confederacy.

Brothers; Sachems, Chiefs & Warriors of the Six Nations!

I bid you a hearty welcome to this Council Fire; & thank the Great Spirit who has brought us together in safety. Tho' I sincerely lament the cause of our meeting: I mean the murder of our two brothers of your nation at Pine-Creek.

Brothers, I have already informed you, by letter, that I was appointed by our Great Chief, General Washington, to meet you on this occasion. You must well know that he is the President, or Great Chief, of the United States. What I shall say to you will be in his name, by the authority of the United States, pursuant to the powers vested in me by this commission, under his hand & Seal.

[The President's Commission to me was then read and interpreted.]

Brothers, I desire you to look on my commission, and observe the Seal of your Great Chief

Chief, & his name written with his own hand.

[My commission was then handed round among the Chiefs.]

Brothers, this is the first time that I have held a treaty with you, it cannot be expected that I am well acquainted with your customs: I therefore desire you to excuse any defect in point of form. But what I speak to you shall be the truth; which I am sure you will think more important than a strict observance of ceremonious forms.

Brothers, You now see, by my commission which has been read and interpreted, ~~to you~~ that, according to my letter to you, I was appointed to wash off the blood of your murdered brothers, & wipe away the tears from the eyes of their friends; and that this occasion was to be improved to brighten the chain of friendship between you and the United States.

Brothers

Brothers, You said the hatchet was yet sticking in your head: I now pull it out. I have now met you to wash off the blood of the slain, & wipe away the tears from the eyes of their friends. And as a token of friendship and peace, and of the perfect security with which we may confer together, I now present to you these strings.

[I then delivered to the principal chief, usually called The Farmer's Brother, three strings of wampum. After some consultation with ~~his brother~~ the Chief near him, he rose, and addressing me ~~replied himself~~ to the following effect:]

Brother,

We thank the Great Spirit who has appointed this day in which we sit side by side, & look with earnestness on each other. We know you have been long waiting for us; & suppose you have often stretched up your neck to see if we were coming. Brother, we

we sent your letter to the Grand River by the Fish-Carrier, and we have been waiting for its return: but it has not yet come to hand; and therefore we cannot yet properly enter upon business. We must wait two days for the arrival of the Fish Carrier, or to hear from him. But in the mean time, as the letter is not come back, we desire you to accept this belt as a pledge.

[He then delivered me a belt.]

[after a pause, the Chief called Red Jacket, rose and spoke to this effect.]

Brother,

We are happy to see you here; for which we thank the Great Spirit.

Brother, You say you are not acquainted with our customs. Brother, We are young: but we will describe the ancient practices of our fathers. The roads we now travel were cleared by them. When they used to meet our brother

of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, our brothers not only pulled the hatchet out of their heads, but buried it. You say you have now pulled the hatchet out of our heads: but you have only cast it behind you; and you may take it up again. Brother, while the hatchet lies unburied, we cannot sit easy on our seats.

Brother, From the time we made peace with the United States, we have experienced troubles, even more than before. The United States have also had their troubles. Brother, we now hear General Washington, the Great Chief of the United States, speaking to us by you; and hope our troubles will now have an end. But our eyes are not yet washed that we may see, nor our throats cleared that we may speak.

[As soon as Red Jacket sat down, I rose & spoke to the following effect.]

Brothers, You say that I have only pulled the hatchet out of your heads, & have not

not buried it; and that while it remains unburied, you cannot sit easy on your seats.

Brothers, In declaring that I pulled the hatchet out of your heads, I meant to comply with your own demand, in your letter to the president & Council of Pennsylvania; which was, that he should come and pull the hatchet out of your heads. However, to give you entire satisfaction in this point, as the hatchet is already pulled out of your heads, I now bury it; and pray God that it may remain buried; that its edge may never more be seen. Brothers, The United States have no wish but to live with you as brothers in perpetual peace.

I now wash off the blood of your murdered brothers, and the tears from the eyes of their friends.

[I then drank to their health &c a

[after

[(1w) After they had been served round with a glass of rum, the Farmer's Brother rose, & spoke to this effect.]

Brother,

You have now taken us by the hand, and washed our eyes. — Our women expect you will show them ~~the like~~ equal attention. They are here waiting your invitation, to receive the same tokens of your friendship which the last evening you ~~made~~ gave to us. Perhaps in taking them by the hand, you may see one who may please you. [a general laugh at the Speaker's humour.]

[I rose and ~~embraced~~ saluted the women]

Sisters, I am ~~happy~~ very glad to meet you here. I have seen agreeable women of various complexions, and doubt not such are to be found among you. I invite you to my quarters, where we may eat & drink together in friendship. I now take you by the hand as my sisters.

[I then went round and shook hands with every woman present]

Brothers,

When I last met you in Council, I buried the hatchet; and expressed my wishes that it might remain forever buried. I also assured you that the United States desired to maintain with you perpetual peace and friendship. You therefore now sit easy on your seat. And as I have often washed your eyes, I trust you can now see clearly.

Brothers, On the evening of your arrival, you told me you expected some Cayuga Chiefs (whom you wished to be present at the treaty) might be here in two days; and that if they should not arrive in that time, you would then enter upon business. — Brothers, the two days are now passed; and therefore I

have

have called you together. However, I mean but just to touch on business at present. To-morrow I will again meet you. If one day I can communicate to you all that I have in charge from the President of the United States. If you have any matters to lay before me as the representative of our Great Chief and of the United States, I desire you to do it the day after to-morrow: That so the treaty may be closed this week.

The occasion of ~~this treaty~~ ~~Brothers, At this time I ought to~~ ~~together~~ has been already mentioned. And it seemed proper ~~to assemble but a few minutes~~. ~~It is~~ that every ~~thing~~ connected with that occasion should ~~be~~ first ~~finished~~ ~~and settled~~. Accordingly, in compliance with your request, ~~that~~ the effects of your deceased brothers have been delivered up; ~~This being done, the rest of the~~ and yesterday ~~day may be spent~~, agreeably to your customs

customs, in mourning their unhappy fate. Brothers, I sincerely lament with you their untimely deaths. You say they were great men: their deaths therefore are the more to be lamented.

Brothers, I am grieved that there should have lived amongst us such bad men as those murderers of your two brothers. But in every nation there are some such men; though we hope their number is very small. All good men hate them; and every good government will pursue and punish them. In the present case, as the most likely way to succeed, a great reward has been offered for apprehending the murderers; and one of them has been seized and put in prison; there to be kept till the court shall sit for his trial. The others have fled from their

horned and escaped their pursuers. Should they return, doubtless they also will be apprehended. For besides the eight hundred dollars before mentioned, the Council of this State have promised for the taking of each of them an additional reward of fifty pounds.

Brothers, I have ~~already told you, and I now~~ assured you, that the murders of your two brothers ~~at Pine~~ ~~Creek~~ are causes of great displeasure to the United States: I further assure you that our Great Chief the President of the United States ~~is strongly angry with those wicked men the murderers~~. ~~I again assure you~~ that he will suffer no injury done to our brothers the Indians at peace with the United States to go unpunished, if the offenders can be found. I again assure you that all our brothers of the Indian Tribes may perfectly rely on his justice and goodness ~~of the Great Chief~~

~~Chief the President of the United States~~. If therefore any white man of the United States shall hurt you, make it known to our Great Chief or to the person whom he shall appoint that your complaints ~~will be heard~~ what is right towards you, he will cause to be done.

Brothers, You know that sometimes white men kill white men: yet the relations of the slain do not avenge their blood, but leave it to be done by the judges, who act coolly and without passion; and by a careful examination, distinguish the innocent from the guilty. Whereas if the father and brothers of the slain should be allowed to take revenge, they, with their blood boiling, & mad with resentment, would often kill the innocent instead of the guilty. ~~Those~~ Brothers, This is the law of white men: 'tis especially the law of the United States. Brothers, you will allow the principle, or reason of the law to

be

be just; and being just, we trust you will, in all times to come, make it the rule of your conduct toward your brothers of the United States.

Brothers, You have demanded the property of the murderers of your two brothers. I have enquired for their property, and am informed they were poor men, possessing nothing but a little land, which can be of no use to you. Besides, the laws of the United States do not allow of such a forfeiture. If a white man kills a white man, neither the mother nor other relations of the deceased can claim the property of the murderer. All they can demand is, that the murderer may be tried to apprehend the murderer if taken, and if found guilty that they be put to death. Brothers, in the present case, the United States do for you what the law requires to be done for their own citizens. For the President has ordered me to present to you a quantity of goods as an attonement for the blood of your brothers that was spilt. These goods I will deliver to you.

Brothers.

And your custom at treaties, at the delivering speech to deliver a belt, or string, according to the importance of the matters pertaining the subjects. I am not provided with those tokens of remembrance mementos, or means of remembrance. nor are they to be obtained at this place. But in your part you can still observe your ancient rules, which will be entirely satisfactory to me. In return you will allow me, as well from a sense of propriety, as the necessity of the case, to observe the customs of white men. I therefore present to you an exact copy of the Speech I have just delivered. It will always inform you truly of every thing I have now said: and therefore I desire you to receive and preserve it. As a testimony of the exactness of the copy, and of the fairness with which I have dealt with you, I have subscribed my name, and affixed my seal, to it. Dated at Fioga Town the 18th day of Nov. 1790.

Commissioner in behalf of the United States

X They are not in use among white men, in their treaties. Instead they use every thing necessary to be remembered is put down in writing; by which means, whatever is done at a treaty will be as well known to their children & children's children as if they had been living & present at the Council fire. This excellent method of preserving the memory of important facts, is one among the wisest customs of white men, & must be very valuable to you.

[1790, Nov. 21]

Brothers, (Copy)

When I last met you in Council, I received the Hatchet; and expressed my wish that it might remain forever buried. I also assured you that the United States desired to maintain with you perpetual peace and friendship. You therefore now sit easy on your seats. And as I have often wiped your eyes, I trust you can clearly

Brothers, The occasion of this Treaty has been already mentioned. It seemed proper that every thing connected with that occasion should first claim our attention. Accordingly in compliance with your request, the effects of your deceased brothers have been delivered up: one yesterday was spent, agreeably to your customs, in mourning their unhappy fate. Brothers I sincerely join with you in lamenting their untimely deaths -

It now remains for me to assure you, that the murders of your two brothers "are causes of great displeasure to the United States". I am also to explain to you the measures which have been taken to bring the murderers to justice -

In the first place, the murders having been committed in Pennsylvania, the President and Council of that State offered a reward of eight hundred dollars to any person who should apprehend the murderers; that is, two hundred dollars for each, to be paid when the murder should be true and found guilty - And in the next place, the President and Council promised a reward of fifty pounds for the taking of each of the murderers, to be paid on their commitment to prison. Brothers, such is the information on this head which I have received from my brother Colonel Wilson, who is one of the Council, and is here present -

Brothers, in the United States, the promise of rewards is the most effectual method of getting the murderers. It has in part succeeded in the present case. One of the offenders has been taken and put in prison. And the reward of fifty pounds has been paid to the two men who took him. The other three

murderers have fled, and probably gone to places where they are not known. Should they return, as may reasonably expect they will be taken.

Brothers, I have assured you that the murders of your two brothers are causes of great displeasure to the United States. I further assure you, that our great Chief, the President of the United States, will suffer no injury done to our brothers the Indians at peace with the United States, to go unpunished, if the offenders can be found. I assure you that all our brothers of the Indian tribes may justly rely on his justice and goodness. If therefore any white man of the United States shall hurt you make it known to our great Chief, or to the person whom he shall appoint to hear your complaints: and what is right towards you he will cause to be done.

Brothers, you know that sometimes white men kill white men: but the relations of the slain do not avenge their blood but leave it to be done by the Judges, who act coolly and without passion; and by a careful examination, distinguish the innocent from the guilty. Whereas, if the fathers and brothers of the slain should be allowed to take revenge, they, with their blood boiling, and with resentment, would often kill the innocent instead of the guilty. Brothers this is the law of white men: 'tis especially the law of the United States. Brothers you will allow the principle or reason of this law, to be just; and being just, we trust you will, in all times to come, make it the rule of your conduct towards your brothers of the United States.

Brothers you have demanded the property of the murder of your two brothers. I have enquired for their property and am informed they were poor men, possessing nothing but a

[1790, Nov. 18]

[illegible] little land, which can be of no use to you. Before the laws of the United States do not allow of such a punishment. If a white man kills a white man, neither the mother nor other relations of the deceased can claim the property of the murderer. All they can demand is, that person may be safe to apprehend them, and if taken and found guilty, that they be put to death. But in the present case, Brothers, the United States do more for you than the law requires to be done for their own citizens. For the President of the United States has directed me to present to you a quantity of goods as an atonement for the blood of your brothers that was spilt. Which goods, in convenient time, I will deliver to you -

Brothers, It is your custom at treaties to deliver belts or strings of wampum, according to the importance of the subjects treated of. I am not provided with those ornaments, or means of remembrance; nor are they to be obtained at this place. They are not in use among white men in their treaties. But instead thereof, every thing necessary to be remembered is put down in writing: by which means whatever is done at a treaty will be as well known to their children and children's children, to the latest posterity, as if they had been living and present at the Council. This excellent method of preserving the memory of important facts, in use among the wisest nations of white men, cannot be unacceptable to you. But, nevertheless, Brothers, on your part you can observe your ancient rules, which will be entirely satisfactory to me. In return you will allow me, as well from a hope of prosperity, as the necessity of the case, to observe the customs of white men. Therefore present you an exact copy of the speech I have just delivered

It will always inform you truly of every thing I have said. And therefore I desire you to receive and peruse it.

Brethren, as a testimony of the sincerity of the co[nt]ents and a proof that all I have said to you is true, I have set my seal to it, and subscribed my name—

Dated at Vincennes Point the eighteenth day of November, 1790

Timothy Pickering

Commissioner on the part of the United States

(21)

Col Pickering's Speech
Illinois & Wabash Ind.
1790—

(21) 18 Nov 1790

Col Pickering's Speech
at Fort

suspect you will be in danger, by coming to see us: but be assured you have nothing to fear.

Uncle, I heartily bid you farewel

Heantenhtonk.

To Mr Jonathan Delong,
At Bald Eagle, on the West Branch
of the Susquehannah

Letter of the
Young Chief
Heantenhtonk
Nov. 19. 1790.

Colo. Wilson, a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania then delivered a speech, ~~in behalf~~ in behalf of the President & Council, informing the Indians that the President did not attend come to meet them, as they had required, because the State of Pennsylvania had now no power to treat with them, all power of in such case being transferred to the United States: and that the President of the United States had accordingly appointed me to hold the present treaty. He recited the measures taken by the Council to apprehend the murderers, as I had before stated them; and exhorted the Indians of the friendship of Pennsylvania. - He concluded with telling them that he should set off the next day to go home. As soon as he had done speaking, Red Jacket rose and addressed him as follows. "Brother of Penn: &c

Speeches on
Friday Nov. 19th 1790.

Bro^th of Per^a

You have now let out all you had to say for
the Govr of Per^a. Y^r Brother have heard it all as
he did to you before. B: you have
~~to trust in your friend at this time~~, because
you were going ~~to~~ to
~~to speak to him~~ ~~then~~ ~~as~~ ~~he~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~in~~ ~~any~~ ~~thing~~ ~~else~~ brought to a tryal.
What you said y^r Brother rel. to the
their minds are easy. But it is not customary to
turn the back ~~in battle or flee~~ from the enemy, what is to be
said is further. Now B. we are going to speak.
B. You must stay, till the business is
over, other you can till y^r great man all
that has been done. B. You must be easy stay
a little till the business is done.; other wise
y^r brother minds will be in danger of being
disturbed. When the business is finished
~~then~~ ~~you~~ ~~can~~ ~~take~~ ~~your~~ you can take your
brother by the hand & part in friendship.

gave us this paper as a remembrance of this treaty: We shall take care of it as such.

[Then having laid by the copy of my speech, and taken up six strings, he proceeded thus -]

Brother, We have now found the design of your meeting us; and we are well satisfied with the speeches you have made to us. We thank you, Brother, for what you said yesterday; and that you told us it was spoken in sincerity, and expressed the minds of the thirteen States.

Brother, Since the peace we have met with trouble every where. Brother, We thank you that you have taken the tomahawk out of our heads & buried it. It is now our mind to take the tomahawk out of your head and bury it; and wish it may never rise again.

[Then he delivered me six strings.]

Now Brother open your ears to hear what we have to say
The Great Spirit has appointed this day for you to open
your fire again. Yesterday you opened your fire & set
it a blazing, & said you were glad to see your brethren
sitting side with you. Brother you told us you
were sent by the Great chief of the U.S. to draw the
tomahawks from their heads & desired us to give
great attention. You sent us word of the treatment
our brothers rec.d at Pine Creek & that you would take
us by the hand as Friends & open the business you were
sent upon. B. It was very hard that some of our brethren
in the back country among yr. people should be killed
used as they were. B. You said we desired you would
bring on the effects of the deceased, as the sight of them
wd. comfort their friends. B. You told us to keep our
minds easy because the murderers were advertised
& ordered to be brought to Justice. B. you
told us to make our minds easy, as one of the murd.rs
was taken & would share the same fate with our brothers & that advertisements were
scattered thro the states & if the others were taken that
they also would be treated in the same manner.
B. There is another thing you told us that the U.S. had
a regard for the I. & loved them & that what you
said came from yr. hearts. This you told us was the
mind of the U.S. that our people might return back
safe & home & in safety: but some of yr. bad men had
disturbed the minds of the U.S. B. You told us the U.S.
had a regard for the Ind. nations. & wished them to pass
freely to & fro & kindled a fire here, because they had a regard
for us. B. You told us it was the mind of the U.S. when
you set off, to have all the Ind. out of our hands & keep it.
B. You then spoke again, & said you knew a little of the ways of the
whites that they gave both. but that you would give us reason if we
differed in the way of the white people B. you told us that
if we had a mind to see the head of the President of the U.S.

we might see it. Then bro. you told us we might take
this paper & keep it as no person could alter it or add
any thing to it [pointing to the string you had in his hand]
to it for y^{r} land & goal to it. That if we had in the prose
cess an express we could at any time get them to read it, & we
should know what you had said. Also that by keeping it we
could produce it at any treaty called by Congress, when
what you had done might be seen. Upon wch you gave
us this paper as a remembrance of this treaty: We shall take
care of it as just. [Then he laid aside the paper]

B. We have now found the design of y^{r} meeting us. &
we are very well satisfied with the speech you have made
to us. We thank you. B. you told us that what you said
& intended to say, it was taken in writing, & it was
read over to you in the presence of the 13. sachems.

B. We thank you that you have taken the tomahawk
out of your hands & buried it. Since it was peace we have met with
trouble everywhere. B. We thank you that you have taken & buried
the hatchet & buried it. It is now our minds to take ye tom
out of your hands & bury it & wish it may never rise again

Red Jacket [Having a belt in his hand]

B. Now you will begin to hear a few words which y^{r} Fathers have to
say to you. B. You told us you we must follow our own
customs in using belts. B. This was the mind of our people
These were their rules & they told their sons to observe
same as they or the world should laugh. One y^{r} came
to tell us that when the peace was made we might soon brush
out. & directed us to use such belts as this to preserve
friendship that it might never be broken. B. That we
are to take that and to take
the hands or chiefs we have the most
to keep the minds of our nation quiet. [One son went to tell
us that when a treaty was finished by preserving the belts we
have should tell our children what had been done] B. That
we might also tell us, That we shd meet with troubles, but never
find what they did has cause to quit. B. You have been trou
ble to settle the present difficulty. We shall now tell you
to do it. B. One son was to tell us that when we had
business with any nation we shd [illegible] in peace with the Great
a belt to make them pull it up, & the belt to carry all the trouble

B. This is what we further to say: that the business
was done to make a hole in it and to bury it. It is now
time to do it in the present case. Now the business is
almost completed. It is now time to stick in the stake - that
all may see it. Now B. it is for you must caution your People
of P. that your brother may pop trespass may be expected
You may expect that we will do the same. We will caution
to our people, to do the same, that the white people may pop
trespass freely. We sit side by side; let us be done
B. Now this business is done, according to our
ancient custom. [Then he delivered me the belt]
finished

B. W. 13 States, & Pen.a Now this business is done. You
told us you had something more to say to us, in behalf of
the States of Pen.a But it is time to wash the
tobacco away our mouths - for we can hardly speak.

[I intend nothing to be taught [illegible] that every word may be strictly adhered
to as usual each day at receiving from the Council Fire this also they may have to be
mentioned in their answer in treating with their Father]

Thirteen. B. Your speeches till this day have given me great satisfaction & I
they will afford much pleasure to the President
our Great Chief and to all the People United States. Though I
to our Great Chief
was a stranger to you, yet from the beginning I observed
in all of you so much good temper & [illegible] pleasing
disposition
countenance, that I flattered myself this treaty would end
happily; and my expectations are perfectly gratified. I
feel the more pleasure at this happy accordance of the
trouble occasioned by the bad conduct of some of our citizens,
because I considered it in part as the consequence of
sincerity, manifested not only in my
words, but in my countenance & whole behaviour in
your presence. I trust Brothers I have your confidence;
[illegible] that you fully believe that I have said what I really
[illegible] Depend on it Brothers,
my [illegible] will be true. While
continue on your chief
Gov. Washington, [illegible] he
persons will be appointed to treat with you, but [illegible]
in whom you may place confidence: for
in every thing he acts with sincerity, and in all his
actions strives to promote peace & the public good.

[Then delivered to the Head Chief, Honaieyenres, or as he is called The Farmers Brother, a transcript of the foregoing speech, ~~and to the same~~ the pages being numbered and ~~the~~ the leaves ~~being~~ stitched together with a broad green ribbon, ~~and~~ my seal affixed., ~~as above~~. The Farmers Brother then rose and spoke as follows]

"Brother, This day is appointed to open the Council Fire at Tioga. I desire you to look at your brothers who sit here in peace and at ease."

Your brothers have heard what you had to say, with great attention.

Brothers, We thank you for the speech you have delivered to us. We have looked upon it. What you have delivered, you said came from your heart, and you desired us to lodge it in our breasts.

Brothers, You must believe that what we speak will come from our hearts. We will take your speech into consideration; and give you an answer to-morrow.

This is all we have to say this day.

[Here The Council ~~ended~~ ended for this day.]

(No. 1.)
Speech (Nov. 18. 1790.
Thursday)
(Green Rillon)

Now Brother open your Ears to hear what we have to say
The Great Spirit has appointed this day for you to open
your fire again. Yesterday you opened your fire & set
it a blazing, & said you were glad to see your brothers
sitting side with you. Brother you told us you
were sent by the great chief of the US. to draw the
tomahawk from our head & bury it & desired us to give
great attention. You sent us word of the treatment
our brothers rec^d at Pine Creek & that you would take
us by the hand at Tioga & open the business you were
sent upon. B. It was very hard that some of our brothers
in the bush a hunting among ye people should be killed
used as they were. B. You said we desired you would
bring in the effects of the deceased, as the sight of them
w^d comfort their friends. B. You told us to keep our
minds easy because the Murderers were advertised
& ordered to be brought to Justice. B. your

[Friday November 19. 1790. The Indians having met me at the Council-Fire, The Farmer's Brother delivered the following Speech: Having in his hand the copy of the speech delivered yesterday.]

Now Brother open your ears to hear what we have to say. The Great Spirit has appointed this day for you to open your fire again.

Brother, You told us you were sent by the Great Chief of the United States to draw the tomahawk from our heads and bury it, that it might never more be seen, and desired us to give great attention. — You sent us word of the treatment our brothers received at Pine Creek, and that you would take us by the hand at Tioga, and open the business you were sent upon.

Brother, It was very hard that some of our brothers in the bush, a hunting among your people, should be used

as

as they were. Brother, You said we desired you would bring on the effects of the deceased, as the sight of them would comfort their friends. Brother, You told us to keep our minds easy, because the murderers were advertised, and endeavours used to bring them to justice. Brother, You told us to make our minds easy as one of the murderers was taken and would share the same fate with our brothers; and that advertisements were scattered thro' the states; and if the others were taken that they also would be treated in the same manner.

Brother, There is another thing you told us,— That the United States had a regard for the Indians, and loved them; and that what you said, came from your heart. This you told us was the mind of the United States — That our people ~~might~~ thro' pass backward and forward in safety: But that some

of your bad men had disturbed the mind of the United States. Brother; You told us the United States had a regard for the Indian nations, & wished them to pass freely backward and forward; and kindled a fire here, because they had a regard for us. Brother, You told us it was the mind of the United States, when you set off, to pull the Tomahawk out of your heads and bury it. Brother, You then spoke again, & said you knew a little of the ways of the Indians; that they gave belts: but that you would give us papers instead of belts, in the way of the white people. Brother, You told us that if we had a mind to see the letter of the president of Pensylvania, we might see it. Then, Brother, You told us we might take this paper and keep it, that no person could alter it, as you had set your hand & seal to it; and that if we had interpreters among us, we could at any time get them to read it, and we should know what you had said. And that by keeping it we could produce it at any treaty called by your Great Council, when what you had done might be seen. You said you gave

[Fol. 81 should precede this]

Farmers Brother Saturday Evening Nov. 20. 1790.

Brother. This day you have met us in council & have given attention to what you had to say. As soon as the Chiefs assembled in Council you desired the head chiefs would wait on you here, after the council was over. Particularly for of ye Chiefs 2 from Buffalo & 2 from Genesee, & you desired us not to fail coming to your quarters. Because some of us came according to y^r desire, & you have expressed your desire to know whereon our mistake. This you desired you said because there was a difference in the customs of the white people; & you supposed ours differed also, and that you wanted to do as we & what you had to do. You told us that in a case like the present among white people, the property went to the relations of the deceased as the mother or other friends. You told us you wanted to know the way of the Indians at this time, that you might not go out of the way. The ways of the white people & Indians are different in such case, & therefore you asked an opinion, that you might dispose of the goods in such manner as would satisfy y^r guests. You told us you had a small quantity of goods here, desired to know how you sh^d dispose of them according to our rules.

R. B. the 13 States. We have met this day: and it is the first time that it looked like brightening the chain of friendship. That was the rule of our forefathers in old times in treating with our brethren of N York, who used to treat in the manner you are now doing. That way of doing was the chain was kept bright in the time of Sir Wm Johnson. That when goods were to be delivered, they were put on one side, when the Indians were present at that time if a person was killed, belts were used; & if a person was killed a belt was delivered to the relations of the deceased to comfort their minds. You supposed you must observe the same custom. You have a small parcel of goods to deliver, suppose & perhaps no belt, supposing the goods were sufficient. It is the minds of us who are here, that the old rule of forefathers shd. now be observed.

as you desire to know our rules, we have now told you what they are.

You now see the burthen which lies upon the Chiefs. They take pain, to keep the Chain of Friendship bright.

We see have all the trouble to call these business assemblies; & you thought you w^d. take an opportunity of discoursing with them on the subject. You see these are the Chiefs intrusted the business, & have all the trouble of the nation, & the person who hinders the Council from their rest, his pleasure in giving them something is particular or not, as he thinks fit, for their trouble, for it is not for the chiefs to say what they will have.

Now you know our method of proceeding & what has been the practice at other treaties.

We have young warriors who are light & can move quick, who are often sent with messages; and it is common to reserve something for them over & above proportion to reserve more than for their trouble, because they cannot at their pleasure go a hunting, but must wait the determination of the Chiefs and run when they desire it.

3 Sachems.
3 war Chiefs. } Red Jacket's tribe

3 Sachems
3 War Chiefs } Farmers brother tribe

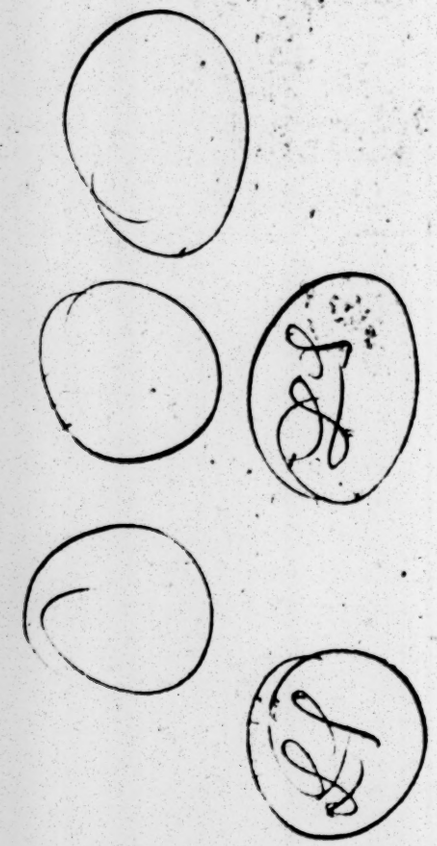
1 Chief of Onondagas.
6 Chiefs & War Captains — Little Beard's tribe — Farmers

1 Sachem
5 war chiefs } Big Tree's tribe

25

— Warriors of the second Class of the oldest men 10 abroad

Farmers Brother &
Red Jacket's speeches
relative to the distri-
bution of the goods
in the County of
Nov. 20. 1790.
in presence of the
other two Chiefs
Little Beard &
Big Tree



Saturday Nov. 20. 1790. Red Jacket

Brother The Great Spi. has appeared this day. We
are glad we met you at the Council Fire & that
you delivered what you had to say to us. Yr. Bros. the
whole, men & children, are well pleased with what you
have said as it will preserve us in friendship. You
must keep yr. mind easy. This is the mind of yr. brothers
here. To-morrow we will give you an answer to what
you have said. You must not think hard of us,
when to-morrow we lay before you all we have to say
& the spectators who know the ways of Indians will not
take it amiss. We look at the sun & see there is not
time to day to relate all we have to say.

Farmers Bro. Bro. You may now cover yr. fire as
soon as you choose: not forgetting that the glass
should again go round.

Answer

Brother I have often expressed to you my impatience to
finish the treaty: and therefore desired to hear this
to-morrow you will tell me all you have to say to
me: for when I fully know your minds, the treaty may soon
be concluded. I therefore earnestly desire when you speak
to-morrow, that you will keep back nothing
which you wish to have considered at this treaty.

Speech of Red Jacket
to Col. Wilson
Nov. 19. 1790.

Brothers,

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It is my duty to inform you (& I desire you to listen to my words) That hereafter, all business between you and any party of the United States is to be transacted with the General Government, and not with the government of any one State, or any number of States short of the whole.

Brothers, I will first shew you how the United States became possessed of this exclusive authority relative to Indian affairs; and then read & explain to you a late law made by the Congress of the United States in pursuance of that authority.

Brothers The Congress of the United States is the Great Council of the whole nation. ~~compared~~ The thirteen States have agreed to give this Great Council ~~of the nation~~ very great powers; because such great powers were found necessary for the good of the whole nation. One of those powers is given in these words —

"The Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes."

Brothers The thirteen States have also given ~~declared~~ ~~several~~ great powers, ~~which~~ to be exercised by their

President

President or Great Chief. One of these powers is that of making treaties, with the advice & consent of the Senate or Council of old men. And because the affairs of the United States are very great & extensive, the President has many chiefs to assist him. These chiefs are appointed by the President or Great Chief, with the advice of the Council of Old Men. This Council of old men is composed of Chiefs from each of the thirteen states, & their comeing are called at least have five hundred at least once in every year: and because they have a great deal of business to transact, they keep their fire burning a long time. But when they are gone home then fire is buried up, & they go home, then the Great Chief alone has power to appoint chiefs or officers to assist him, to hold treaties with the Indian Tribes, and to do other business of the United States.

Brothers, I will mention particularly one other power of the President as great

of the United States and that is a very important one. It is expressed in these words: "He shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed." It is by virtue of this power that the President has directed me to communicate to you the Law which I shall presently read.

Brothers, You now see how it has come to pass that all hereafter all business between you and any party of the United States is to be transacted with the General government, that is, with the governments of the United States, and administered in the manner I have just now stated. If therefore hereafter any person, without authority from the United States, shall offer to make a treaty with you, in behalf of any State, or of any number of citizens of the United States — Brothers, do not hear him: for every such offer ought to be made to deceive and impose on you.

Brothers,

I may remember you that in my commission from our Great Chief, the President of the United States, I am particularly required to communicate to you, in a plain and fair manner, the late act of Congress respecting the trade & intercourse with the Indian Tribes. Brothers, that act, or law, of Congress, is printed on the paper I now hold in my hands. Brothers, Open your ears that you may hear me read & explain it.

Explanations of an Act of the Congress of the United States of America, entitled, "An Act to Regulate Trade & Intercourse with the Indian Tribes."

1. By the first section or part of the Act it appears that the Indian Tribes, within the limits of the United States, are to be arranged in certain departments; that for each department there is to be a Superintendant of Indian affairs; that no person is to trade with the Indians without a licence from the Superintendant of the department; that before a licence can be obtained, the person applying for it must give bond, with one or more sureties, in the sum of one thousand dollars, to observe such rules as shall be made by the President of the United States, to regulate trade & intercourse with the Indians; and that no licence can be granted for a longer term than two years. But that nevertheless the President may permit persons without licence to trade with those tribes of Indians which are surrounded in their settlements by the citizens of the United States.

2. The second section provides a remedy for abuses. It will be the duty of each Superintendant to licence only good and honest men to trade with the Indians: but sometimes he may be deceived by bad men, who after receiving licences, may cheat the

the Indians, and disregard the rules they are bound to obser
In such case, the Superintendant is to take away their
licences, and oblige any one found guilty of breaking the
rules, to pay the thousand dollars for which he had gi
bond. If, however, after an examination before the cou
it shall appear that the superintendant was mistaken,
& that the trader had not broken the rules, then he wi
be acquitted; and a new licence will be given to him.

3. The third section is designed as a further, an
effectual guard to the Indians against the frauds & impositions
of unlicensed traders. For it is reasonably presumed tha
every honest trader will be willing to take a licence,
to observe the rules which our Great Chief, the President
of the United States, shall make to regulate trade with
the Indian Tribes. If therefore any man attempts to
carry on such trade, without a licence, it will be becau
he is unwilling to be bound by good and honest rules - re
which will be made for the benefit and security of the
Indians, and to ensure the continuance of peace betwee
them and the United States. Therefore it is declared, tha
every such lawless trader shall forfeit all the goods, or
merchandize, which he shall offer for sale to the Indians
or which shall be found in his possession in the Indian
country.

4. The fourth section is intended for the mutual
advantage of the United States and of the Indian Trib
In times past, some white men have deceived the Indian
falsely pretending they had authority to lease or purchase
their lands: and sometimes they have seized on more lan
than the Indians meant to sell them; again falsely pr
tending that those lands were comprehended within the
purchase. Such fraudulent practices have made our
brothers angry; and sometimes occasioned hostilities, wa
& bloodshed. Yet Indians will always be exposed to such
deception and imposition, while they continue to forg

and

and seal papers which they cannot read. Now, Brothers, to prevent these great evils in future, the Congress declare "That no sale of lands made by any Indians, to any person or persons, or even to any state, shall be valid (or of force) unless the same be made at some public treaty held under the authority of the United States. For at such public treaty wise and good men will be appointed by the President to attend, to prevent all deception and fraud. These wise & good men will examine every deed before it is signed and sealed, and see that every lease or purchase of the Indians be openly and fairly made.

5. The fifth ~~paragraph~~ section declares how those white men, who hurt friendly Indians in their persons or property shall be punished. Brothers, it is proper that I inform you, That if an Indian be murdered, or in any manner injured, within the jurisdiction of any state, the murderers or trespassers will be liable to the same punishment as if the person murdered or injured were a white man. But the United States are desirous of making further provision for the security of their Brothers the Indians: and therefore Congress have declared, That if any inhabitant of the United States, or of either of the territorial districts of the United States, shall go into any town, settlement or territory belonging to any nation or tribe of Indians, & there commit any crime upon, or trespass against, the person or property of any peaceable and friendly Indian or Indians, such offender shall be subject to the same punishment as if the offence had been committed within the state or district to which he may belong, against a citizen or white inhabitant thereof.

6. In the fifth ~~paragraph~~ section Congress direct, that for any of the crimes or offences mentioned in this law, the same manner of proceeding, to bring the offender to trial and punishment, shall be used, as if the

crimes

crimes or offences were committed against the United States.

7. The 7th & last ~~section~~ article, in a few words, limits the duration of the law, and needs no explanation. But it may be proper for me to observe, That if the law should be found useful, it will undoubtedly be continued for a longer term; in a word, so long as it shall prove beneficial to you and to the United States.

Brothers,

The Act of Congress which I have now read and explained cannot fail to give you satisfaction: for it must convince you "of the friendly disposition of the federal government (which is the government of the United States) towards you, and of its readiness to extend protection and support to you on all needful occasions".

Brothers, Let me entreat you to lay this law up in your hearts, & keep it fresh in your memories. The President of the United States will appoint Superintendants, make rules for the government of licensed traders, and do whatever shall be necessary to carry the law into complete execution.

Brothers, I now present to you a copy of the law which I have just read & explained, ~~together with~~ a copy of these explanations. ~~I have made there~~ And in testimony of the certainty of the copies and that in my opinion those explanations are just, I have certified the same under my hand & seal.

Given at Rock Point the twentieth day of November 1790.

In behalf of the United States

T. P. Com.r

Speech Nov.r 20. 1790
(Complete Copy)

Red Jacket. Nov. 21. 1790. [Having this day read the copies of a Law to regulate trade with the Indians, & the speeches of yesterday] 83

B. Yesterday you kindled y^r council fire, & bid y^r Brother if that they were ready you had something more to say to them. Then y^r told us that you had kindled y^r council fire at ye the place by direction of ye Great Ch. Then you told us that the paper in your hands contained what you were directed to deliver to us by the Gr. Ch. of ye 13 States. Br. You told us then at this place concerning the chain of friendsh. was to be brightened, & you began to brighten it. & told us then, that you had to proceed upon now to brighten the chain of friendsh. between ye U States & the 6 nations, & told us to give great attention to what you had to relate. Then B you told us you were going to relate to us the good will of ye 13 States towards the 6 nations. Then you told us that ye Gr. Ch. Genl. W. was the great Ch. of ye 13 States, & that he was taking regular methods to settle affairs with the Indians. Then y^r told us that ye good will of the 13 States was very great towards us that we might prosper & prosper freely & safely. & that we might keep this paper in remembrance of what was done at this council fire. B. Then you told us to give great attention to what you were going to say as their paper contained the laws of ye 13 States by which the whole Island was to be regulated. You then told us that the whole 13 States had adopted this now this manner of proceeding with Indians fell under the direction of Congress who were now to regulate the whole, from which nothing to the setting sun. Then you told us, that after the 13 fires had made 1 big fire they began to brighten the ch. of friendsh with the Indians. that this was the Law which was going to be put in force thro ye 13 States — & that those who broke the Indians were punished as if they had hurt white men. Then this was contained in their paper as the Indians could look at it. Then you told us that when that fire began to burn — a man was to be just to have the charge of Indian affairs, and if any thing unjust was done there we were to strike

present the paper to him who wd. report it
to the Congress. They told us you wd. shew us the
ways of the white people - the laws in use among them
& that you supposed we had none such amongst
us. Then you told us that G. W. was the Ch. of 13 states, that
he sent you here, & that he wd. put the laws in force
agt all bad men. Then you told us that soon the
Congress took this power upon them, they began to
make peace among the nations & brighten the ch.
of 13 fires. Then you told us that when the big fire was kindled
a law was made to regulate trade among the Indians
to prevent those who sell among them [illegible] their lives & clothes by.
Then you told us that this law wd. be put in force, & a
person appointed by the President to regulate the traders. Then you told
us the consequence of a person going to trade with us without
a licence, & how he was to be punished & the forfeiture.
You told us if we looked into this paper we could see what
the forfeiture was, & that we cd. carry this paper
to any council fire & see what is written upon it as you had
spoken. Then you told us that if a trader came into
our country without licence, by looking into this
paper we could find wherein the forfeiture, and
that half was to go to the prosecutor & half to the 13
states. You told us that after the Ch. of 13 fires was established
between us & the 13 S. & the 6 nations, a person wd. be
appointed to regulate Indian affairs in whom we could
put confidence; & that the President wd. appoint
only such. Then you told us that the reason we
had been disturbed among our lands was that we had
traded with all the little council fires. Then you
told us that now no other fire was to
be kindled than that of the 13 fires, & that we
not believe any one who came to kindle a fire
unless he came in the name of the 13 fires. Then you
told us that the direction in this paper was by order
of the 13 fires, & that if any person traded contrary to the
directions of this paper, he should then forfeit
to the 13 fires.

N.º 2. Now you tell us we must keep this
paper. Now if we can contrive to get it from
other the ch. of Fr. the should want to brighten the
that this paper it would be produced to show what was
now done.

[Now laying by the copies he added]

Brother The reason why he never saw the hand of Mr. French
was that you might know whether if it had been rightly
interpreted. Has this in the first time it has
since the peace that it has been proposed to brighten
the ch. of Fr. And yr brothers of the 6 nations
who are looking on are very happy to see you
& brighten the chain of friendship & heartily
thank you for it.

Ganawas Brother. [a Belt in his hand].

Now B. open yr ears. You have just heard a few of
the hands of Mr. French yesterday. We are now going
to say a few words. B. the 13 fr. you will hear
what we have to say. Now B. & hand you
Yesterday that you had come to brighten the Ch of
Fr. & yr B.rs tell him you came for that purpose.
This has been the case ever since the peace, that those who came
you & who built a fire in our country
of the 13 States. every day we had news of fire
kindled here & there, Love was called to attend.
Every one of those fires we were obliged to attend
because they said they came to brighten the Ch of the
but We could not see by what method they will brighten
it. They appeared to have but one object in proposing to
brighten the Ch. of Fr. that was to take away our
lands. Such is the ways of white people who
have treated with the Indians
of us & with them selves. Now the rulers
in America
are to have an Council fire the very
by the N York. at which our fathers used to

Now upon all these treaties we did give our lands and places for hold amity. when any offers were to be attended and not to be ready of place. At that place any offers were to brighten the Chain of Friendship. Brothers the case when Col. Johnson and conducted the Treaties with the Indians they were called to that our place to do it. The is the case with the British at Niagara they call us all to that our place. So much business has been done here by the former in the name of Long ago, that our heads are much bewildered by it. Brothers our mind are very much troubled that those former Nations came and took from us all our lands formerly in this country. We thank our brothers of 13 states for this treaty, we have long united to them from time. We do year join us united to speak with Congress. & the Nations we sent a message to them by that man. [worthy to Mr. Street] The reason why we ratify this was that we wanted to make the Chain of Friendship very bright. The reason why we wanted the Chain of Friendship brightened was that our women & children might live in quietness. Now B. you told us yesterday there was what you said came from your heart. You must now believe that what I now say comes from my heart. You must believe that all Indians are pleased of brightening the chain as you can we shall rub it as hard as you will to make it brighter. Nobody was ever killed in this war. B. The 6 Nations are in a bad situation since all their lands gone to the They put the trust in the Great Spirit which kept them happy & now the States began to take the matter we could have our lands again. We thank the great Spirit a great deal. He has never placed us in a small piece of land which we can clasp round with our arms. B. I have just told you the situation our lands are in. It began from the time of the treaty at Fort Stanwix. But that time the Chiefs said they were pointed by Congress their brothers, were invited to come & take them by the hand.

13. From the first time we have met from the Ohio Indians attended that treaty and till our lands were surveyed after we brought them we came to fight for the Ohio

B. The next treaty was held at Canadasaga. The Man who held it said he came in the name of God this speech and all that he did at the treaty we liked very well, as the same we spoke to the Six Nations

[illegible] that time. This speech we liked well. But we did not know what the paper contained till we came to Pittsburgh. [pointing to him at the bench] Mr Thos well knows where the papers were written when we carried them to Mr Penn again. After the interpretation then did we begin what had been done by. This is what happened at Canadasaga. I know it: for I was one who at that time spoke in Council. At that time we all signed a paper for he told us he was going to fight the Ohio for us. The next spring they came to open the fire again at Canadasaga. Mr Phelps came on for that purpose. [Thunder del. q. bel 2 to]

Red Jacket [The following to the end of fol 86 is in Dorsius & Clarke's short papers: N. 214. Just overleaf (erroneously)]

Do now you begin to hear the situation of your land. Mr Phelps & Mr Porter came on to make open the fire again at Canadasaga. After they were come then Mr Phelps proposed on to Niagara. I sent to one old friend Col. Butler. [illegible] whom he met [illegible] at a tavern, who [illegible] where he was staying. Col. B. asking him his business. He answd. that he came to kindle a fire at Canadasaga. Then Col. B. told him Canadasaga was not the place to kindle a fire, but at Buffalo creek to kindle a fire, that was to kindle a fire on our lands and on our cattle. Col. B. told him he thought he might build a fire at Buff. Creek & if he did he believed he [illegible] attend the treaty. Mr Phelps expressed his concern that if he held the treaty there he [illegible] must meet with some difficulty. All these people know what speech Mr Phelps sent us — (spoke?) to the Mr Porter & Billy & three went to Canadasaga to see what the Engish were [illegible] doing. Before all [illegible] Mr Street knows that Mr Phelps held up a long paper with a seal as big as my hand.

J. Billy [illegible] that if I would go to Canadasaga [illegible] Col. Butler & Billy [illegible] to meet at Canadasaga

When he opened his mind to us We took it rather We wanted to have a large piece of land - but it was not to be our power. Mr Street [Whispering to him on the French] you know very well a treaty was held all night to fix on the bounds of the piece of land. Those now all know very well (Mr Smith, Mr H. B. Obril, Little Billy & Heaps of Indians know very well this) the proposal was that Mr Oh. Vd. give the 10,000 dollars for the Purchase & 500 Dollars annual rent. That was the agreement and that night. The bargain was not finished till the next morning, & just as we were at the house they were writing the papers we sought per person to draw their The persons chosen were Mr Whitland, Lt. B. & Capt. Brandt. Mr Street was not present. After this bargain being completed & Mr Street had taken our papers to Niagara we came back last June a year ago, to receive expecting to receive 10000 dollars. but then we found we had but 5000 to receive. When we discovered the fraud we had a mind to apply to Gov. to see if the matter could not be rectified. The in took of many of them and they are here now that the land we had but about a dollar a piece for all the country. Mr Street you know very well that all our lands came to us but at the rate of the price of Tobacco. Gentlemen who stand by do not know what has been said. At the time of the treaty twenty Canoes did not buy a loaf of bread, for that there was not above eight pair of silver Spoons. When last Spring again Genl. Chapin stretched out his hand to us to give a little fire at Big Tree flats & then I had a little talk with him - finding we had but a trifling a piece to receive we desired him to stretch out his hand again. This is all we have to say at this time. Mr Street knows how hard it was for us to part with our land. And we wish to have said because we wish the President to know how we have been treated.

New B. W. B. States You must open your ears You have what has happened respecting our lands

X 13 Indian Nat. 250

you told us from this time the Chiefs Part. of the
Inclosed Sir B. we have begun ~~to~~ Open
a Path to the Chiefs and we will follow the
steps of our forefathers We will take those steps that
we may sit easy, & Choose where ~~we may~~ to their
large ~~as~~ ~~they~~ shd be. The reason ~~we~~ find this ~~not~~ so ~~pleasant~~ in all the Lodges
is that ~~we have not~~ the Chiefs may
make us sits easy. We do it that the chain of
friendship may be keept with the B States as well as
the British; that we may ~~not~~ pay due to the
other unmolested. B. This is what you hear the
Chiefs & Warriors have to say to you, relative to
brightening the Ch. of Friendship. We wish to be under
the protection of the B States as well as the British
[Then he delivd the Belt]

Brother. Soon after your arrival at your home you gave
great Joy to your people

B. You know all relating to our land you have
the whole after. We have just told you it was
two years that we have wanted to have a conference with
Governor. Mr. Phelps did not purchase but leased
the land. We found on our ~~land~~ that
that the land was leased. This keeped to us for
we not having papers. Then they are to give us
for what they contain *

Brother we have a little more to say to you. Those are Chiefs
of your Others who were at the treaty at W Ohio, They keeped
with them those papers which we wish you to see. It
is the mind of the Six nations to keep those papers, that
they should then at Justice held by the B States. This is
mind that you should have it. This belt came with those papers
to the president named to me it is marked the pride
of England.

[The Other handed to me the papers. One contained articles entered into between them & Mr Clarke, concerning certain boundaries between their land & those of the U States. The subject of the other papers whose the subject of which I do not recollect. The pipe chiefs called conveyed to the belt - shewed that it had been delivd by Mr Butler & Mr Gibson, whose name were written upon it: but nothing about Land in the pride of every Land.]
[The Indians desired me to give information of the nature of the papers which I gave them in general terms.]

Sunday Nov. 21. 1790

Red Jacket & Farmer's
Brother's Speeches

Points touched on in
my answer to the
Speeches of Red Jacket
& the Farmers Brother
of the 21. Nov.

Treaty at Fort Stanwix - troubles from that time - because them all their Lands were swept off - - Only a few chiefs attended.

Treaty with Engr. Phelps at Canadesago deceived - interpretation of papers did not agree with the verbal bargain.

Red Jacket.

Mr. Phelps & Mr. Benton came to open a fire at Canadesago. Phelps went to Niagara - talks with Col. Butler - who proposes Buffalo Creek instead of Canadesago.

Held up a large paper - seal big as hand - Hard to part with their land - but could not keep it

Sat up all night to fix the boundary of their land.

Price proposed 10,000 dollars & 500 ann.

Westland - Col. Butler & Brant to form Reservation.

Last summer a year ago expected to receive 10000 d. but found only 5000.

when they discovered the fraud - had a mind to appeal to Congress

Shared but a dollar a piece - a few kegs of Rum 20 Dozen of Bread, scarcely half a loaf of bread.

No bright spots

Red Jacket

~~Repeated~~ recited the substance of my speech of the day before yesterday – & I was satisfied therefore that it had been interpreted with propriety.

F. Brother. Called to attend many fires, all pretending they were hindered by the 13 States. The real object to take away their Lands.

One Council fire hereafter – as held by Genl Sir Wm Johnson.

So many fires since – their hand made dumb by it.

2 years wished to brighten the chain of friendship with Congress – & in order that women & children might live in quietness.

What he said came from y heart

Indians equally fond of brightening the Ch. of Fr. but rub it very hard to make it bright

Wd be happy to have their lands back again.

Great Spirit has placed them in a small bit of land, wh. they can clasp round with your arms.

Genl Chapin came this Spring to pay the rent of 500 dollars — not a shilling a man — Desired him to stint up his hand again.

Wish the President to know how they have been treated

They now began at this fire to brighten the Chain of Friendship.

Will follow the steps of their forefathers — that they may sit easy — choose wherd — & buy the lands

Send this message that the President upon is over the 13 States may make their seats easy

They do it to brighten the Ch. of Fr. with the 13 States, as well as with the British — to pass — un molested

Wish to be under the protection of the 13 States as well as of the British.

Brothers we do not like
you must take
Care for your friend
indians is very Bad
Treaty with Phelps &c.

Brothers,

The buriness on which we met at this Council-fire, has been conducted greatly to my satisfaction, & I hope to yours. The good disposition you have manifested will give much pleasure to our Great Chief, the President of the United States, and to Congress, which is the Great Council of the United States. If any circumstance, on your part, should be disapproved, it will be your delay in coming to meet them Brothers, you know the day appointed for our meeting was the 25th of October: yet you did not arrive till the 14th of November, twenty, days after the time proposed. Brothers, such want of punctuality is quite contrary to the customs of white people; and is attended with great inconveniences. Had you arrived at the appointed day, the treaty might have been finished [many] days ago; and by this time, your old men & your wives & children might have got back to your [homes at this late season]; where[as] they may be exposed to bad weather and [illegible] white men appointed to treat with [illegible] delays: for usually they have much other business to do, either for themselves or the States.

Brothers, I apprehend such delays are commonly occasioned principally by the multitudes of your people who attend [treaties]

treaties, consisting not only of men who can travel fast, but of women and children who walk slowly. The greater the number, too, the more time it takes them to get ready, the more accidents happen on the way to ~~retard~~ delay their journey, and the greater the difficulty in procuring a supply of provisions. ~~But~~ Though Brothers, this is not our way of attending treaties, you know it is not the way of the nations of white men in America; and I assure you it is not the way of any nation of white men on the other side of the great water. They hold their treaties by a deputation of only one or of a few of their chiefs. And indeed, one nation of Indians has lately done the same. Brothers, this was ~~which~~ a tribe inhabits the country lying between the settled parts of Georgia the great Creek nation, ~~which~~ deputed & sent twenty four of their kings, chiefs and warriors to New-York, to settle all their disputes with the United States. Those deputies, that is, the twenty four kings, chiefs & warriors [illegible] and concluded a treaty [illegible]ance to their nation, a treaty by which an end was put to all differences, their boundary line fixed, & perpetual peace established, between them and the United States.

Brothers, If ~~the proper occasion be taken by the Sagamore~~, instead of waiting to assemble

assemble a great number of men, women & children, only half a dozen a dozen of your great men should be appointed to hold a treaty, in behalf of your nation, the business might soon be concluded? In a few days they could come to the Council Fire; in a few days the business might be transacted; and in a few days they could return. At the same time, the rest of your people could follow, without interruption, their usual employments at home.

Brothers, This is a matter which highly deserves your notice. I hope you will consider well of it; and then I think you will be convinced of the propriety of following hereafter the example of the great Creek nation of Indians, and of all the great nations of white men; by sending to every treaty only a few of your greatest and best men to act in behalf of your whole nation. In that case your whole nation can as well know what has been done at a treaty as if the whole attended. For your deputies, or chiefs, can take back with them, in writing, an exact account of every thing which has passed at the treaty. Brothers there is one very great advantage which would arise from your adopting this manner of holding treaties. Every speech made

made to you by the deputies of the white men, all your own speeches, and every agreement & treaty entered into being committed to writing, you could take home with you true copies of the whole; by which means not only your brother at home, but your children & childrens' children, might as certainly know every thing which had been said and done at a treaty, as if they had all been alive and present. This would also secure you against impositions relative to any treaties you made. For if it should be pretended that any thing had been said or agreed to which had not been said or agreed to, you could look into the writings in your possession and find the truth.

Brothers, I have observed your attachment to the customs of your forefathers; It is a natural attachment. All nations have their ancient customs to which they are also attached. Yet when they find the old customs become inconvenient they forsake them, and adopt new rules. This is frequently done by all the nations of white men. And you must know that the nations of white men have great wisdom & knowledge in affairs.

Brothers, let me again desire you to think well of this matter. Consider the many things you have to transact for your people, and the hardships & fatigue of committing the management of all treaties to a deputation of a few of your wisest & best men. I will venture to assure you that nothing would better please our Great Chief & the Great Council than your adopting this method of holding treaties with the U.S.

Brothers, The business which occasioned the Council fire being now finished, I have only to wish you a safe return to your families; when you get home, tell your people that the United States, to whom the Great Spirit has been pleased to give such extensive power, are very desirous to live in peace & friendship with all the Indians, and that they will not suffer the white people to settle on any of the lands reserved to the Indians by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, nor on any lands which may hereafter be reserved to them, without their consent.

Brothers, I do not expect you to take this matter into consideration at this time. I leave it entirely to your choice; and wish you to think fully of it at your leisure; when you get home, you may consult your wise men & people, & after mature deliberation send us your answer.

Brothers, The whole business of our meeting at this Council Fire being now completed, agreeably to the directions of our Great Chief, I have now but one request to make; which is, That in every case like the present (should the like ever unfortunately happen again) the same method for making your minds easy, and preserving peace and friendship with the United States, may be again pursued.

Upon conversing with some of the principal Chiefs, I found that the delivery of a mourning belt to the head of each family to which the murdered two belonged, was an indispensable requisite to appease their minds; that this was an invariable custom among themselves; and that without a compliance with it, the injury could not be forgiven. The Chiefs undertook to enquire among their people for suitable belts; and if obtained I engaged to purchase them. I found also that they expected me to make a particular address to the relations of the deceased. The belts were procured, and on the 22d of Nov. 1790. before the Council fire was covered, I addressed the whole body, & the relations of the deceased in particular, in the following speech

Speech delivered with the mourning belts, Nov. 22. 1790.

(a French version)

in case similar the present

1

Brothers, (Gentlemen) The business for which this Council Fire was kindled, is now finished. The hatchet has been buried; and the chain of friendship made bright. But before the fire is put out, I must address a few words to the relations of our two deceased brothers.

My Friends

[See the introduction at the bottom of the preceding page] 92

My Friends,

You have now assembled to receive the last public testimony of respect to the memories of our two brothers, whose untimely deaths we have once already joined in lamenting.

Mothers,

You have lost two worthy Sons, from whom you expected support and comfort in your old age. You appear bowed down with sorrow as with years. Your affliction must be very great. — I also am a parent — the parent of many Sons, the loss of any one of whom would fill me with distress: I therefore can feel for yours.

Brothers & Sisters,

You have lost two valuable relations, whose assistance was useful, and whose company was pleasing to you, and with whom you expected to pass yet many happy years: With you also I can join in mourning your misfortune.

Mothers, Brothers & Sisters,

Let me endeavour to assuage your grief. You enjoy the satisfaction of remembering the good qualities of your deceased Sons & brothers; of reflecting that they were worthy men; and of hearing their names mentioned with honour. Let those considerations afford you some comfort. — Death, you know, is the common lot of all mankind; and none can escape its stroke. Some,

indeed,

indeed, live many years; till, like well ripened corn, they wither and bend down their heads. But multitudes fall in infancy & childhood; like the tender shooting corn nipped by untimely frosts. Others again grown up to manhood, are then cut off, while full of sap, and flourishing in all the vigour of life. The latter, it seems, was the state of our two deceased brothers. But, my friends, they are gone; and we cannot bring them back. When the Great Spirit shall so order it, we must follow them: but they cannot return to us. This is the unalterable course of things, and it is our duty patiently to bear our misfortunes.

Mothers

To manifest the sorrow of the United States for the loss of your sons; and that you and your families may always have with you the usual tokens of remembrance, I now present to you these belts.

Brothers, The Stake has been struck into the ground and it has been pulled out, in presence of you all. We have put all our trouble into the hole, and again struck in the stake, that they may never rise again

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(Lea)

The aforegoing is a true copy of the Speech I delivered with two belts at the Council fire at Miami on occasion of the murder of two Seneca Indians at Pine Creek in Pennsylvania. Certified at the request of the Indians, under my hand this 22d day of Novr. 1790.

A. P. Lea: in behalf of the United States.

[Red Jacket } Buffalo Nov. 23 1790. x
a bundle of papers in his hand]

B. Here are but a few of you together than who have met at y.
Council fire to-day. Yesterday you handed us, in order
to deliver all you had to say to us. I have in my hand all that
you have del.d to us. You told us, that all you had to say was to
brighten the ch. of Fr.d between you & Indians; & that was the
only thing that was the matter between us, and that you were going to shew us y.e speech by
which this was to be done. [what was the way of the white people]
Bro. We thank you for the speech you del.d
yesterday & have listened to it with attention. This you said was
the custom of white people that the Tomahawks might be
made into hoes & the guns into Ploughshares. We thank
you for all y.r advice; for the declaration of your wish
that the tom.hs might be made into hoes & the guns
into plowshares. [Brother I said so. Now you shall hear
our method of brightening the ch. of Fr.d] [Laid by the Papers. &
took up a belt & string]

Now Brother y.e 13 states & Pres.t Gen.l W. open y.r ears. Now we
proceed to make the ch. bright. All these ways of our
fathers wh. I am going to relate. It was y.e case in our
days that peace was made about Contoyoe - not long
after wh. they met with troubles. It was the case of the Senecas
also in those days to do the same, & yet they were
soon forgot away. The reason was the same wh. we begin
to experience - viz.t, the taking away their land. So also it
was with the Oneidas. The white people took them by
the hand led them from their Council house. That has been
the case with the Hockhocking Indians who lived among
you: Their lands are all gone, & they are almost re-
duced to nothing #. Now B. you begin to hear a few words
from y.r Bro.rs of their ancient ways. You told us yesterday
you began to brighten the ch. of Fr.d to clear the path be-
tween us, now that you found out our troubles re-
specting our lands. Now you begin to find the situation we
are in. it is the mind of all your brothers here that the Pres.t
does not know it - for if he is so great a man that
he can look from the rising to the setting sun, he can
rectify what is wrong in our proceedings. & as you
have told us the misfor.s wh. have befallen us, they came from
the white people, & we should be glad if he wd rectify speedily

them. We shall thank him if he will follow the steps of his forefathers & clear the paths that we may travel straighter & not stumble. Here you see the belt with the 13 stars took your Br.rs by the hand. This is the belt with which they tied the body of land. This a long time since it was made but it had been forgotten & had not reference with the time it was made. & this was given when the ch of ps. was brought between us & the US. Now We thank the Gr. Spirit that we are again to brighten it somewhat the way clear. the old rules came from this Island: the rules of our forefathers - Other practices came from people of yr. colour. The first time we saw people of yr. color they were in a vessel on the water. When We came to see the vessel, we thot not to let the people of yr other color come ashore, lest for fear we shd have trouble. From that the trouble began: From yr steps of grog - as is the case with me now * & We did not like to have them hang on their kettles. (Now those troubles came from yr forefathers & from steps they have travelled on to this place.) Then that vessel asked if they might come ashore to dry up some cloth. An old people consented that they might come ashore for that purpose - & then they began to hang their kettles on this Island. This was the origin of these old practices.

After they came ashore & hung on their kettles, they asked leave to take a piece of land & draw a boundary line. The Onondagas & Mandagans agreed they shd come to a certain hill & there fasten their vessels & came no farther. Then they pretended to make peace & invited the chiefs - but the Chiefs in that day were ignorant & did not know what trouble was, being the first time they had seen any other people but themselves. All that time they were counselling with yr People who had landed on this Island but did not make peace: for all they wanted was to get their land from them! Now Br.rs you must not be offended that at this time we have mentioned some of our ancient ways & customs. But now you know Now our troubles begin to come we have come to make peace & say so. Brothers Now you

* Red jacket said when every attempt at the public dance the evening preceding, & was always drunk (disorderly)

knows ye ways of the Indians in treating. all this Land belonged to them & we gave it all to you. This Island and the game upon it, were made by the Gr. Spi. for the Indians. He gave it to them for their support. Pigeons their money he so ordered it that they shd. not have a great deal in hunting for our money. From that time an Indian found trouble in hunting for their money. Our fathers told us in those Days that when traders came amongst us we shd. consider it as a token of Spi. Brothers you that you told us yesterday that the traders were upheld - for they have cheated us out of all our money. since the traders have been in this country we have been cheated out of our furs, for they have taken them at a low price, & carried them away & sold them at 3 prices. It is not fair to set the prices on both sides. The goods are made up by them & when they set their own prices & then come & set the prices upon our skins. Now Bros. it will be right if both sides will have alike & not cheat one another. This will help the ch. Engls: This we hope will be done since Gen. W. has taken it in hand. Brothers It is not the mind of the Indians like yours, that the town shd. be built into houses & keep their guns into Playthings since by them they get their living. It will be very hard to take away all the warriors guns, for they have no other way of getting their Cloathing - But you can make your own Cloaths. Brothers It is the mind of ye Gr. Spi. since Gen. W. has taken the business in hand to enlighten the ch of Spi. we shd be pleased to follow our ancient rules. We must have upon our ancient rules - & the ch. people upon their. We can then as well agree together as if we followed our rule. Now you hear the mind of ye Gr. Spi. you know very well the Ch. of Spi. is between us & now you have begun to enlighten it. at the frontiers of Canada in old times, both frontiers took hold of the Ch. and there was nothing to part them. After that something happened amongst us that was not good. Now Gen. W. must keep the path straight on both sides & if any accident happens we on both sides must complain to him.

Speech

Good M. People I'll come to an order to buy land - suppose
to myself - & give me a glass of rum [illegible] I
must be made to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
good for nothing ¶ Now we must follow the steps of our fr.
we [illegible] they pray that our children may grow
up in peace & quietness. ¶ This is what our Brothers
had to say to you. This belt was once before given to us to
[illegible] the ch. of Fr. ¶ You may think that we lie
but here it is - you can look at it [handing me
a belt with 13 knots & 12 stripes] I give you this
to hang upon the ch. where it has been hung near be-
fore.

Nov. 23.

Speech of Red Jacket

Nov. 23. 1790. [Farmer's speech to the Commissioners at Fort Harmar 35]

Now Br. listen to your brother who has come to your fire here at Niagara. Br. you have heard what our six Nations had to say. They have related their ancient ways & rules. This is a new affair, having no relation to what we have already mentioned — tis an affair wh. the 13 S. ought to know. What you are going to hear happended at Beaf. Creek where the Shawanees & all the 6 nations were lately assembled. What the Shawanees had to say related to the war which happened at the fire kindled at the Ohio which not half the six nations attended. The reason of their not all attending was because the treaty was called to get land. Then the 6 nations sent away the Shawanees to persuade them to make peace with the 13 States. [Islanders] Then the Shawanees took us by the hand & made a peace with us, & all this to the setting of the sun. Then the Shawanees sent runners to the Creeks for as the Squankee nation, to make peace with the whole. Then after this the Shawanees thanked the 6 nations for their advice about making peace for we were their oldest brothers. They thanked their ridge brothers that they had considered the matter, & desired to make the Indians all of one mind. After that the Shawanees went thro 40 castles & made peace with the whole. Those 40 castles were Shawanese. Then they sent round & made peace with 160 castles, who have all made peace with the 13 States. These are the speeches. After this was done the Virginians came among them, & were getting land from them. After this peace was made, they sent off to notify all the nations to the southward of what the white people were doing to them in that q.r & when the corn was fit to roast they were all to meet at Kentuckey. Now Br. you have heard a little of these speeches. It is for your brothers mind that you should hear. But it will take me till tomorrow night to relate the whole. Adieu

Now Bro. you might hear something of it when the 6 Na. send upon receiving these speeches. I shall only relate over a few of the heads of what passed between the 6 Na. & We said to the Shawanese & We the Lake. thanked the Creator for all that they have fetched all the news from the south and to this Council fire. We are very glad to hear they have fixed all the southern nations to be of one mind! It has long been the desire of the 6 Na. that we all Lake one another by the hand & be all of one mind. Now we thank you Bro. Shawanese that now we begin to brighten the Ch. of Fr. We thank you that you have told us you have made peace with all the western nations; & are thankful for the same. This is the mind of the 6 Na. We are trying all we can to brighten the Ch. of Fr. Lights. & the Lake. We are very strong for making peace we are seeking to do it with all the people of our Island. We are making peace for the sake of our women & children & young warriors that they may grow lusty. It is not hard now to make peace if you have brought all to be of one mind. You can begin to brighten the chain & publish it through all the nations of your brethren, that this is our mind. . .

Now Go back

B. You have now heard all we have to say on these things. We have informed you of these things because you came on to brighten the chain of friendship. & we wished you to know a little of our proceedings among the Indians. You can now just cast an eye on these strings which is all you can be allowed you.

Bro. you must now say a few words in which the warriors have to say. We have heard an old men speak and you have nearly completed your business with them. Bro. We thank you that you have completed the business with our fathers: the Warriors have heard it. The minds of the warriors are pleased with the business as it has been done. they have heard with their ears & are happy that it is done so much to their satisfaction. We had a word or two to say after the business was completed between our fathers & the States. We have but a few words: It is not the fashion of warriors to say much. We have little to say now that the business has been done so much to our minds by the States. The Gr. Spirit has seen & heard all that has been said. He has heard all yr. words have been ordered by him. We thank you heartily for what you have said to the Gr. Spr. and in these you shd. say that you come only to brighten the Ch. of Fr. We have all seen & heard what you have said to the fathers, that it is to brighten the Ch. of Fr. We all know what has happened by the little fire to disturb our minds. Now we believe the Ch. will be brightened. This was the cap when the peace was first made that our fathers told us to be still, & we were still. When we heard that, we threw all our minds into our ears, and did as they told us. We looked at our cords, & when any fire was kindled we only looked at them thinking all ways to brighten the Ch. of Fr. & have known all that has been done at every fire. But B. You this is the first time we have had an opportunity to brighten the Ch. of Fr. all the other fires were designed to get away our lands. Now Brother you have heard what we had to say and it is the desire of us

the warriors that the 13 States of N. America are united
for this is the first time that we have seen such a disposition
kindled to brighten the Ch. of Fr.! we all sat & heard
what was done in former Councils. We said what way is
this to brighten the ch. of Fr.?— to cut off a piece of
our land & take it from us? when the business was over
we commonly wont turned our faces from ours, & wished
them if they knew what it meant to take off our
lands in this manner. B. This happens
to us because we do not know the paper, like what
you have in yr hands. We put our names to a piece
of paper, & the first thing we know about it is that
a piece of our land is [illegible] This
has been the case on every peace - in this manner the ch of
Fr. has been brightened - we trusted to our brethren & lost our
lands. Now brother this treaty we have heard what you said, it is
our opinion you are really brightening the chain of Fr.
what you said we have written down. Now B. you have
what we had to say. It is the mind of yr warriors that
the 13 States of Fr. shall hear it. [illegible]. You
have told us what you were obliged to do by the 13 States
& we hope you will have no cause to be ashamed of it
hereafter. This is now the mind of yr warriors that
the 13 States of Fr. take care of them & do nothing to
their disadvantage. This will be the case while you
have any thing to do with your enemies: We shall be upon
their backs - to hear what is done. And if any thing is
to be done wrong we shall say it was not right done before we
brightening the ch. of Fr. We hope you. B. will always treat with us
in this manner. He is the Chief of Island - And if he does, our
minds will always be easy. If the 13 States of Fr. be another fire kindled
by the 13 States, they will then do what you have done, we shall
think the chain is to be always kept bright. Now you have heard
how we would say. They we be glad by W. wd do as he has
done at this Council fire when he takes Counsellors by the hand
that he wd keep peace among us & our children may dwell
easy. If this is done the Indians minds will be easy.
Our desire is that the God of Israel W. may take you as one of his
children. Brothers. Now B. you have heard all we had to say. We
give the President thanks for what he has done at this treaty, & also
thank the Great Spirit who has so ordered it. [4 strings]

Seneca Oneida Nov. 22d. for the Women

Mr. Norris: ere we open to you how heavy all the wars is laid to lay to you.

B. It has been on our mind

Mrs. Now the women ~~is~~ speak. ~~Our~~ minds from the time you took us by the hand to lead us to this Council fire. that the burying ways ~~of~~ disturbing. This was on our mind that we could come & hear what you had to say to our unckles warriors. Now we have heard what you had to say to our unckles brothers & warriors. 'Tis our mind that you shd. hear a little from us also. The reason for this is that the Rt. Hs. W. may also hear from us: that he may know the women have been at the Council fire to hear what was done: & for this reason also that we are the persons who support the country. & for this reason also, that those Sachems chiefs & warriors are our children. who are councilling with you are keeping bright the Ch. of fr. & our children have been at ease ever since the Sachems had the care of the nation, that the women had a word to say, if any thing was done wrong by them: for we have the principal support of the nation. We do this that he may know - that women are yet alive: for we suppose he does not know that women attend treaties. We think what has been done is to brighten the Ch. of Hr. & therefore desire the Pres. shd know that we have heard the whole: that he may do his best to perform what has been said at this treaty, to keep the Ch. of Fr. bright If there is ever another treaty, you must appear & your children will attend & if any thing contrary to what has been declared we will mention it. Our minds will be easy if he will put a stop to the people cutting off our land - Let us keep what land we have. We will give the president warning to caution his people, to prevent their coming to take our land away. This is the case now, that if we but draw back our foot a little, the white people follow, & take our land away; & we shall be glad if we can keep what land we have. We pray the Pres. if he will keep the Ch. bright as he has brightened it at this Council fire.

Nov. 25. 1795.

Speeches of Red Jacket
— The Farmers Brother
Billy in behalf
of the Warriors
Billy, in the name
of the women

numbered 1. 2. 3. 4, in the
order in which they were
delivered.

Whereas in the treaty of Peace made at fort Stanwix between the United States of America of one part, and the Six nations of Indians of the other part, it was stipulated by the said Six Nations, that all citizens of the United States, prisoners among them, should be given up: And whereas ~~application has been made to~~ the President of the United States authorized me to hold the present conference at this place with the Sachems Chiefs & Warriors of the Seneca Nation, a part of the said Six nations, on a matter of difference between them & the United States, which has now been amicably settled: And whereas William Slocum of Wyoming in the State of Pennsylvania ~~application has been now made to me~~ has now represented to me as Commissioner on behalf of the United States, that he had a suit, by the name of Frazees who was ~~taken~~ made a prisoner at Wyoming by some of the said Six nations, in the year 1778, & this

~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~

Power to
Joseph Smith
Interpreter
to demand of
the ~~Iroquois~~ Six Nations
the release of
Frances Slocum
Dated Nov. 23. 1790

(Copy)

At the Conference held at Tioga in November 1790, between the United States and the Sachems, Chiefs & Warriors of the Seneca nation (at which some other Indians of the Six Nations were present) which was concluded on the day of the date hereof, the War-Chief Tishhaaga (usually called Little Billy) attended. - He was the person sent on express, with four runners, to inform me that a body of Indians of the Seneca Nation were coming to the Conference. After delivering to me their speech, he remained at Tioga: and as the Indians did not arrive till sixteen days after, I had frequent opportunities of conversing with him. On all occasions he gave decisive proofs of his good sense and great prudence; and at the same time manifested the strictest regard to truth. In a word, he conducted as a man of honour, possessing a delicate sense of propriety and decency, in his whole behaviour. - At the close of the conference he rose and made a manly, well connected speech in behalf of the warriors; and another in behalf of the women who attended: In both displaying such talents as a public speaker as indicate his rising to eminence in his nation. - For his good sense and amiable qualities, I have derived much pleasure from his acquaintance; and I shall always value him as my particular friend.

Given

L.S.

Given under my hand & seal at Tioga, in the state of Pennsylvania, the 23d day of November 1790. in the 15th year of the independence of the United States of America.

Timothy Pickering

Commissioner in behalf of the United States.

Certificate to Little Billy

Nov. 23. 1790.

(copy)

At the Conference held at Tioga in November 1790, between the United States & the Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Seneca nation (at which some other Indians of the Six Nations were present) which was concluded on the day of the date hereof, the Sachem & Head Chief Honairjewus (usually called the Farmer's Brother) was a principal speaker. On all occasions he discovered a sound understanding. At the Council-Fire he was attentive to buriness, and acted with dignity and candour. When consulted in private relative to the conference, he obligingly gave his opinion. In every thing he manifested an openness & goodness of heart which cannot fail to secure to him the love of all who have an acquaintance with him. I give this testimony of his worth, hoping it may prove useful to him: It may also hereafter gratify the children of so deserving a man, & excite them to emulate their fathers virtues.

L.S.

Given under my hand & Seal at Tioga in the State of Pennsylvania, the 23d day of November 1790.

Timothy Pickering
Commissioner in behalf of
The United States

Certificate to

The Farmer's Brother

Novr 23. 1790.

(Copy)

At the Conference held at Tioga in November 1790, between the United States and the Sachems Chiefs & Warriors of the Seneca nation (at which some other Indians of the Six Nations were present) which was concluded on the day of the date hereof, the Sachem Sequeyawaantau (usually called Red Jacket) was the principal speaker. He acted a conspicuous part at the conference, displaying a good understanding, a ready apprehension, & great strength of memory. He was attentive to business at the Council Fire, and when consulted in private on matters relating to their peculiar customs, he appeared to be well acquainted with them, and always gave me the necessary information very intelligently, with perfect candour, and in a most obliging manner.

From a strict regard to truth, and in justice to his merit, I have written this testimony of the character of Sequeyawaantau. It may serve to introduce him to the immediate acquaintance of strangers who hereafter may be appointed to do business with him: tho' his own talents will soon prove the best recommendation. — This testimony of his worth and importance may, after his death, give pleasure to his children, & perhaps be useful to them: at least it may excite them to aspire to an equal degree of useful eminence.

Given under my hand & seal at Tioga, in the State of Pennsylvania, the 23d day of November 1790, & in the 15th year of the independence of the United States of America.

L. S.

Timothy Pickering
Commissioner in behalf
of the United States.

Certificate to
Red Jacket
Novr. 29. 1790.
(Copy)

Tioga. At the Council Fire, November 23d 1790. The Speeches of the Indian Chiefs ~~being ended, delivered~~ this day, being ended, I rose and recited the principal points of them, that they might know whether they had been rightly interpreted. The recitals were accompanied with such remarks as occurred at the moment, which I did not think necessary to be ~~noted down immediately after~~ committed to writing. As the remarks were dependent on those numerous recitals, a detail of the whole would have been tedious. It may suffice for me to observe, that the remarks were conformable to the spirit of the speeches I had made them in form. Tho' as the burden of complaint in all their speeches respected the loss of their lands, I explicitly told them - that I feared those lands were now irretrievable; that I conceived the power of the President could not reach them:

of the United States which ~~[illegible]~~
the law I had explained to them, was
intended to prevent future mischief, but
and could not remedy ~~[illegible]~~ evils
that were past. And that in this satisfaction
of their ~~[illegible]~~ if your ~~[illegible]~~ great pleasure
that altho they had left their lands they had not left their spirits;
to see that they could take over them mis-
fortunes with chearfulness, and even with
mirth.

~~The whole business of the treaty being finished,~~
~~[illegible]~~
I delivered
the present of goods; ~~[illegible]~~ the
delivery with the following speech.

Brothers.

I have told you that I was di-
rected by the President of the United
States to present to you a quantity
of goods by an attonement for the
blood of your brothers that was spilt
at Pine Creek.

Brothers,

I now offer you those goods, in

in the name of our Great Chief; and by the authority of the United States. Accept of them, brothers, as a further proof of the friendly disposition of the United States toward you, and of their readiness to make you reasonable satisfaction for every injury done to you by any of their citizens.

Brothers,

I shall now deliver ~~some of them~~ to the nearest friends of the deceased: the residue of the goods you will distribute in such manner as you shall think will be most agreeable to the relations, and most satisfactory to your nation.

~~[The goods were then delivered to the several persons entitled]~~

Delivery of the
Goods — Nov: 23. 1790

Brother We have heard all yr speech as the rep. of ye US on this occa. yr Bro. of the Seneca Na. particularly return you their thanks. They wd for yr speech express themselves — that from their hearts they thank you for it. and agreeably to the usages of our [forefathers] on occasions like this the whole delegation of the S. N. join in returning you great thanks for [every] sentiment in yr condoling address at [this time] and be assured it will produce the effect you desired. In token of which we give you these strings.

God Peter repeated all the sentiments in my speech with some comments. Then addressed me as above and handed me the inclosed strings.

[The above is copied from a paper (on the other side) in T. P's hand-writing, as nearly as I could make it out — the original paper having been used as an envelope (labelled Indian affairs 1792) & much torn. E. S.]

1792 Indians
Peters' Speech
9.

It does not appear at what time
the following speech was delivered
possibly after Col. Pickering's speech
of Nov. 22, 1790. (Vol. 9) though he does not
intimate that Good Peter spoke on
that occasion. OP.
Moreover, he was an Oneida Chief —

Brother We have heard all yr speech as the
rep. of yr Nat on this occa. Yr Bro. of the Seneca
Nat particularly, return you their thanks. They wd
for yr speech express themselves — that from their hearts
they thank you for it. And agreeably to the usages
of our Progs. on occasions like this the chiefs delegated
from yr 5 Nations
by their Sachems are appointed to speak for
address of this
nation in yr council
produce the belt you
desired. In token of which
we give you these strings.

Good Peter repeated all the sentiments in my
speech — with some comments. They addressed me
as above — & handed me the inclosed strings.

In Privy Council, present, the Farmers Brother, Red Jacket, Little Beard, Big Tree, Little Billy, the young Cattaraugus Chief of that Nation, & Tobacco, another old Chief, Genl. Chapin, Mr. Street, & the two interpreters Smith & Parish, & Community an Onondagan Chief.

Nov. 24. 1790. Red Jacket spoke

Brother, You have now begun to settle the affairs of the nations & brighten the Ch. of Fr. This has been the case since so many small Council fires were kindled, that there were different [Ears] interpreters and they did not know at one Council what had been done at another. Now we have brightened the Ch. of Fr. & the business is begun upon a large scale. It is the mind of the Six nations here, that they should have the same interpreter at another treaty (if another should be held) as they - for these know what has now been done here. It is our mind (& it was always the mind of our fore fathers) when we find a man who has faithful ears, & knows the ways of Indians that they should attend to all our business in treaties with the US & the citizens thereof. — As the business done at the present treaty has been publicly done, we wish the account thereof may be spread far and near; for every thing has been done openly. We mean not to do any thing in the dark, but in the light that every one might see. We wish Mr. Street [pointing to him] may attend future treaties, as he has been present & knows what has been done at this time. These are the few word we had to say, that the president of the US after he has heard what is our mind, may let us hear from him.

Answer, That I would report their present speech, with all their other speeches to the president of the US, who would do what was proper - but he must judge of that.

[They desire a copy of the act of Congress to regulate trade & intercourse with the Indians, may be left at the Geneva. Memo. To urge an immediate appointment of a superintendant of Indian affairs.]

[The Farmers Brother]

Now Brother Community hitherto [Pointing to Jasper Parish interpreter] The business you have done here is of great importance. One of our Ears has no name: and we think it very proper that he should have one; One of our Chiefs has given him his name, that all the people may know him & call him by that name in all future treaties with the US. The name is Sonedishtaowan, or Big-Throat. [He spoke loud when interpreting]

pd Smith, Thanadietau Nhow.e.i.tau or Rising-Sun

Private Conference
Novr. 24. 1790. with
the principal Chiefs

I hereby certify That in obedience to the orders of the President of the United States, I held a Conference at Tioga with the Sachems Chiefs and Warriors of the Seneca Nation of Indians, on account of the murder of two men of their nation at Pine Creek in the State of Pennsylvania; ~~and~~ that the matter has been settled in the most friendly manner; ~~and~~ that the said Indians are satisfied; that the chain of friendship between them and the United States has been brightened; and that they are now returning home in peace, with their minds easy, and that all the Indians of the ~~United States~~ wheresoever they are met by the citizens of the United States nations, are to be considered & treated as friends & brothers ~~of the citizens of the United States~~. Given under my hand & Seal at Tioga in the State of Pennsylvania the 24th day of November 1790. In behalf of the United States in the 15th year of the Independence thereof. T. P. [illegible]

Certificate given to
the Indian Chief
Nhouveitau Nov. 24
1794

That the Chain of Friend-
ship with the Lit.
Nation, was brightened

The Deposition of James Dean of lawful Age testifieth and saith that this Deponent attended a Treaty which was held by Oliver Phelps Esqr with the Indian Nations at Buffalae Creek; That this deponent officiated at the said Treaty as an Interpretor — That the Senecas as far as this deponent had an opportunity to discover their Sentiments, did unanimously agree to dispose of part of their Country to the above mentioned Oliver Phelps Esquire — That this Deponent, altho he does not perfectly recollect the particulars of the Contract made between the said Phelps and Senecas, yet conceives that the said Phelps engaged to pay to the said Senecas the Sum of 5000 dollars the first year after the date of the said Contract, and five hundred Dollars pr year forever — That as far as this deponent was concerned in negotiating said Contract he conceives that every matter and thing respecting the same was fully and clearly explained to the said Senecas, and that the Writings respecting the said Contract were deposited in the hands of Colo John Butler — And further this Deponent saith not

Whites Town Nov 25th 1790. James Dean

Montgomery ss. Nov 25. 1790. Personally appeared James Dean Signer to the foregoing Deposition and after being duly examined & cautioned to testify the truth the whole truth & nothing but the truth, made Solemn Oath that the foregoing Deposition by him subscribed was the truth, the whole truth & nothing but the truth —

Before me — Ephraim Blackmer Justice of Peace —

Extract of the proceedings of Col: Timothy Pickering, at the Council-fire held at Tioga Nov: 25th 1790 —

[Speech of Red-Jacket to Col. Pickering]

Brother —

Now you begin to hear of the situation of our lands — Mr. Phelps and Doctor Benton came on to rake open the fire again at Canedesago. After they were come there, Mr. Phelps passed on to Niagara, and went to our old friend Colonel Butler, whom he met at a tavern. Colonel Butler asked him of his business — He answered, that he came to kindle a fire at Canedesago — Then Colonel Butler told him that Canedesago was not a fit place at which to kindle a fire, and that our old custom was to kindle a fire at our own castle. Colonel Butler told him, that he thought he must build a fire at Buffaloe-creek, and if he did, that he believed he should attend the treaty. Mr. Phelps expressed his fears, that if he held the treaty there he should meet some difficulty. — Then I, Billy and Cajeagayonh [Heap of dogs] went to Canedesago, took Mr. Phelps by the hand, and led him to our council-fire at Buffaloe-creek. All these people here know what speech Mr. Phelps sent us [then pointing to the Farmer's Brother, Billy and others, said] — These went to Canedesago to see

what

what the business was - These all know, and Mr. Street knows, that Mr. Phelps held up a long paper, with a seal as big as my hand. When he opened his mind to us, we took it hard. We wanted to keep a large piece of land: but it was not in our power. Mr. Street [pointing to him on the bench] you know very well, a treaty was held all night to fix the boundary, and the price of the land. These men (Mr. Smith, the Farmer's brother, Steil, Little Billy, Heap of dogs, China breast plate, and I were there). know very well the proposal was, that Mr. Phelps should give us ten thousand dollars for the purchase, and five hundred dollars annual rent. That was the agreement made that night. The bargain was not finished till morning; and just as we went out of the house, the Sun arose - Then we sought for persons to draw the writings - The persons chosen were Mr. Kirtland, Colonel Butler, and Captain Brant. Mr. Street was not then present. after this, the bargain being completed, Mr. Street took our papers with him to Niagara. And, last Summer a year ago, we came to Canadaugui expecting to receive ten thousand dollars; but, then we found we had but five thousand to receive - When we discovered the fraud, we had a mind to apply to Congress, to see if the matter could not be rectified. For when we took the money and shared it, every one here knows that we had but about a dollar a-piece, for all that country. Mr. Street! - you very well know that all that our lands came to, was but the price of a few hogsheads of tobacco. - Gentlemen who stand by [looking round, and addressing

25. November

29 - Sunday preached but once - afterwards attended a long Conference, and upon my return, received a letter, in which I am requested to go to Philadelphia, to meet a number of the Seneka Chiefs, who had already arrived there on business of importance with Congress - partly on account of the disturbed Hostile State of the Indians in the vicinity of the Miami. I am promised that my expences shall be born thro' the journey. - I am much at a loss what is duty in the case - Journey at this season of the year is not only very fatigueing - but will derange my [illegible] of business the ensuing winter. - particularly [illegible] of translating some more Psalms & hymns into the Indian Language - which are exceedingly wanted - also making some further preparation for moving my family into the vicinity of Oneida - towards the close of winter or ensuing spring. -

30. - Upon further consideration of the matter of this journey - Had. Capt Abeel (a particular friend of mine, & Interpreter to the Seneka Chiefs) is the head of this deputation, from the Senekas, also [illegible] Capt Brant - I am induced to go, at all [illegible] lest I should incur the censure of being negligent in their interest.

Thursday 1st December Something [illegible] which [illegible]

Decem^{r}. 2^{d} - set out from the Indian Country for Stockbridge
with an expectation of proceeding to Philadelphia -
10th friday - arrived at Stockbridge this day after a most dis
agreable Journey by reason of the cold weather - snow - unbeaten
paths - & storms. - but find my dear family in health & peace -
& have fully determined to proceed to Philadelphia early
on monday morning. -
20 - Philadelphia - soon after my arrival in the City I met
with the Indians - & Capt Abeel (alias Kayenquaraghkie)
in a formal speech, congratulated me upon my safe arrival
& thanked the great spirit, that he might meet me here -
- the joy of their heart, was more than their tongue could express.
- He soon after related to me the purport of his embassy -
Viz - to represent & state the abuses which the Seneka nation has
suffered from the White people - several of their nation having been
murdered on the back parts of Pen^{a} sylvania - & to obtain an
explanation & adjustment of the boundaries of their territory
as agreed upon by the
Commiss^{rs} of Congress - & those from the State of Tennessee
soon after the peace 1784 - - a proposal to address
to Congress, for assistance & means to promote agriculture
& gradually introduce the arts of civilized life among the
Seneka Nation - lastly the situation of the Indians at

the

INDIAN CONFERENCE AT PHILADELPHIA.

The speech of the Cornplanter, Half-Town and the Great-Tree, Chiefs and Councillors of the Seneca Nation, to the Great Councillor of the Thirteen Fires.

FATHER:—The voice of the Seneca nation speaks to you, the great councillor, in whose heart the wise men of all the Thirteen Fires have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your ears, and we therefore entreat you to hearken with attention, for we are about to speak of things, which are to us, very great. When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you the Town Destroyer; and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers. Our councillors and warriors are men, and cannot be afraid; but their hearts are grieved with the fears of our women and children, and desire that it may be buried so deep as to be heard no more. When you gave us peace, we called you father, because you promised to secure us in the possession of our lands. Do this, and so long as the lands shall remain, that beloved name will live in the heart of every Seneca.

Father: We mean to open our hearts before you, and we earnestly desire that you will let us clearly understand what you resolve to do. When our chiefs returned from the treaty at Fort Stanwix, and laid before our council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give up to you, without your paying to us anything for it. Every one said that your hearts were yet swelled with resentment against us for what had happened during the war, but that one day you would reconsider it with more kindness. We asked each other, What have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?

Father: When you kindled your thirteen fires separately, the wise men that assembled at them told us, that you were all brothers, the children of one great father, who regarded, also, the red people as his children. They called us brothers and

invited us to his protection; they told us that he resided beyond the great water, where the sun first rises; that he was a King whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was bright as that sun. What they said went to our hearts; we accepted the invitation and promised to obey him. What the Seneca nation promise, they faithfully perform; and when you refused obedience to that King, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober. In obeying him, we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise. The men who claimed this promise, told us that you were children and had no guns; that when they had shaken you, you would submit. We hearkened to them, and were deceived, until your army approached our towns. We were deceived; but your people, in teaching us to confide in that King, had helped to deceive us, and we now appeal to your heart—Is the blame all ours?

Father: When we saw that we were deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us to draw near to the fire which you kindled, and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste toward it. You then told us that we were in your hand and that by closing it you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded from us a great country, as the price of that peace which you had offered us; as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights. Our chiefs had felt your power, and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to, has bound our nation, but your anger against us must by this time be cooled; and although our strength has not increased nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly—Were the terms dictated to us by your Commissioners reasonable and just?

Father: Your commissioners when they drew the line which separated the land then given up to you from that which you agreed should remain to be ours, did most solemnly promise, that we should be secured in the peaceable possession of the lands which we inhabited east and north of that line. Does this promise bind you? Hear now, we entreat you, what has since happened concerning that land On the day in which we finished the treaty at Fort Stanwix, commissioners from Pennsylvania told our chiefs that they had come there to pur-

chase from us all the lands belonging to us within the lines of their State, and they told us that their line would strike the river Susquehanna below Tioga branch. They then left us to consider of the bargain till the next day; on the next day we let them know that we were unwilling to sell all the lands within their State, and proposed to let them have a part of it, which we pointed out to them in their map. They told us that they must have the whole; that it was already ceded to them by the great king at the time of making peace with you, and was their own; but they said that they would not take advantage of that, and were willing to pay us for it after the manner of their ancestors. Our chiefs were unable to contend at that time, and therefore they sold the lands up to the line which was then shewn to them as the line of that State. What the commissioners had said about the land having been ceded to them at the peace, our chiefs considered as intended only to lessen the price, and they passed it by with very little notice; but, since that time we have heard so such from others about the right to our lands, which the king gave when you made peace with him, that it is our earnest desire that you will tell us what it means.

Father: Our nation empowered John Livingston to let out part of our lands on rent, to be paid to us. He told us that he was sent by Congress to do this for us, and we fear he has deceived us in the writing he obtained from us; for, since the time of our giving that power, a man of the name of Phelps, has come among us and claimed our whole country, northward of the line of Pennsylvania, under purchase from that Livingston, to whom he said he had paid twenty thousand dollars for it. He said also that he had bought likewise from the council of the Thirteen Fires, and paid them twenty thousand dollars more for the same. And he said also, that it did not belong to us, for that the great king had ceded the whole of it when you made peace with him. Thus he claimed the whole country north of Pennsylvania, and west of the lands belonging to the Cayugas. He demanded it; he insisted on his demand, and declared that he would have it all. It was impossible for us to grant him this, and we immediately refused it. After some days he proposed to run a line at a small distance east-

ward of our western boundary, which we also refused to agree to. He then threatened us with immediate war if we did not comply. Upon this threat our chiefs held a council, and they agreed that no event of war could be worse than to be driven, with their wives and children, from the only country which we had any right to; and therefore, weak as our nation was, they determined to take the chance of war, rather than submit to such unjust demands, which seemed to have no bounds. Street, the great trader of Niagara, was then with us, having come at the request of Phelps, and as he always professed to be our great friend, we consulted him on this subject. He also told us that our lands had been ceded by the king, and that we must give them up. Astonished at what we heard from every quarter, with hearts aching with compassion for our women and children, we were thus compelled to give up all our country north of the line of Pennsylvania and east of the Genesee river, up to the fork, and east of the south line drawn from that fork to the Pennsylvania line. For this land Phelps agreed to pay us ten thousand dollars in hand, and one thousand dollars a year for ever. He paid us two thousand and five hundred dollars in hand, part of the ten thousand, and he sent for us to come last spring to receive our money; but instead of paying us the remainder of the ten thousand dollars, and the one thousand dollars due for the first year, he offered us no more than five hundred dollars, and insisted that he had agreed with us for that sum to be paid yearly. We debated with him for six days, during all which time he persisted in refusing to pay us our just demand, and he insisted that we should receive the five hundred dollars; and Street, from Niagara, also insisted on our receiving the money as it was offered to us. The last reason he assigned for continuing to refuse paying to us was, that the King had ceded the lands to the Thirteen Fires, and that he had bought them from you, and paid you for them.

We could bear this confusion no longer, and determined to press through every difficulty, and lift up our voice that you might hear us, and to claim that security in the possession of our lands which your commissioners so solemnly promised us.

And we now entreat you to inquire into our complaints and redress our wrongs.

Father: Our writings were lodged in the hands of Street, of Niagara, as we supposed him to be our friend; but when we saw Phelps consulting with Street on every occasion, we doubted of his honesty towards us, and we have since heard that he was to receive for his endeavors to deceive us, a piece of land ten miles in width, west of the Genesee river, and near forty miles in length, extending to lake Ontario; and the lines of this tract have been run accordingly, although no part of it is within the bounds which limit his purchase. No doubt he meant to deceive us.

Father: You have said that we are in your hand, and that by closing it, you could crush us to nothing. Are you determined to crush us? If you are, tell us so, that those of our nation who have become your children, and have determined to die so, may know what to do. In this case, one chief has said he would ask you to put him out of pain; another, who will not think of dying by the hand of his father or of his brother, has said he will retire to the Chateaugay, eat of the fatal root, and sleep with his fathers in peace. Before you determine on a measure so unjust, look up to God, who made us as well as you. We hope he will not permit you to destroy the whole of our nation.

Father: Hear our case; many nations inhabited this country, but they had no wisdom, and therefore, they warred together. The Six Nations were powerful, and compelled them to peace. The lands, for a great extent, were given up to them; but the nations which were not destroyed, all continued on those lands, and claimed the protection of the Six Nations, as the brothers of their fathers. They were men, and when at peace, they had a right to live upon the earth. The French came among us and built Niagara; they became our fathers and took care of us. Sir William Johnson came and took that fort from the French; he became our father, and promised to take care of us, and did so, until you were too strong for his king. To him we gave four miles around Niagara as a place of trade. We have already said how we came to join against you; we saw that we were wrong; we wished for peace; you

demanded a great country to be given up to you; it was surrendered to you as the price of peace, and we ought to have peace and possession of the little land which you then left us.

Father: When that great country was given up there were but few chiefs present, and they were compelled to give it up, and it is not the Six Nations only that reproach those chiefs with having given up that country. The Chippewas, and all the nations who lived on those lands westward, call to us and ask us: Brothers of our fathers, where is the place which you have reserved for us to lie down upon?

Father: You have compelled us to do that which has made us ashamed. We have nothing to answer to the children of the brothers of our fathers. When, last spring, they called upon us to go to war, to secure them a bed to lie upon, the Senecas entreated them to be quiet, until we had spoken to you. But on our way down, we heard that your army had gone toward the country which those nations inhabit, and if they meet together, the best blood on both sides will stain the ground.

Father: We will not conceal from you, that the great God, and not men, has preserved the Cornplanter from the hands of his own nation. For they ask continually, where is the land which our children, and their children after them, are to lie down upon? You told us, say they, the line drawn from Pennsylvania to lake Ontario, would mark it forever on the east, and the line running from Beaver creek to Pennsylvania, would mark it on the west, and we see it is not so; for first one and then another came and take it away by order of that people which you tell us promised to secure it to us. He is silent, for he has nothing to answer.

When the sun goes down he opens his heart before God, and earlier than that sun appears again upon the hills; he gives thanks for his protection during the night, for he feels that among men, become desperate by their danger, it is God only that can preserve him. He loves peace, and all that he had in store he has given to those who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the innocent to repay themselves. The whole season which others have employed in pro-

viding for their families he has spent in his endeavours to preserve peace; and at this moment his wife and children are lying on the ground and in want of food; his heart is in pain for them, but he perceives that the great God will try his firmness in doing what is right.

Father: The grain which the Great Spirit sent into our country for us to eat, is going from among us. We thought he intended that we should till the ground with the plough, as the white people do, and we talked to one another about it. But before we speak to you concerning this, we must know from you whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till? Speak plainly to us concerning this great business. All the lands we have been speaking of belonged to the Six Nations; no part of it ever belonged to the king of England, and he could not give it to you. The land we live on our fathers received from God, and they transmitted to us, for our children, and we cannot part with it.

Father: We told you that we would open our hearts to you. Hear us once more.

At Fort Stanwix we agreed to deliver up those of our people who should do you any wrong, that you might try them and punish them according to your law. We delivered up two men accordingly; but instead of trying them according to your law, the lowest of your people took them from your magistrate, and put them immediately to death. It is just to punish murder with death; but the Senecas will not deliver up their people to men who disregard the treaties of their own nation.

Father: Innocent men of our nation are killed one after another, and of our best families; but none of your people who have committed the murder have been punished. We recollect that you did not promise to punish those who killed our people, and we now ask: Was it intended that your people should kill the Senecas, and not only remain unpunished by you, but be protected by you against the revenge of the next of kin?

Father: These are to us very great things. We know that you are very strong, and we have heard that you are wise,

and we wait to hear your answer to what we have said, that we may know that you are just.

Signed at Philadelphia, the first day of December, 1790.

CORNPLANTER, his × mark.
HALF-TOWN, his × mark.
GREAT-TREE, his × mark.

Present at signing,

JOSEPH NICHOLSON, *Interpreter.*
T. MATLACK.

INDIAN CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 10*th January*, 1791.

The speech of the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Great-Tree, Chiefs of the Seneca Nation, to the President of the United States of America.

FATHER:—Your speech written on the great paper is to us like the first light of the morning to a sick man, whose pulse beats too strongly in his temples and prevents him from sleep. He sees it, and rejoices, but he is not cured. You say that you have spoken plainly on the great point. That you will protect us in the lands secured to us at Fort Stanwix, and that we have the right to sell or to refuse to sell it. This very good, but our nation complain that you compelled us at that treaty to give up too much of our lands. We confess that our nation is bound by what was then done, and acknowledging your power, we have now appealed to yourselves against that treaty as made while you were too angry to us, and, therefore, unreasonable and unjust. To this you have given us no answer.

Father: That treaty was not made with a single State, it was with the thirteen States. We would never have given all that land to one State. We know it was before you had the great authority, and as you have more wisdom than the commissioners who forced us into that treaty, we expect that you have also more regard to justice, and will now, at our request reconsider that treaty and restore to us a part of that land.

Father: The land which lies between the line running south from lake Erie to the boundary of Pennsylvania as mentioned

2d Congress.] No. 23. [1st Session.

NORTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, JANUARY 11, 1792.

Gentlemen of the Senate
and of the House of Representatives:

I lay before you, in confidence, two reports made to me by the Secretary for the Department of War, relatively to the present state of affairs on the Western frontiers of the United States.

In these reports the causes of the present war with the Indians; the measures taken by the Executive to terminate it amicably; and the military preparations for the late campaign, are stated and explained; and also a plan suggested of such further measures on the occasion as appear just and expedient.

I am persuaded, gentlemen, that you will take this important subject into your immediate and serious consideration, and that the result of your deliberations will be the adoption of such wise and efficient measures as will reflect honor on our national councils, and promote the welfare of our country.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

United States, *January 11th*, 1792.

War Department, *26th December*, 1791.

Sir:

I have the honor to submit to your consideration, two reports, relatively to the Western frontiers of the United States.

The report A is accompanied by official documents, and is intended to exhibit the measures taken by the Executive to induce the hostile Indians to peace, without the necessity of using force against them; and also the measures of the Executive relative to the objects and preparations of the campaign of 1791, and in some degree an explanation of the causes of its failure.

The report B contains a general, but summary review of the conduct of the United States towards the Indians northwest of the Ohio, since our separation from Great Britain.

And it also contains an opinion, delivered with great diffidence, of such further measures as the nature of the case, and the public interests, seem to require.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The President *of the United States.*

A.

A summary statement of facts, relatively to the measures taken, in behalf of the United States, to induce the hostile Indians, northwest of the Ohio, to peace, previously to the exercise of coercion against them; and also a statement of the arrangements for the campaign of 1791.

That the measures of the Executive of the United States, relatively to Indian affairs, since the operation of the General Government, have been calculated to produce a peace with all the Indian tribes, upon the terms of justice and humanity, may be evinced by having recourse to the records of the Indian department.

That, as the former proceedings have generally been laid before the Legislature, the present statement commences with the close of the campaign of the year 1790.

That the Cornplanter, a war-captain of the Senecas, and other Indians of the same tribe, being in Philadelphia, December, 1790, measures were taken to impress them with the moderation of the United States, as it respected the war with the Western Indians; that the coercive measures against them had been the consequence of their refusal to listen to the invitations of peace, and a continuance of their depredations on the frontiers.

That, at the same time, the Senecas were warned to restrain their young men from taking part with the hostile Indians; upon which point, assurances were made by the Cornplanter, that he, and the Indians under his influence, would not only be friends to the United States, but that they would endeavor to prevent the further hostilities of the Western Indians. Arrangements were accordingly made, that the Cornplanter, with other friendly Indians, should proceed to the Western tribes, and endeavor to influence them to peace.

That, in addition to this measure, Colonel Thomas Procter, on the 10th of March, was sent to the Cornplanter to hasten his departure, to accompany him to the Miami villages; and messages were sent to the Indians, declaratory of the sentiments of the United States towards them.

That both the Cornplanter and Colonel Procter met with difficulties, in the due execution of their orders, which were insurmountable.

That further measures were taken, in the month of April, to draw the Six Nations to a conference, at a distance from the theatre of war, in order not only to prevent their joining therein, but, also, if necessary, to obtain some of their young men to join our army, in case of hostilities being inevitable.

That the said conference was accordingly held at the Painted Post, in the month of June, by Colonel Pickering.

That, besides these, measures were taken for holding a treaty with the Cherokees, which was concluded on the second of July; and also other pacific measures were pursued with the Chickasaws and Creeks.

That Major General St. Clair was instructed, in addition to the measures immediately taken by the Executive, to devise and execute further expedients to endeavor to quiet the hostile Indians, without a further effusion of blood. That he accordingly forwarded messages to the Delawares and Wyandots, and through them, to the hostile Indians, expressive of the pacific and humane dispositions of the United States towards them.

That he also endeavored to tranquillize the Wyandots and Delawares, relative to some of their members having been killed in March, who had been trading at a block-house at Big Beaver creek.

That, although the Governor of Pennsylvania, at the request of the Secretary of War, issued his proclamation to bring the offenders to justice, yet it does not appear to have been done.

That the preparations of the campaign commenced while the subject was under the consideration of Congress.

That two thousand arms and accoutrements, and a proportional quantity of ammunition, were transported to fort Pitt, during the months of February, March and April.

That eight pieces of artillery, and stores, were also arranged, repaired, and transported to fort Pitt.

That the corps of two thousand levies, authorized by the act of Congress of the 3d of March, were organized into two regiments, each of three battalions; that one battalion was raised in New Jersey, two in Pennsylvania, one in Maryland, one in Virginia, and one in the territory of the United States, south of the Ohio; the latter being intended to be armed entirely with rifles.

That each battalion consisted of four companies, and each company of eighty-three non-commissioned officers and privates, amounting, in all, to the number of one thousand nine hundred and ninety-two.

That of the levies, there were raised and marched, from their respective rendezvous, during the months of April, May, June, and the beginning of July, one thousand six hundred and seventy-four non-commissioned and privates.

That of the first and second regiments of the more permanent troops of the United States, there were recruited, and marched to the frontiers, during the months of April, May, June, and the beginning of July, seven hundred and eighteen; and of the battalion of artillery, forty-five, making, in the whole, seven hundred and sixty-three non-commissioned and privates.

That the total of the regulars and levies, who actually marched from their respective rendezvous, appear to have been two thousand four hundred and thirty-seven; and to which is to be added, two hundred and sixty-two of the first regiment and artillery, previously at fort Washington, which will make the whole to amount to two thousand six hundred and ninety-nine, non-commissioned and privates.

That, of these, there appear to have been at fort Washington, and different parts of the Ohio, in the month of September last, as per abstract of musters, two thousand five hundred and eighty-seven privates.

That the continental troops, consisting of regulars and levies, artillery, and cavalry, for the expedition, as appears by Major General St. Clair's letter of 6th of October, amount to about two thousand.

That, besides the aforesaid number of two thousand six hundred and ninety-nine troops on the Ohio, there have been enlisted and marched, of the second regiment, three hundred and seventy-three non-commissioned and privates, of whom two companies, consisting of one hundred and fifty-six, have been at fort Pitt until lately, when they descended the Ohio to Fort Washington. Another company, of fifty-nine, have been detached to Georgia, which, with the troops already there, and a company recruited in South-Carolina, which is also ordered there, will amount to five hundred and ninety-two non-commissioned and privates; besides which, there is a small detachment at West Point, of seventeen men.

That thus it will appear, that, of the troops authorized by the acts of Congress, amounting to four thousand one hundred and twenty-eight non-commissioned and privates, only the number of three thousand three hundred and eight, are, and have been raised

That the deficiency, of eight hundred and twenty, have not been enlisted, appears to have been in consequence of the low pay, and perhaps the nature of the service.

That, previously to the enlistment of the levies, to-wit: on the tenth day of March, in consequence of irruptions of the Indians on the frontiers, the county lieutenants of the frontiers, lying along the Ohio, and in the southwestern parts of Virginia, and in the territory of the United States south of the Ohio, were empowered to call forth the militia for the defensive protection of said counties, respectively.

That this measure was dictated by the necessity of the case, and under the laws authorizing the President of the United States for the purpose.

That, besides this species of defensive protection afforded the frontiers, during the preparing the army for a forward movement, two desultory operations were directed, at the expense of the United States, from the district of Kentucky, and both of which succeeded in a considerable degree. These expeditions were intended as well to prevent the Indians from spreading themselves on the frontiers, by calling their attention to their own safety, as to shew our power to chastise them.

That Major General St. Clair, besides his troops of regulars and levies, had authority to call for militia from Kentucky, to supply any deficiences of new levies, and that such militia should be of such species as he should judge proper. That the said Major General St. Clair called for one thousand one hundred and fifty militia, but of these, only the number of four hundred and eighteen joined him, as appears by the abstract of the musters; but, by his letter of the first of November, there appears sixty to have joined him on the march, and about as many deserted.

That the detention of his troops in the upper parts of the Ohio, and afterwards the lowness of the waters in that river, were considered by him as truly unfortunate circumstances.

That the instructions of Major General St. Clair contain the plan of the campaign. That the said instructions, and the other papers on which this statement is formed, whether relative to the Indian department, or the preparations for the campaign, are hereunto annexed.

All which is humbly submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

War Department, *December 26th*, 1791.

The speech of the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Great-Tree, Chiefs and Councillors of the Seneca nation, to the Great Councillor of the Thirteen Fires.

Father:

The voice of the Seneca nation speaks to you, the great councillor, in whose heart the wise men of all the Thirteen Fires have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your ears, and we therefore entreat you to hearken with attention: for we are about to speak of things which are to us very great. When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you the town destroyer; and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers. Our councillors and warriors are men, and cannot be afraid; but their hearts are grieved with the fears of our women and children, and desire it may be buried so deep as to be heard no more.

When you gave us peace, we called you father, because you promised to secure us in the possession of our lands. Do this, and, so long as the lands shall remain, that beloved name will live in the heart of every Seneca.

Father: We mean to open our hearts before you, and we earnestly desire that you will let us clearly understand what you resolve to do. When our chiefs returned from the treaty at fort Stanwix, and laid before our council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give up to you, without your paying to us any thing for it. Every one said that your hearts were yet swelled with resentment against us for what had happened during the war, but that one day you would reconsider it with more kindness. We asked each other, What have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?

Father: When you kindled your thirteen fires separately, the wise men that assembled at them told us, that you were all brothers, the children of one great father, who regarded, also, the red people as his children. They called us brothers, and invited us to his protection; they told us that he resided beyond the great water, where the sun first rises; that he was a king whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was bright as that sun. What they said went to our hearts; we accepted the invitation, and promised to obey him. What the Seneca nation promise, they faithfully perform; and when you refused obedience to that king, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober. In obeying him, we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise. The men who claimed this promise told us that you were children, and had no guns; that when they had shaken you, you would submit. We hearkened to them, and were deceived, until your army approached our towns. We were deceived; but your people, in teaching us to confide in that king, had helped to deceive, and we now appeal to your heart—Is the blame all ours?

Father: When we saw that we were deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us to draw near to the fire which you kindled, and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste towards it. You then told us that we were in your hand, and that, by closing it, you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded from us a great country, as the price of that peace which you had offered us; as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights; our chiefs had felt your power, and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to, has bound our nation; but your anger against us must, by this time, be cooled; and, although our strength has not increased, nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly, Were the terms dictated to us by your commissioners reasonable and just?

Father: Your commissioners, when they drew the line which separated the land then given up to you from that which you agreed should remain to be ours, did most solemnly promise, that we should be secured in the peaceable possession of the lands which we inhabited east and north of that line. Does this promise bind you?

Hear now, we beseech you, what has since happened concerning that land. On the day in which we finished the treaty at fort Stanwix, commissioners from Pennsylvania told our chiefs that they had come there to purchase from us all the lands belonging to us, within the lines of their State, and they told us that their line would strike the river Susquehannah below Tioga branch. They then left us to consider of the bargain till the next day; on the next day we let them know that we were unwilling to sell all the lands within their State, and proposed to let them have a part of it, which we pointed out to them in their map. They told us that they must have the whole; that it was already ceded to them by the great king, at the time of making peace with you, and was *their own;* but they said that they would not take advantage of that, and were willing to pay us for it, after the manner of their ancestors. Our chiefs were unable to contend, at that time, and therefore they sold the lands up to the line, which was then shewn to them as the line of that State. What the commissioners had said about the land having been ceded to them at the peace, our chiefs considered as intended only to lessen the price, and they passed it by with very little notice; but, since that time, we have heard so much from others about the right to our lands, which the king gave when you made peace with him, that it is our earnest desire that you will tell us what it means.

FATHER: Our nation empowered John Livingston to let out part of our lands on rent, to be paid to us. He told us, that he was sent by Congress, to do this for us, and we fear he has deceived us in the writing he obtained from us.

For, since the time of our giving that power, a man of the name of Phelps has come among us, and claimed our whole country northward of the line of Pennsylvania, under purchase from that Livingston, to whom, he said, he had paid twenty thousand dollars for it. He said, also, that he had bought, likewise, from the council of the Thirteen Fires, and paid them twenty thousand dollars more for the same.

And he said, also, that it did not belong to us, for that the great king had ceded the whole of it, when you made peace with him. Thus he claimed the whole country north of Pennsylvania, and west of the lands belonging to the Cayugas. He demanded it; he insisted on his demand, and declared that he would have it *all.* It was impossible for us to grant him this, and we immediately refused it. After some days, he proposed to run a line, at a small distance eastward of our western boundary, which we also refused to agree to. He then threatened us with immediate war, if we did not comply.

Upon this threat, our chiefs held a council, and they agreed that no event of war could be worse than to be driven, with their wives and children, from the only country which we had any right to, and, therefore, weak as our nation was, they determined to take the chance of war, rather than to submit to such unjust demands, which seemed to have no bounds. Street, the great trader to Niagara, was then with us, having come at the request of Phelps, and as he always professed to be our great friend, we consulted him upon this subject. He also told us, that our lands had been ceded by the king, and that we *must* give them up.

Astonished at what we heard from every quarter, with hearts aching with compassion for our women and children, we were thus compelled to give up all our country north of the line of Pennsylvania and east of the Genesee river, up to the fork, and east of a south line drawn from that fork to the Pennsylvania line.

For this land, Phelps agreed to pay us ten thousand dollars in hand, and one thousand a year for ever.

He paid us two thousand and five hundred dollars in hand, part of the ten thousand, and he sent for us to come last spring, to receive our money; but instead of paying us the remainder of the ten thousand dollars, and the one thousand dollars due for the first year, he offered us no more than five hundred dollars, and insisted that he agreed with us for that sum, to be paid yearly. We debated with him for six days, during all which time he persisted in refusing to pay us our just demand, and he insisted that we should receive the five hundred dollars; and Street, from Niagara, also insisted on our receiving the money, as it was offered to us. The last reason he assigned for continuing to refuse paying us, was, *that the king had ceded the lands to the Thirteen Fires,* and that he had bought them from you, and *paid you for them.*

We could bear this confusion no longer, and determined to press through every difficulty, and lift up our voice that you might hear us, and to claim that security in the possession of our lands, which your commissioners so solemnly promised us. And we now entreat you to inquire into our complaints and redress our wrongs.

FATHER: Our writings were lodged in the hands of Street, of Niagara, as we supposed him to be our friend; but when we saw Phelps consulting with Street, on every occasion, we doubted of his honesty towards us, and we have since heard, that he was to receive for his endeavors to deceive us, a piece of land ten miles in width, west of the Genesee river, and near forty miles in length, extending to Lake Ontario; and the lines of this tract have been run accordingly, although no part of it is within the bounds which limit his purchase. No doubt he meant to deceive us.

FATHER: You have said that we are in your hand, and that, by closing it, you could crush us to nothing. Are you determined to crush us? If you are, tell us so, that those of our nation who have become your children, and have determined to die so, may know what to do.

In this case, one chief has said he would ask you to put him out of pain. Another, who will not think of dying by the hand of his father or of his brother, has said he will retire to the Chateaugay, eat of the fatal root, and sleep with his fathers, in peace.

Before you determine on a measure so unjust, look up to God, who made *us* as well as *you.* We hope he will not permit you to destroy the whole of our nation.

FATHER: Hear our case; many nations inhabited this country; but they had no wisdom, and, therefore, they warred together. The Six Nations were powerful, and compelled them to peace; the lands, for a great extent, were given up to them; but the nations which were not destroyed, all continued on those lands, and claimed the protection of the Six Nations, as the brothers of their fathers. They were men, and when at peace, they had a right to live upon the earth. The French came among us, and built Niagara; they became our fathers, and took care of us. Sir William Johnston came and took that fort from the French; he became our father, and promised to take care of us, and did so, until you were too strong for his king. To him we gave four miles round Niagara, as a place of trade. We have already said, how we came to join against you; we saw that we were wrong; we wished for peace; you demanded a great country to be given up to you; it was surrendered to you, as the price of peace, and we ought to have peace and possession of the little land which you then left us.

FATHER: When that great country was given up, there were but few chiefs present, and they were compelled to give it up, and it is not the Six Nations only that reproach those chiefs with having given up that country. The Chippewas, and all the nations who lived on those lands westward, call to us, and ask us, Brothers of our fathers, where is the place you have reserved for us to lie down upon?

FATHER: You have compelled us to do that which has made us ashamed. We have nothing to answer to the children of the brothers of our fathers. When, last spring, they called upon us to go to war, to secure them a bed to lie upon, the Senecas entreated them to be quiet, till we had spoken to you. But, on our way down, we heard that your army had gone toward the country which those nations inhabit, and if they meet together, the best blood on both sides will stain the ground.

FATHER: We will not conceal from you, that the great God, and not men, has preserved the Cornplanter from the hands of his own nation. For they ask, continually, Where is the land which our children, and their children after them, are to lie down upon? You told us, say they, that the line drawn from Pennsylvania to lake Ontario, would mark it forever on the east, and the line running from Beaver creek to Pennsylvania, would mark it on the west, and we see that it is not so. For, first one, and then another, come, and take it away, by order of that people which you tell us promised to secure it to us. He is silent, for he has nothing to answer.

When the sun goes down, he opens his heart before God, and earlier than that sun appears again upon the hills, he gives thanks for his protection during the night: for he feels that, among men, become desperate by their danger, it is God only that can preserve him. He loves peace, and all he had in store, he has given to those who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the innocent to repay themselves. The whole season which others have employed in providing for their families, he has spent in his endeavors to preserve peace; and, at this moment, his wife and children are lying on the ground, and in want of food; his heart is in pain for them, but he perceives that the great God will try his firmness, in doing what is right.

FATHER: The game which the Great Spirit sent into our country for us to eat, is going from among us. We thought he intended that we should till the ground with the plough, as the white people do, and we talked to one another

about it. But before we speak to you concerning this, we must know from you whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till. Speak plainly to us concerning this great business.

All the lands we have been speaking of belonged to the Six Nations; no part of it ever belonged to the King of England, and he could not give it to you.

The land we live on, our fathers received from God, and they transmitted it to us, for our children, and we cannot part with it.

FATHER: We told you that we would open our hearts to you. Hear us once more.

At fort Stanwix, we agreed to deliver up those of our people who should do you any wrong, that you might try them, and punish them according to your law. We delivered up two men accordingly, but instead of trying them according to your law, the lowest of your people took them from your magistrate, and put them immediately to death. It is just to punish murder with death; but the Senecas will not deliver up their people to men who disregard the treaties of their own nation.

FATHER: Innocent men of our nation are killed one after another, and of our best families; but none of your people who have committed the murder have been punished.

We recollect that you did not promise to punish those who killed our people, and we now ask, was it intended that your people should kill the Senecas, and not only remain unpunished by you, but be protected by you against the revenge of the next of kin?

FATHER: These are to us very great things. We know that you are very strong, and we have heard that you are wise, and we wait to hear your answer to what we have said, that we may know that you are just.

Signed at Philadelphia, the first day of December, 1790.

CORNPLANTER, his x mark.
HALF-TOWN, his x mark.
GREAT-TREE, his x mark.

Present at signing, JOSEPH NICHOLSON, *Interpreter*.
T'Y. MATLACK.

The reply of the President of the United States to the speech of the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and Great-Tree, Chiefs and Councillors of the Seneca nation of Indians.

I, the President of the United States, by my own mouth, and by a written speech, signed with my own hand, and sealed with the seal of the United States, speak to the Seneca nation, and desire their attention, and that they would keep this speech in remembrance of the friendship of the United States.

I have received your speech with satisfaction, as a proof of your confidence in the justice of the United States, and I have attentively examined the several objects which you have laid before me, whether delivered by your own chiefs at Tioga Point, in the last month, to Colonel Pickering, or laid before me in the present month, by the Cornplanter, and the other Seneca chiefs now in this city.

In the first place, I observe to you, and request it may sink deeply into your minds, that it is my desire, and the desire of the United States, that all the miseries of the late war should be forgotten, and buried forever. That, in future, the United States and the Six Nations should be truly brothers, promoting each other's prosperity by acts of mutual friendship and justice.

I am not uninformed, that the Six Nations have been led into some difficulties, with respect to the sale of their lands, since the peace. But I must inform you that these evils arose before the present Government of the United States was established, when the separate States, and individuals under their authority, undertook to treat with the Indian tribes respecting the sale of their lands. But the case is now entirely altered; the General Government, only, has the power to treat with the Indian nations, and any treaty formed, and held without its authority, will not be binding.

Here, then, is the security for the remainder of your lands. No State, nor person, can purchase your lands, unless at some public treaty, held under the authority of the United States. The General Government will never consent to your being defrauded, but it will protect you in all your just rights.

Hear well, and let it be heard by every person in your nation, that the President of the United States declares, that the General Government considers itself bound to protect you in all the lands secured to you by the treaty of fort Stanwix, the 22d of October, 1784, excepting such parts as you may since have fairly sold, to persons properly authorized to purchase of you. You complain that John Livingston and Oliver Phelps, assisted by Mr. Street, of Niagara, have obtained your lands, and that they have not complied with their agreement. It appears, upon inquiry of the Governor of New York, that John Livingston was not legally authorized to treat with you, and that every thing that he did with you has been declared null and void, so that you may rest easy on that account. But it does not appear, from any proofs yet in possession of Government, that Oliver Phelps has defrauded you.

If, however, you have any just cause of complaint against him, and can make satisfactory proof thereof, the federal courts will be open to you for redress, as to all other persons. But your great object seems to be, the security of your remaining lands; and I have, therefore, upon this point, meant to be sufficiently strong and clear, that, in future, you cannot be defrauded of your lands; that you possess the right to sell, and the right of refusing to sell, your lands; that, therefore, the sale of your lands, in future, will depend entirely upon yourselves. But that, when you may find it for your interest to sell any part of your lands, the United States must be present, by their agent, and will be your security that you shall not be defrauded in the bargain you may make.

It will, however, be important, that, before you make any further sales of your lands, you should determine among yourselves who are the persons among you, that shall give such conveyances thereof as shall be binding upon your nation, and forever prevent all disputes relative to the validity of the sale.

That, besides the before mentioned security for your land, you will perceive, by the law of Congress for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, the fatherly care the United States intend to take of the Indians. For the particular meaning of this law, I refer you to the explanations given thereof by Colonel Timothy Pickering, at Tioga, which, with the law, are herewith delivered to you.

You have said in your speech that the game is going away from among you, and that you thought it the design of the Great Spirit, that you should till the ground; but before you speak upon this subject, you want to know whether the Union mean to leave you any land to till. You now know, that all the lands secured to you, by the treaty of fort Stanwix, excepting such parts as you may since have fairly sold, are yours, and that only your own acts can convey them away. Speak, therefore, your wishes, on the subject of tilling the ground. The United States will be happy in affording you every assistance, in the only business which will add to your numbers and happiness. The murders that have been committed upon some of your people, by the bad white men, I sincerely lament and reprobate; and I earnestly hope, that the real murderers will be secured, and punished as they deserve. This business has been sufficiently explained to you here, by the Governor of Pennsylvania, and by Colonel Pickering, on behalf of the United States, at Tioga. The Senecas may be assured, that the rewards offered for apprehending the murderers, will be continued, until they are secured for trial; and that, when they shall be apprehended, they will be tried and punished as if they had killed white men.

Having answered the most material parts of your speech, I shall inform you that some bad Indians, and the outcasts of several tribes, who reside at the Miami village, have long continued their murders and depredations upon the frontiers lying along the Ohio. That they have not only refused to listen to my voice, inviting them to peace, but that, upon receiving it, they renewed their incursions and murders, with greater violence than ever. I have, therefore, been obliged to strike those bad people, in order to make them sensible of their madness. I sincerely hope they will hearken to reason, and not require to be farther chastised. The United States desire to be the friends of the Indians, upon terms of justice and humanity; but they will not suffer the depredations of the bad Indians to go unpunished. My desire is, that you would caution all the Senecas, and Six Nations, to prevent their

rash young men from joining the Maumee Indians: for the United States cannot distinguish the tribes to which bad Indians belong, and every tribe must take care of their own people. The merits of the Cornplanter, and his friendship for the United States, are well known to me, and shall not be forgotten; and, as a mark of the esteem of the United States, I have directed the Secretary of War to make him a present of ——— dollars, either in money or goods, as the Cornplanter shall like best; and he may depend upon the future care and kindness of the United States; and I have also directed the Secretary of War to make suitable presents to the other chiefs in Philadelphia; and also, that some further tokens of friendship be forwarded to the other chiefs, now in their nation.

Remember my words, Senecas! Continue to be strong in your friendship for the United States, as the only rational ground of your future happiness, and you may rely upon their kindness and protection. An agent shall soon be appointed to reside in some place convenient to the Senecas and Six Nations. He will represent the United States. Apply to him on all occasions. If any man bring you evil reports of the intentions of the United States, mark that man as your enemy: for he will mean to deceive you, and lead you into trouble. The United States will be true and faithful to their engagements.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, this twenty-ninth day of
[L. S.] December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and in the fifteenth year of the sovereignty and independence of the United States.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

By the President:

TH: JEFFERSON.

By command of the President of the United States of America:

H. KNOX, *Secretary for the Department of War.*

The speech of the Cornplanter, Ha. Town, and the Great-Tree, Chiefs of the Seneca nation, to the President of the United States of America.

FATHER: Your speech, written on the great paper, is to us like the first light of the morning to a sick man, whose pulse beats too strongly in his temples, and prevents him from sleep. He sees it, and rejoices, but he is not cured.

You say that you have spoken plainly on the great point. That you will protect us in the lands secured to us at fort Stanwix, and that we have the right to *sell* or to *refuse* to sell it. This is very good. But our nation complain that you compelled us at that treaty to give up too much of our lands. We confess that our nation is bound by what was there done; and, acknowledging your power, we have now appealed to yourselves against that treaty, as made while you were too angry at us, and, therefore, unreasonable and unjust. To this you have given us no answer.

FATHER: That treaty was not made with a single State, it was with the thirteen States. We never would have given all that land to one State. We know it was before you had the great authority, and as you have more wisdom than the commissioners, who forced us into that treaty, we expect that you have also more regard to justice, and will now, at our request, reconsider that treaty, and restore to us a part of that land.

FATHER: The land which lies between the line running south from lake Erie to the boundary of Pennsylvania, as mentioned at the treaty at fort Stanwix, and the eastern boundary of the land which you sold, and the Senecas confirmed to Pennsylvania, is the land on which Half-Town and all his people live, with other chiefs, who always have been, and still are, dissatisfied with the treaty at fort Stanwix. They grew out of this land, and their fathers' fathers grew out of it, and they cannot be persuaded to part with it. We therefore entreat you to restore to us this little piece.

FATHER: Look at the land which we gave to you at that treaty, and then turn your eyes upon what we now ask you to restore to us, and you will see that what we ask you to return is a *very little piece*. By giving it back again, you will satisfy the whole of our nation. The chiefs who signed that treaty will be in safety, and peace between your children and our children will continue so long as your land shall join to ours. Every man of our nation will then turn his eyes away from all the other lands which we then gave up to you, and forget that our fathers ever said that they belonged to them.

FATHER: We see that you ought to have the path at the carrying place from lake Erie to Niagara, as it was marked down at fort Stanwix, and we are all willing it should remain to be yours. And if you desire to reserve a passage through the Conewango, and through the Chataugue lake and land, for a path from that lake to lake Erie, take it where you best like. Our nation will rejoice to see it an open path for you and your children while the land and water remain. But let us also pass along the same way, and continue to take the fish of those waters in common with you.

FATHER: You say that you will appoint an agent to take care of us. Let him come and take care of our trade; but we desire he may not have any thing to do with our lands: for the agents which have come amongst us, and pretended to take care of us, have always deceived us whenever we sold lands; both when the King of England and when the States have bargained with us. They have by this means occasioned many wars, and we are therefore unwilling to trust them again.

FATHER: When we return home, we will call a great council, and consider well how lands may be hereafter sold by our nation. And when we have agreed upon it, we will send you notice of it. But we desire that you will not depend on your agent for information concerning land: for, after the abuses which we have suffered by such men, we will not trust them with any thing which relates to land.

FATHER: We will not hear lies concerning you, and we desire that you will not hear lies concerning us, and then we shall certainly live at peace with you.

FATHER: There are men who go from town to town and beget children, and leave them to perish, or, except better men take care of them, to grow up without instruction. Our nation has looked round for a father, but they found none that would own them for children, until you now tell us that your courts are open to us as to your own people. The joy which we feel at this great news, so mixes with the sorrows that are passed, that we cannot express our gladness, nor conceal the remembrance of our afflictions. We will speak of them at another time.

FATHER: We are ashamed that we have listened to the lies of Livingston, or been influenced by threats of war by Phelps, and would hide that whole transaction from the world, and from ourselves, by quietly receiving what Phelps promised to give us for the lands they cheated us of. But as Phelps will not pay us even according to that fraudulent bargain, we will lay the whole proceedings before your court. When the evidence which we can produce is heard, we think it will appear that the whole bargain was founded on lies, which he placed one upon another; that the goods which he charges to us as part payment were plundered from us; that, if Phelps was not directly concerned in the theft, he knew of it at the time, and concealed it from us; and that the persons we confided in were bribed by him to deceive us in the bargain. And if these facts appear, that your court will not say that such bargains are just, but will set the whole aside.

FATHER: We apprehend that our evidence might be called for, as Phelps was here, and knew what we have said concerning him; and as Ebenezer Allen knew something of the matter, we desired him to continue here. Nicholson, the interpreter, is very sick, and we request that Allen may remain a few days longer, as he speaks our language.

FATHER: The blood which was spilled near Pine creek is covered, and we shall never look where it lies. We know that Pennsylvania will satisfy us for that which we spoke of to them before we spoke to you. The chain of friendship will now, we hope, be made strong as you desire it to be. We will hold it fast; and our end of it shall never rust in our hands.

FATHER: We told you what advice we gave the people you are now at war with, and we now tell you that they have promised to come again to our towns next spring. We shall not wait for their coming, but will set out very early, and shew to them what you have done *for us*, which must convince them that you will do for them every thing which they ought to ask. We think they will hear and follow our advice.

FATHER: You give us leave to speak our minds concerning the tilling of the ground. We ask you to teach us to plough and to grind corn; to assist us in building saw mills, and to supply us with broad axes, saws, augers, and other tools, so as that we may make our houses more comfortable and more durable; that you will send smiths among us, and, above all, that you will teach our children to read and write, and our women to spin and to weave. The manner of your doing these things for us we leave to you, who understand them; but we assure you that we will follow your advice as far as we are able.

CORNPLANTER, his x mark.
HALF-TOWN, his x mark.
GREAT-TREE, his x mark.

Present at signing, Joseph Nicholson, *Interpreter*.
Ty. Matlack.
John Dechart, his x mark.
Jem Hudson, his x mark.

Philadelphia, 10th January, 1791.

The speech of the President of the United States to the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and Big-Tree, chiefs of the Seneca nation of Indians.

BROTHERS:

I have maturely considered your second written speech.

You say your nation complain that, at the treaty of fort Stanwix, you were compelled to give up too much of your lands; that you confess your nation is bound by what was there done, and acknowledging the power of the United States; that you have now appealed to ourselves against that treaty, as made while we were angry against you, and that the said treaty was, therefore, unreasonable and unjust.

But, while you complain of the treaty of fort Stanwix, in 1784, you seem entirely to forget that you, yourselves, the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and Great-Tree, with others of your nation, confirmed, by the treaty of fort Harmar, upon the Muskingum, so late as the ninth of January, 1789, the boundary marked at the treaty of fort Stanwix, and that, in consideration thereof, you then received goods to a considerable amount.

Although it is my sincere desire, in looking forward, to endeavor to promote your happiness, by all just and humane arrangements, yet I cannot disannul treaties formed by the United States, before my administration, especially, as the boundaries mentioned therein have been twice confirmed by yourselves. The lines fixed at fort Stanwix and fort Harmar, must, therefore, remain established. But Half-Town, and the others, who reside on the land you desire may be relinquished, have not been disturbed in their possession, and I should hope, while he and they continue to demean themselves peaceably, and to manifest their friendly dispositions to the people of the United States, that they will be suffered to remain where they are.

The agent who will be appointed by the United States, will be your friend and protector. He will not be suffered to defraud you, or to assist in defrauding you of your lands, or of any other thing, as all his proceedings must be reported in writing, so as to be submitted to the President of the United States.

You mention your design of going to the Miami Indians, to endeavor to persuade them to peace. By this humane measure you will render those mistaken people a great service, and, probably, prevent them from being swept from off the face of the earth. The United States require, only, that those people should demean themselves peaceably; but they may be assured, that the United States are able, and will, most certainly punish them severely for all their robberies and murders. You may, when you return from this city to your own country, mention to your nation my desire to promote their prosperity, by teaching them the use of domestic animals, and the manner that the white people plough, and raise so much corn. And if, upon consideration, it would be agreeable to the nation at large to learn these valuable arts, I will find some means of teaching them, at such places within your country as shall be agreed upon.

I have nothing more to add, but to refer you to my former speech, and to repeat my wishes for the happiness of the Seneca nation.

Given under my hand, and seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, this nineteenth day of January, [L. S.] one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

The speech of Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Big-Tree, Seneca Chiefs, to the Great Councillor of the Thirteen Fires.

FATHER:

No Seneca ever goes from the fire of his friend, until he has said to him, "I am going." We therefore tell you, that we are now setting out for our own country.

FATHER: We thank you, from our hearts, that we now know there is a country we may call our own, and on which we may lie down in peace. We see that there will be peace between your children and our children; and our hearts are very glad. We will persuade the Wyandots, and other Western nations, to open their eyes, and look towards the bed which you have made for us, and to ask of you a bed for themselves, and their children, that will not slide from under them.

We thank you for your presents to us, and rely on your promise to instruct us in raising corn, as the white people do; the sooner you do this, the better for us. And we thank you for the care you have taken to prevent bad men from coming to trade among us: if any come without your license, we will turn them back; and we hope our nation will determine to spill all the rum which shall, hereafter, be brought to our towns.

FATHER: We are glad to hear that you determine to appoint an agent that will do us justice, in taking care that bad men do not come to trade amongst us; but we earnestly intreat you that you will let us have an interpreter in whom we can confide, to reside at Pittsburgh: to that place our people, and other nations, will long continue to resort; there we must send what news we hear, when we go among the Western nations, which, we are determined, shall be early in the spring. We know Joseph Nicholson, and he speaks our language so that we clearly understand what you say to us, and we rely on what he says. If we were able to pay him for his services, we would do it; but, when we meant to pay him, by giving him land, it has not been confirmed to him; and he will not serve us any longer unless you will pay him. Let him stand between, to intreat you.

FATHER: You have not asked any security for peace on our part, but we have agreed to send nine Seneca boys, to be under your care for education. Tell us at what time you will receive them, and they shall be sent at the time you shall appoint. This will assure you that we are, indeed, at peace with you, and determined to continue so. If you can teach them to become wise and good men, we will take care that our nation shall be willing to receive instruction from them.

CORNPLANTER, his ⋈ mark.
HALF-TOWN, his ⋈ mark.
BIG-TREE, his ⋈ mark.

Signed at Philadelphia, 7th February, 1791, in presence of
JOSEPH NICHOLSON, *Interpreter*,
THOMAS PROCTER,
TY. MATLACK.

The speech of the Secretary of War to the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and Big-Tree, chiefs of the Seneca nation of Indians.

The subscriber, the Secretary of War, has submitted your speech, of yesterday, to the President of the United States, who has commanded him to assure you of his good wishes for your happiness, and that you may have a pleasant journey to your own country.

The Governor of the Western territory will appoint you an interpreter whenever one shall be necessary. The President of the United States does not choose to interfere on this point.

The President of the United States thinks it will be the best mode of teaching you how to raise corn, by sending one or two sober men to reside in your nation, with proper implements of husbandry. It will, therefore, be proper that you should, upon consultation, appoint a proper place for such persons to till the ground. They are not to claim the land on which they shall plough.

The President of the United States, also, thinks it will be the best mode of teaching your children to read and write, to send a schoolmaster among you, and not for you to send your children among us. He will, therefore, look out for a proper person for this business.

As soon as you shall learn any thing of the intentions of the Western Indians, you will inform the Governor of the Western territory thereof, or the officer commanding at fort Washington, in order to be communicated to the President of the United States.

Given at the War Office of the United States, this eighth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

Message from the Cornplanter, New-Arrow, Half-Town, and Big-Tree, chiefs of the Seneca nation of Indians, to the President of the United States.

PITTSBURG, *March* 17, 1791.

SIR:

When we raised from the great council of the Thirteen Fires, we mentioned that we meant to have a council with the chiefs of the bad, angry Indians.

Through the whole Quaker State, as we came up the road, we were treated well, and they took good care of us until we came here. One misfortune happened only, that one of our wagons is not yet arrived here, the one we first engaged, with the goods you presented to us.

FATHER: Your promise to us was, that you would keep all your people quiet; but, since we came here, we find that some of our people have been killed—the good honest people who were here trading.

FATHER: We hope you will not suffer all the good people to be killed; but your people are killing them as fast as they can. Three men and one woman have been killed at Big Beaver creek, and they were good people, and some of the white people will testify the truth of this. When we heard the news, we found one boy had made his escape, and got to the trader's house, who saved his life; we now wait to see him.

FATHER: We have been informed that twenty-seven men came from another State, and murdered these men in the Quaker State, and took away nine horses, and all the goods they had purchased from the trader. Our father, and ruler over all mankind, now speak and tell us, did you order these men to be killed?

FATHER: Our word is pledged to you that we would endeavor to make peace with all warrior nations. If we cannot do it, do not blame us: you struck the innocent men first. We hope you will not blame us, as your people have first broke good rules; but, as for our people, they are as friendly and firm as ever.

FATHER: We must now acquaint you with the men's names who did this murder at Beaver creek: Samuel Brady, formerly a captain in your army, and under your command, also a Balden, were persons concerned in this murder.

FATHER: We can inform you little more, therefore will conclude with asking you how we should have come to the knowledge of this, or how we could have informed you, had it not been for our good friend Joseph Nicholson? Therefore beg you may grant him an appointment as interpreter: for we cannot see how we will do without him. We know of no other man that speaks your language and ours so well as him.

CORNPLANTER, his + mark,
NEW-ARROW, his + mark,
HALF-TOWN, his + mark,
BIG-TREE, his + mark.

P. S. The boy who made his escape at Beaver creek has arrived at this place, and I have taken him under my protection. Father, your despatches for Detroit have been unavoidably detained, heretofore; but to-morrow Big-Tree and one other shall set off with them, and will also take the boy mentioned here, and deliver him to his relations. We part to-day at this place: Big-Tree is going amongst the cross Indians, to see if they will make peace and I go to my own people, to call them to council.

CORNPLANTER.

Message from the Secretary of War to the Cornplanter, and all the chiefs of the Six Nations of Indians.

BROTHERS: Your message of the seventeenth of the present month has been received, in which you complain that a number of friendly Indians were killed at Big Beaver creek, by Samuel Brady and others, who came from another State to commit this murder; and you ask whether the President of the United States ordered the said men to be killed. In answer to your message, I inform you, that the President of the United States has not, and will not, order any friendly Indians to be killed. That he did not order the men at Big Beaver to be killed; and that he will be very angry indeed when he shall hear of it. Major General St. Clair, the great warrior of the United States on the Ohio, will inquire into this matter, and will comfort the friends and relations of the persons who were killed, and will make them compensation for the horses and other property that were taken at Big Beaver.

BROTHERS: You may be convinced that the President of the United States will do all in his power to bring the murderers to justice; and that he will consider the crime as bad, exactly, as if it had been committed against so many white people, and will use the same endeavors to bring them to justice.

BROTHERS: Hold fast the chain of friendship between you and the President of the United States. Do not suffer the conduct of bad men to create any coolness or disgust, and all will be well yet. By this time, it is to be hoped that Colonel Procter will have set off for the Miami Indians. Take care of him, and assist him in the good work of peace. Brothers, farewell; may no more accidents arise from the conduct of bad people to interrupt the friendship of the United States and the Six Nations.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the War Office, this twenty-eighth day of March, one thousand
[L. S.] seven hundred and ninety-one.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

Instructions to Colonel Thomas Procter.

SIR: Having offered to you the execution of a mission, on the part of the United States, to the Miami and Wabash Indians, and you having accepted of the same, you are to receive these instructions as the rule of your conduct.

The great object of your long journey is, to impress the said Miami and Wabash Indians with the candor and justice of the General Government. That the United States require only that they would demean themselves peaceably.

That, if they should refuse to listen to this invitation, they only will be liable for the evil which will fall upon and crush them.

This invitation is not made in consequence of any principles of fear, but from a desire to pluck them, if possible, out of the fire, which is already enkindled.

The message which is herewith delivered you, will show you the sentiments expressed to them, and you; and the Indians who may accompany you, are to say all that may be proper to enforce said sentiments.

You have been informed of the measures taken with the Cornplanter, Big-Tree, and Half-Town, and other Senecas, who were in this city lately, to go to the said Miami and Wabash Indians, with messages from their own nation, of similar import with the one with which you are charged.

You will, therefore, immediately repair to the Cornplanter's residence, which is upon a branch of the Alleghany river, near the creek called Oil Creek, and make known to him your intentions, and deliver him the speech herewith delivered you for the Senecas, and others of the Six Nations.

It is possible he may not be at home, in which case it will be important to despatch, instantly, runners for him; or in case he should be counselling at Buffalo creek, with the other parts of the nation, it may be proper for you to repair thither.

You are to endeavor, by all possible means, to induce the Cornplanter, and as many other of the chiefs as possible, to go with you upon your mission to the Miami and Wabash Indians; and you will remember, that it is *of the highest importance* that you should set off without the least delay.

Having obtained, as companions, the chiefs of the Senecas, and others, you will proceed by land or water, as shall be judged best, to Sandusky, upon lake Erie, where reside the Wyandot and Delaware tribes of Indians. These tribes are our friends, and in treaty with us, which, as far as is known, has been well observed by them.

You have also herewith delivered to you, two messages, one to each of the said tribes, written by General St. Clair, who made the treaties with them at Fort Harmar, in January, 1789.

You will inform them of the object of your journey, and desire that they will appoint some of their chiefs to accompany you, agreeably to the general desire in his messages.

You will proceed from the Wyandots and Delawares, directly to the Miami town, where you will assemble the Indians together, and speak to them in the style beforementioned.

If you succeed in persuading them to accompany you to fort Washington, you will set out immediately with them, sending Captain Houdin, and such chiefs of all the tribes present, as shall be agreed upon, to the Wea or Ouiatanon towns, on the Wabash, and to the other tribes on that river and its vicinity, in order to persuade them also to repair to a treaty at fort Washington.

But, if, after using all your arguments to induce the Miami Indians to repair to fort Washington, you should fail, you must leave them, and with the friendly Indians who may accompany you, repair to fort Washington.

Let it be strongly impressed upon your mind, that every moment after you set out upon your journey must be most industriously employed: for you must, if within the limits of possibility, be at fort Washington *by the 5th of May next*, whether you succeed or not. This is of the highest importance, as it is connected with collateral arrangements.

The great retardment to be apprehended, will be at the Cornplanter's residence, or other parts of the Seneca nation; but you will endeavor to render your stay as short as possible.

A knowledge of your character induces a confidence, that you will execute the high trust reposed in you with all due despatch and address.

Your mission requires an acquaintance with human nature, and the art of managing the hopes and fears of an uncivilized race of men. You will be careful not to promise more than is reasonable to the Indians who may accompany you, and all your promises of that sort shall be complied with.

Your business with the Miami and Wabash Indians will be to persuade them to repair to fort Washington, where they shall be treated kindly and justly; but you are not authorized to particularize to them any terms.

Considering the nature of the service, it is proper to be explicit as to the terms you are to receive from the public, which are as follows:

1st. Your reasonable expenses shall be borne by the public, and upon this point you will be careful to set down your expenses daily, in order that a judgment may be formed thereon, when your accounts are to be settled.

2d. As a reward for your services, you shall be allowed the sum of five dollars for each day, while you are actually employed on this business.

3d. If you succeed in bringing the real chiefs of the Miami and the Wabash Indians to a treaty at fort Washington, you shall receive the further sum of five hundred dollars.

4th. In case you should, in the course of the business, be wounded, or disabled from obtaining a livelihood by your personal exertions, attempts will be made to obtain for you a pension of a lieutenant colonel-commandant, wounded in the service of the United States.

5th. And in case you should unfortunately lose your life in the course of this business, the same attempts will be made to obtain the pension of seven years' half-pay of a lieutenant-colonel commandant, to your orphan children.

Captain Michael Gabriel Houdin, a French officer of reputation, who served in the late war in the Massachusetts line, will accompany you in the prosecution of this business; and in case of any misfortune to you, by sickness or otherwise, he is to take these instructions, and pursue them, as if given to himself.

Captain Houdin is to be allowed his expenses, and two dollars per day, as a reward for his services. And in case he should be wounded or disabled, endeavors shall be used to obtain him a pension of a captain, wounded in the military service of the United States.

I have issued my warrant upon Joseph Howell, to pay you six hundred dollars, on account of your and Captain Houdin's expenses, and for which sum you are regularly to account.

Your route will be from this city to Sunbury, and thence, either directly for that part of the Alleghany where the Cornplanter lives, or to Tioga Point, as you may find best. If you go through Wyoming, inquire for a Captain Baldwin, who has agreed to keep school among the Senecas, on account of the United States.

You will consider your business as a secret, and enjoin the same on Captain Houdin.

Provided you should bring the Indians to fort Washington, you will stay there no longer than the treaty shall be accomplished; upon which, you and Captain Houdin will return with all convenient speed to this city.

You will keep a journal of your daily occurrences, and deliver me a copy thereof, when you shall deliver the report of your proceedings.

Given at the War Office of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, this 11th day of March, 1791.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

Message from the Secretary of War to the Miami Indians.

To the Head-men and Warriors of the tribes of Indians of the Miami town, and its neighborhood, and inhabiting the waters of the Miami river of lake Erie; and to the tribes inhabiting the waters of the river Wabash.

BROTHERS:

The President of the United States, General Washington, the great chief of the Thirteen Fires, speaks to you by this address. Listen attentively to him, for he speaks of things of the highest importance to your future welfare. The white men and the red men inhabit the same country, and ought to be good friends; but the contrary has been the case; injuries and hostilities have subsisted, and the last year many lives were sacrificed on both sides. This address

to you is the offering of a desire to save you from ruin; it is, therefore, of the last consequence, that you should understand and receive it aright. It is unmixed with fear, and dictated by the pure principles of humanity.

The President of the United States is anxious that you should understand your true situation, and the consequences of your persisting any longer in the exercise of hostilities. The United States are powerful, and able to send forth such numbers of warriors as would drive you entirely out of the country. It is true, this conduct would ocasion some trouble to us, but it would be absolute destruction to you, your women, and your children.

The United States require nothing of you but peace. Nay, they are desirous of making you understand the cultivation of the earth, and teaching you how much better it is for human kind to have comfortable houses, to have plenty to eat and drink, and to be well clothed, than to be exposed to all the calamities belonging to a savage life. The offer of peace now made to you is for your good, and the Great Spirit above will approve it.

Reflect that this is the last offer that can be made; that, if you do not embrace it now, your doom must be sealed for ever.

Receive, then, the bearers, Colonel Procter, Captain Houdin, and our Indian allies who accompany them, with open arms.

After having pondered well upon the contents of this address, and what may be further said to the same purpose, call in your parties, and fly, with all your head-men, to fort Washington, at the Miami of the Ohio. Also, send messengers to all the neighboring tribes to come to the same place, and there make and ratify a firm peace with General St. Clair, the great officer of the United States on the Western waters.

You will find the terms he shall dictate will be full of justice, moderation, and humanity.

You are now the only tribes with whom the United States have any disputes. The powerful Indian nations south of the Ohio, are our allies; the Six Nations of Northern Indians are at peace with us, and we are desirous of receiving you into the number of our friends, and to forget all the evil which has passed. If you refuse, all the nations will approve and justify your punishment.

Given at the War Office of the United States, this 11th day of March, 1791.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

Message from the Secretary of War to the Senecas.

BROTHERS:

Upon a late visit of the Cornplanter, and others of your nation, to the President of the United States, the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, it was agreed, that some of the chiefs of the Six Nations should repair immediately to the Miami and Wabash Indians, in order to explain to them the danger of their situation.

That the United States desired of the said Indians only a peaceable conduct, and a regard to their own welfare. That it would be well-pleasing to the President of the United States, to embrace all the surrounding Indian nations as brothers, and to promote their happiness by acts of kindness.

That, while this was the sincere desire of the President of the United States, he was determined, that all future murders and invasions of the Indians should be punished severely.

The President of the United States is persuaded, that, if the Indians generally could see the kindness of his heart to them, and of his intentions to do them justice, they would, one and all, bury the red hatchet forever. He will, therefore, if obliged to chastise the disorderly Indians, feel all the pain that a kind father feels in chastising his disobedient children.

In order, therefore, that the Miami and Wabash Indians shall be without excuse, in the minds of the Six Nations, and other Indian tribes, the President of the United States has determined to send them a solemn warning of their fate, in case they continue their hostilities; and he has, for this purpose, sent Colonel Procter, the bearer, with whom you are acquainted.

The President requests that you will immediately set out with Colonel Procter, either by land or water, as shall be judged best. That you would call upon the Wyandots, and Delawares, our friends, and take some of them along with you to the Miami and Wabash Indians.

That you would endeavor to persuade the said Miami and Wabash Indians to accompany Colonel Procter and you, to General St. Clair, the great chief of the United States on the Ohio, and there settle all disputes, on terms of reciprocal justice and humanity.

That, on your faithful performance of this business, you will be entitled to the approbation, friendship, and rewards, of the United States.

Given at the War Office of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, this 10th of March, 1791.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

Message from Governor St. Clair to the Half-king, and the Chiefs of the Wyandots.

BROTHERS:

When I was last at fort Harmar, I left a message for you, and one for the Ottawas and Chippewas. I hope you have received them, and found an opportunity to send them forward.

BROTHERS: It would have given me great pleasure to have seen you at fort Harmar, and to have taken you by the hand, in testimony of that friendship which the United States bear to your nation.

BROTHERS: I informed you last summer, that the continual depredations of the Shawanese, and the Miamies, had roused the resentment of the United States, and that they would no longer bear them. You know, my brothers, that evil did befal them. But, because they were not destroyed entirely, it has had no effect upon them; and they have since done mischief, and killed a number of defenceless women and children.

BROTHERS: The United States did not wish to destroy them; why should they? Is not the country large enough for both of us? But they hoped a little correction would have brought them to their senses, and that they might again have been received into friendship.

BROTHERS: Notwithstanding all the mischief those foolish nations have done, and some of those on the Wabash, they do not wish to destroy them now, and, upon proper submission, we might still be friends; and it is to let them know precisely the situation in which they stand, and the disposition which the United States are in towards them, that Colonel Procter, who will deliver this to you, is now sent to them. If they will hearken to him, *well;* if they will not, their blood be upon their own heads. The United States will no longer suffer their depredations, and, if they bring utter destruction upon them, they will be justified before the Great Spirit, and all the world.

BROTHERS: Colonel Procter is the messenger of peace to all nations. If they hearken to him, the tree we planted at the Muskingum will grow and flourish, and they may sit under its shade. If they will not hearken to him, keep yourselves at a distance, for ruin will surely overtake them.

BROTHERS: I recommend Colonel Procter to your friendship and good offices, and request that you will send some of your discreet people with him, and to interpret for him, if he should be in need of an interpreter.

Farewell: I am your assured friend,

AR. ST. CLAIR,

Governor of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio.

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 8, 1791.

Message from Governor St. Clair to Capt. Pipe, and the other Chiefs of the Delaware Nation.

MY FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

Conformably to the engagement we mutually entered into at fort Harmar, to give notice to each other of any hostile parties entering our respective countries, I informed you last summer, that a force would march against the Shawanese and Miamies.

BROTHERS: You very well know, that these nations had been doing us continual mischief; that we had borne them (in hopes that, through good counsel, they would come to their senses) as long as it was possible to bear them; but those hopes were disappointed: the longer that revenge was delayed, the worse they became.

BROTHERS: You know how they suffered last fall, but it has not had the proper effect upon them. They still continue to do mischief, and have since killed a number of defenceless women and children.

BROTHERS: In the last message I sent you, you were told that the United States did not hate the Shawanese and Miamies; that if they would return to their senses, and do what was just and right, they would be taken into friendship. I now tell you again, that the United States are not averse to them; they do not wish to destroy them, and it is to carry that information to them, that Colonel Procter is now going. If they listen to him, *well*; the evil that awaits them, may yet be avoided. If they will not listen to him, their blood be upon their own heads. The United States will be justified, before the Great Spirit, who loves all his children, red as well as white, and to all the world, in bringing that destruction upon them, which they merited long ago.

BROTHERS: Relying upon your friendship and good faith, I recommend Colonel Procter to your good offices; he is the messenger of peace, if he shall be so received; and if the nations to whom he is sent are wise, they will hearken to him. The United States, my brothers, hold fast by the chain they made with you, and as long as you hold it fast, neither spot nor rust shall be suffered to appear upon it.

Farewell: I am your assured friend,

AR. ST. CLAIR,

Governor of the territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio.

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 8, 1791.

That, in pursuance of these instructions, Colonel Procter and Captain Houdin departed from Philadelphia on the 12th of March; that he arrived at the Cornplanter's the sixteenth day of April; that the Cornplanter conceiving, according to custom, that he must consult the rest of his nation, Colonel Procter and Captain Houdin, with the Cornplanter and his Indians, accordingly repaired to Buffalo creek, near fort Erie, on the lake of that name.

That, after various councils and difficulties, from the twenty-seventh of April, to the twenty-first of May, the council agreed to send a deputation of Indians with Colonel Procter, provided he could obtain a vessel; that he accordingly applied to Colonel Gordon, the commanding officer of Niagara, to be permitted to freight a vessel to transport himself, and the Indians who should accompany him, to Sandusky, on the west side of lake Erie.

That copies of his letters and the answers thereto, are as follows:

BUFFALO CREEK, *5th May*, 1791.

SIR:

Although I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance, I am, notwithstanding, emboldened to address you by letter, and through the same, to inform you, that I am the person charged with certain messages, from his Excellency the Secretary of War for the United States, to the Six Nations and other tribes of Indians, residing near lake Erie, &c. One of those messages is particularly sent to the tribes now unhappily at war with the Americans, and with whom it is the ardent desire of General Washington, the President, that peace should be established, on the most lasting terms of equity and justice to them. My mission is, therefore, to invite them to a treaty with Governor St. Clair, on the Ohio, not far from the country they inhabit. The better to effect so desirable an object, proposals were made to the President, in January last, by certain chiefs, who came, on business of the Six Nations, to Philadelphia, viz: that they would appoint in their councils, certain of their head-men, to accompany such gentlemen as might be sent into the country of those miguided people, to bring them to terms of amity with the thirteen States. This, sir, you will discover, on reading the Secretary of War's letter to the Six Nations, and committed to my care. It will be handed you by the Young King, with other public papers, which were delivered Captain O'Beel, for the better information of the nations concerned.

I have therefore to entreat you to conceive the most favorable sentiments on the meaning and intent of those public intruments of writing, as they are founded on the principles of humanity, and a regard for the well doing of our fellow men.

And I cannot doubt, but the same motives will invite you to assist in so laudable an undertaking. The effects of which will establish happiness to the British subjects of Canada, &c. as well as to the United States. The favor that I here request at your hand, is to permit me to charter one of your vessels in the lake, for such number of Indians &c. who may accompany me to Sandusky, on lake Erie. So far as my request meets your approbation, I shall receive much pleasure by your signifying the same by a few lines to, sir,

Your most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Colonel A. GORDON, *Commandant of Fort Niagara, &c. &c.*

BUFFALO CREEK, 15*th May*, 1791.

SIR:

The fifth instant I had the pleasure of addressing my first letter to you, and delivered the same to the care of Captain William Print, an Indian, to be presented by him; but having received no answer since, I presume it has miscarried through neglect.

The purport of it was, to be permitted to have a passage in one of the vessels on lake Erie, for such number of Indians and white men, destined to accompany me to some convenient port on the west end of the lake. The mission that I am charged with, is directed to the Indians now unhappily at war with the United States, with desires to reclaim them to a peaceable demeanor, before that certain destruction overtakes, which is now pending over them. Mr. Horatio Jones will deliver you my letter, and wait your answer, which I hope will be the granting of my request; and whatsoever expenses may accrue upon this occasion, I shall most cheerfully satisfy the same with the commander; and subscribe myself, sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Col. A. GORDON, *Commandant at Fort Niagara, &c.*

NIAGARA, *May* 18, 1791.

SIR:

A few days ago, I had your letter of the 5th instant, to which I should have returned an immediate answer, had I not waited for some public papers, which you wrote were to be handed to me by the Farmer's Brother, and other chiefs, who were to wait upon me, to receive my advice on business of importance.

I think it but proper to give you this explanation of my not having sooner replied to your letter; but, as there is no document, which places you in any other light than a private agent, I cannot enter on any discussion of a public nature. Whenever any of the chiefs of the Seneca, or others of the Six Nations, apply to me for counsel, I shall give them such advice as I conceive best suits with the present state of affairs. As to that part of

your letter, which requests to be permitted to freight one of the vessels on lake Erie, to carry you, and such Indians as may be inclined to accompany you, to Sandusky, on the west side of the lake. I beg leave to inform you that I am not authorized to comply with your requests.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

A. GORDON.

Colonel PROCTER.

That thus failing in obtaining a vessel, the object of his mission also failed, and he returned to Philadelphia, after having exerted himself honorably to proceed forward.

His report is lengthy, and minute, according to his instructions.

NARRATIVE OF COLONEL THOMAS PROCTER.

PHILADELPHIA, *July 9th*, 1791.

SIR:

In the following narration, I fear to have transgressed, in blending any matters of opinion or of observation but of that which immediately had relation to business committed me to transact. I have, therefore, to request, that you will pass over such parts as are *light* and *immaterial*—this being the only copy taken from the original entry; and, when you may think proper to return the same, I will, with pleasure, transcribe the most material parts, and present it as my report, should you think proper to lay the same before his Excellency the President.

I am, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

To the Hon. Secretary of War.

To the Hon. Major General H. Knox, Secretary of War.

The following Diary is respectfully submitted for his inspection, being transacted under his commission, granted to Thomas Procter, Esq., of the city of Philadelphia, bearing date March 10th, 1791, accompanied with messages from him to the several Indian nations inhabiting the waters near Lake Erie, the Miamies, and the Wabash. The same being intended to the establishment of peace and friendly intercourse between the said nations and the United States of America.

March 11th.—Received a draft from the Secretary of War, on Joseph Howell, Esq., paymaster, for the sum of 600 dollars. Purchased a horse from Richard Hunt, for the use of Captain Houdin, sent as my companion into that country—price £25 4*s*. Purchased saddlery from I. Polk, the equipment of two horses, as per bill rendered, £16 11*s*. Money advanced Captain Houdin, to be accounted for by him, £16 17*s*. 6*d*. McFadden's draught of North America, &c. 12*s*. 6*d*.—pocket compass, best kind, 16*s*. 8*d*.—tin box and oil case, 11*s*. 3*d*. as also two small books and one quire of paper, 9*s*. 4½*d*.

March 12th.—Left the city of Philadelphia, accompanied by Captain M. G. Houdin, under a heavy rain, fully evidencing our intention to stop at no difficulties, until we should gain the settlement of Cornplanter, alias Capt. O'Beel, one of the chiefs of the Seneca nation, residing on the head waters of the Alleghany river.

Our first setting out was big with difficulties, and foreboded some extraordinary events: for, on crossing the Perkiomen, Captain Houdin's horse, after tasting of the water, (which is customary with him) laid down in the same, and were both nearly covered. On the horse's rising immediately afterwards, the Captain's foot being fast in the stirrup, the horse made several lashes at him with his hind feet, before he could disengage himself, but happily received no other injury. Dined this day at Norrington—paid 9*s*. 9*d*.—other contingent expenses, 12*s*. Staid this night with Major Swaine.

March 13th.—Laying on double soles on a pair of boots, 4*s*. 9*d*.—shoeing a horse, 4*s*.—horse feed, wine, and bitters, 4*s*. 6*d*.—dinners, &c. at Pottsgrove, 9*s*. 4½*d*. Halted for the night at Cimleses' tavern, 13*s*. 10*d*.

March 14th.—Breakfasts, &c. at Reading, 9*s*. 4*d*.—purchase of a tomahawk, 3*s*. 9*d*.—straps of a saddle. Proceeded from thence to Caraher's town, in company with Mr. Potts and Mr. Baird; the latter of which gentlemen informed me, that he was engaged to attend General St. Clair to fort Washington, whither the General was immediately to proceed, in order to prepare for a campaign against the Miami and other Indians, who are daily committing of murders on the defenceless inhabitants on the frontier settlements.—Expenses this night, 15*s*. 10*d*.

March 15th.—Set forward this morning on our journey by daylight: breakfasted at Orwick's tavern, 6*s*. 9*d*.—Hallers do. refreshment, 5*s*. 7½*d*. Halted for the night at Treshers' tavern—expense 13*s*. 6*d*. The roads from Philadelphia hither, nearly impassable, occasioned by the heavy rains that had fallen for several days past; and with some danger we forded the little Schuylkill; and, on this day's journey, we crossed the Blue mountain.

March 16th.—Dined at Leidenburgh's tavern, and was informed, that the 1,200 acre tract of land that I purchased of Daniel Rees, in Northumberland, was situated three miles from his house, watered by the Cattawissey, and joining lands of Captain Mason, of Philadelphia. Dinners, and for horses, 11*s*. 3*d*. Lay this night at Hughsburgh, at the house of George Knefferbergher. By him I was informed of twenty-five tracts of land I have on Big Fishing creek, which empties into the east branch of the Susquehannah, about two miles above Hughsburgh. Expenses this night 18*s*. 10½*d*.

March 17th.—Crossed the east branch of the Susquehannah, fed our horses, &c. at Miller's tavern, and paid, including ferriages over Fishing creek, and shoeing a horse, 17*s*. 3*d*. Lay this night at Berwick, a small town, situate on the west side of the Susquehannah. Expenses of the night, 17*s*. 10*d*.

March 18th.—Proceeded on our journey up the west side of the Susquehannah, above twelve miles; and, in endeavoring to go through the narrows, the river being exceeding high and rapid, had a narrow escape of drowning myself and horse, as was the case with Captain Houdin. With great difficulty we mounted the summit of a steep precipice, being unable to return by the same defile we had attempted to pass through. From this, I endeavored to go round the mountain, which lay along the river; and, after having travelled one hour and a half, over the most rugged ground, and seeing no end to the ridge of mountains, we shaped our course through the woods, to the place from whence we departed in the morning; and, by the entreaty of our host, the ferryman, on the opposite shore of the Susquehannah, was prevailed upon to venture over the river with his flat, which he did, with the assistance of four other men, and conducted us across, for which I paid him 15*s*. Dinners, and putting one new shoe on a horse, with other repairs, 13*s*. 1*d*. From thence we proceeded on the road for Wilksburgh, by the way of the mountain path, as dangerous for man and horse as was possible to encounter with; and at 9 o'clock in the night we reached the first house in the settlement of Wyoming; but, there being no feed for our horses, I hired a guide to conduct us to a place to lodge in. Paid for a night's fare, 13*s*. 6*d*.

March 19th.—Arrived at Wilksburgh about eleven o'clock; halted here for the night, in order to rest our horses, which were much fatigued and jaded. I should have mentioned in its place, that I did not open the instructions I had received from the Secretary of War, before my arrival at Reading, owing to an intention with me, that no person—not even any of my family—should know what errand I was sent upon. This threw me exceedingly out of my road, and by the worst way: for, had I known that Wilksburgh was my route to Cornplanter's, I should have went through Bethlehem, which would have been fifty miles nearer than the way I went. Spent the afternoon at our lodgings with Colonel Butler and Captain Grubb. The former was an officer in the Connecticut line, and stationed here during the late war, for the protection of the frontier inhabitants against the British and Indians, in which station he proved to be a vigilant and brave officer. The latter part of the evening I accompanied Colonel Pickering,

prothonotary of the county, and late adjutant general of the armies of the United States. Here we equipped ourselves with a tinderbox, flints, steel, &c., paid 4*s.* 6*d.*; and for helving a tomahawk, and leather sling for the same, 4*s.* 9*d.* Expenses at Mr. Fell's, part of two days, 41*s.* 8*d.*; and for powder and horn, 5*s.* 7½*d.* Much snow fell while we remained at this place. Weather extremely cold.

March 20*th.*—This day we set forward for Captain Waterman Baldwin's, arrived there in the evening, halted for him part of two days, as I had orders to take him with me to the residence of the Cornplanter, at which place he was intended to act as instructor of the Indian youth, as also a director in the mode and management of agriculture, for the use and benefit of the Indians. This gentleman was made prisoner by Cornplanter, during the late war, and was treated by him with remarkable tenderness, until legally exchanged. Paid for two bushel of oats and two bags, 13*s.* 1½*d.*; washing, 2*s.* 6*d.*; expense at Baldwin's, 30*s.*

March 22*d.*—Ferriage to Captain Jenkins, passing the first narrows of Susquehannah, 7*s.* 6*d.* Paid for gammon, bread, and spirits, 32*s.* 6*d.* to John Davis. Encamped this evening in the woods, thirteen miles from Lahawanock, on the waters of the Buttermilk falls. This cataract has a beautiful appearance from the river. It falls upwards of eighty feet; and the place it issues through, on the top of the mountain, is about six feet in width, and its torrent is so strong that it is sufficient to serve many mills at one time.

This place I had the opportunity of examining minutely, when going on the expedition with General Sullivan against the savages, in the year 1779, at which time I had the command of 214 vessels, on the Susquehannah, taking with me the provisions and stores of 6,000 men. We anchored off this cataract in the afternoon of the 1st August, and I landed and passed to the top of the mountain to review so great a curiosity.

March 23*d.*—The Susquehannah being so extremely high, and all the waters leading thereto, compelled us to quit the river road and go by that lately cut (though not cleared) by John Nicholson's, Esq., comptroller general of the State of Pennsylvania. We reached the settlement called the Hawbottom, which consisted of about fourteen families, the land exceeding rich—inferior to none about the city of Philadelphia; but the lands between this place and our last encampment were chiefly covered with hemlock timber, cold soil, and unfit for culture, and one continued rise for nearly thirteen miles, with little intermission. Took dinner at the house of Ebenezer Stephens, and purchased from him two bushels of oats, which he had for seed; and, having brought it afar off, charged for the same 3*s.* 9*d.* per bushel. Paid for three persons eating, and feed for the horses, 12*s.* 6*d.*; one horse bell, 4*s.* 6*d.*; three cakes sugar, 4*s.* 6*d.* Encamped this evening with some sugar boilers, in a hut not finished. The promoter of this manufactory, which appeared to be very extensive, from the number of kettles and apparatus belonging thereto, is the comptroller of the State of Pennsylvania; and the conductor of the works, Mr. John Jones, of Northumberland county. They were unfortunate enough, two days before, to lose most of their provision, by the oversetting of a canoe, in the main branch of the Lahawanock; but, of the provisions we had, we gave to them what we could spare, preserving what we thought would take us to Tioga Point—supposed 86 miles. The taking of this road, which is cut about 20 feet in width, the trees lying across the same, and in every direction, was not a matter of choice, but necessity: for the river road was impassable. By the taking of this we escaped some deep waters.

24*th.*—We arrived at the cabin of Richard McNemara, fed our horses with the corn that we brought with us, for he had none but about two quarts for his own use: they however provided us with a dish of rye coffee, made fine with the pole of an axe on a smooth stone, and maple sugar as bright and as well tasted as the best 8*d.* sugar in Philadelphia; and as they deemed it would be charity to us, they gave of the juice of the maple, which appeared as clear as the limpid stream, and pleasant to the taste, and deemed very wholesome: paid for eating, 3*s.* 9*d.* We were obliged to encamp early this afternoon under a very heavy storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, and, what is very remarkable, the snow was in general fifteen inches deep on the ground.

25*th.*—We still travelled by the way of Nicholson's road, till we reached the one cut by Mr. Ellicott, geographer to the United States, which leads to the great bend on the east branch of the Susquehannah, and to describe the same, it is hardly possible, but, to say the least of them, there is none can equal them for height of mountains, and swampy valleys. Encamped this night ten miles from Tioga Point; heavy rain as usual, our horses worn down, and ourselves more that commonly fatigued; had naught to eat ourselves or for our horses; and I may say with propriety, that, until we arrived at Tioga, to save our horses, we travelled on foot more than half of the way from the town of Reading.

26*th.*—We arrived at the ferry at Tioga Point, crossed to the flats, paid ferriage 3*s.* 9*d.*; the river still very high; took refreshment for ourselves and horses, paid 12*s.* 9*d.*; repair of horse shoes, 5*s.* From thence we proceeded on our way to Newtown Point, and lodged at the house of Mr. William Wynkoop. At Tioga Point I was compelled to purchase a pack horse, as the route we had to take from the Painted Post to the Genesee, was not inhabited, which, by computation, was 99 miles. Captain Baldwin also purchased another horse, the better to enable him to carry on the farming business for the Cornplanter, and for which I advanced him 75*s.*, to be accounted for by him in his settlement with the Secretary of War. From hence I also took a guide, named Peter, in his own language Cayantha, there being nothing but a blind path to the Genesee river, so that my retinue, at this time, amounted to three white men, one Indian, and five horses. The horse designed as a pack horse, I received on the order of Colonel Hollinbeck, on Mr. Guy Maxwell, his partner in trade at Tioga, for which I drew in favor of them, on my daughter in Philadelphia, £15 for the horse, and for a saddle and bridle, value £3: took up our quarters this night in company with Mr. Jabez Colloor, a dissenting minister, at the aforesaid Wynkoop's, with whom we spent a most agreeable evening, and, during our conversation together, he enjoined me, in a very becoming manner, should I at any time see the honorable Major General Sullivan, late the commander in chief against the Indians, in the year 1779, to tender to him the grateful thanks of himself and his parishioners, inhabitants of the district of Tioga, for opening a way into the wilderness, under the guidance of Providence, to the well doing of hundreds of poor families for life.

Sunday, March 27*th.*—Dined at Mr. Isaac Baldwin's, and halted for the night, and reviewed the ground on which the British and Indians were entrenched, for better than a mile, against the forces under the command of Major General Sullivan. I also saw many traces made by our round and grape shot against them, and a large collection of pieces of 5¾ inch shells, which I had the pleasure of formerly causing to be exploded amongst them. Expenses at Mr. Baldwin's for present diet, provisions, and forage, 53*s.* 10*d.*

28*th.*—Took breakfast at William Dunn's; for four persons, 6*s.*; oats and spirits, 4*s.* 7½*d.*; also one chain halter for a horse, 20*s.* From thence we proceeded to the Painted Post, or Cohocton, in the Indian language; dined, and refreshed our horses, it being the last house we should meet with ere we should reach the Genesee river; addition of stores for ourselves and horses, 36*s.* 11*d.*; present dining, 14*s.* 3*d.*; four new horse shoes, &c. 6*s.* 9*d.*; spirits, 1*s.* 10½*d.* Here I was joined company by a Mr. George Slocum, who followed us from Wyoming, to place himself under our protection and assistance, until we should reach the Cornplanter's settlement, on the head waters of the Alleghany, to the redeeming of his sister from an unpleasing captivity of twelve years, to which end he begged our immediate interposition. On the leaving the Painted Post, we entered the warrior's path, lying on the northeast side of the Tioga river. We had not gone above five miles up the same, before we fixed our encampment, having completed thirty-five miles this day, which was more than we had done any one day within seventeen days since we left the city, it having rained or snowed every day since, and the worst of roads to encounter with: for, as we passed over mountains and valleys, the frosts were just mellowed enough to admit our falling through in some places, knee depth to the horses: rained this night as usual.

29*th.*—Continued our route by the aforesaid path this day, through level land, covered chiefly with hemlock timber, and interspersed with sugar tree bottoms, and through which we frequently encountered with deep sloughs and morasses. In one of them, which had the appearance of a long pond, variegated with shrubbery, Captain Baldwin, while leading our forage horse, was, by a sudden check, brought backwards from the horse he was riding, and immersed in the water, so as to be entirely covered. The same fate had nearly happened to myself, by my horse's feet fastening between two trees which lay on the bottom, of which he fell. All this night we had rain, and with much difficulty could light a fire; at the same time piercing cold.

30*th.*—We began our journey before sunrise, the usual time of our moving, and, on the way, we discovered, in many places, fine land; the timber chiefly sugar tree maple and beech, and on this day, we passed three principal

mountains, the last of which the Alleghany, that divides the Tioga river from the Coshequa. The latter river runs through a fine flat, resembling much the flats below Tioga: here Captain John resides, and one white family only. I did not see the chief, he being from home a hunting. I should have premised that the course of the warrior's path gives a traveller a sight of the river Tioga, upwards of sixty miles, and, by *such a way*, I would never desire to travel again. The next principal water we crossed, is called, in the Indian language, Connesserago, from whence it is called twelve miles to the Genesee river, where we were conducted by our Indian guide to the house of Captain Ebenezer Allen, about ten o'clock at night. Having rode hard and constant to reach it, both our horses and ourselves much fatigued. I purchased from an Indian squaw one and a half bushels corn, at the rate of one dollar and a half per bushel, and refused to let me have any more at a less price; adding that the white people had made them pay more the last year, when a scarcity of corn was among them; and that at this place there was neither hay nor grass for our horses to exist upon.

31*st*.—This morning I found myself in a settlement of Indians, called the Squawkey tribe, but a branch of the Seneca nation; having no interpreter with me, I wrote a letter directed to Captain Allen, or Horatio Jones, and sent it by a runner by the way of Connewago, or at such a place where he could meet with either of them, requesting that whosoever received it should repair to Squawkey hill to meet me; and, should they meet any Indian chiefs or warriors, to invite them to meet me also, having business of importance from General Washington, the President of the United States, to lay before their nation. I at the same time despatched two other runners, one to go to the several sugar camps adjacent, to give them the like information, and the other to repair to the habitations of Captain Big Tree and Little Beard, who resided about seven miles from hence, and deemed to be principal chiefs. To each I paid one dollar for their services. By the middle of the afternoon, and in the evening, several Indian warriors and chiefs arrived at Mr. Allen's habitation; amongst the latter, Captain Little Beard, Stump Foot, and the Black Chief. Said Stump Foot being the leader of the Squawkey settlement, residing on the high lands above the Genesee river, and from which bluff commands a beautiful landscape of the great flats on the Genessee, being in width about four miles, and the length from Carahaderra about forty-seven miles towards lake Ontario, where the said river empties into it; the soil exceedingly rich, the land as level as a bowling green, beautifully interspersed with groves of trees, some of three acres, and not more than five.

April 1*st*.—Mr. Horatio Jones, Indian interpreter, arrived this morning, and about eleven o'clock there were thirty odd Indians collected agreeable to my invitation. And shortly afterwards, I convened them into council, and introduced my message by some prefatory sentiments, touching on the candor and justice of the United States, and of the unexampled conduct of his Excellency the President, in the late interview he had with the Cornplanter, and others, who appeared as representatives in behalf of the Six nations, by restoring unto them all their lands, which they feared were held from them by the power of the United States; by which act of his goodness, their situations in life were made comfortable, and as lasting as they should demean themselves as faithful friends to the United States; and by such a becoming deportment, it would entail lasting happiness to their children's children. This simple introduction being ended, I read the message to them from the honorable Secretary of War; having ended the same, they signified their full approbation, in their accustomed manner. For the particulars of their answer, which was delivered by Captain Little Beard, their principal speaker, see a subsequent page.

Captain Little Beard, in the close of his speech, acquainted me that their great warrior, Captain O'Beel, or Cayantawanka, in the Indian language, had arrived at Pittsburg from Philadelphia, and sent out runners from thence to summon the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations at Buffalo, where he desired that the great council fire might be kindled, and where he should lay before them all the business that had been done by him at Philadelphia, and the public papers and documents which he had received for the Six Nations, from the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, and from the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania. This information induced me to prepare myself for going to Buffalo in the morning, instead of continuing my route to O'Beel's town, and urged it upon them in a very pressing manner that they would accompany me on this deserving errand to Buffalo, as its design was big with advantages to every Indian on the continent. Five of them immediately offered to attend Captain Houdin and myself, and chiefs of the first notoriety in this settlement, and accordingly appointed a sugar camp, eight miles distant, the place of meeting in the morning, where they must go and acquaint their people of this hasty departure.

I now made the necessary inquiry whether it was easy to obtain a good interpreter at Buffalo, or otherwise; and being informed that there were no interpreters there but those under British pay and establishment, I conceived it a duty incumbent on me to engage Mr. Jones, as being a proper person for my business, from the reputation he bore from inquiries I had made, and I accordingly agreed with him in the behalf of the United States, to pay him the customary wages so long as I should find occasion for his services.

Having for the best part of two days caused provisions to be provided for myself and people, and for several Indians who lived at a considerable distance from here, and at a considerable expense to Mr. Allen, and much trouble to his family, I proposed to make him restitution by payment, which he modestly refused, adding, that I was going into a country where I would have occasion for my money. I therefore treated his politeness in that manner which I thought would least offend him, by saying he must receive at my hand in Philadelphia a best beaver hat, and four dollars' worth in any thing Mrs. Allen should chuse to send for, estimating the whole at eleven dollars, for which I hold myself in honor bound to perform. Paid for 2¼ bushels corn to Mr. Forrest, 12*s*. 1*d*.; amount of Jno. Jones' bill, flour, spirits, and stores laid in for O'Beel's town, 35*s*. 7*d*.

April 2*d*.—Departed from the council fire at Squawkey Hill to proceed by the way of Tanawandy, to Buffalo, presumed distance between 90 and 100 miles; but, agreeable to my promise to the chiefs yesterday, I had to call for them at their sugar encampment. On my way thither, I stopped at the hut of Stumpfoot, with the Black Chief, who accompanied me, just at the instant that a runner had arrived there from Buffalo creek, who brought the information that the council fire at that place had been quenched by the direction of the chiefs who had lighted the same, at the instance of O'Beel's message to them, and the same fire was to be covered for one moon, in the words following, which he received from the great council, directed to the chiefs and warriors in this settlement, viz:

"Brothers: We know from our former intimation to you to meet us here, that you are just now rising from your seats, with your backs bent, bearing your loaded hoppas; but on hearing us speak, you must sit down again on your seats, and remain there for one moon, until you shall hear that our great warrior, O'Beel, (alias Cayantawanka, in the Indian) shall arrive at Buffalo and light it again."

Upon this sudden information to me, and their determination to continue as above directed, I concluded to change my route from this place, and go for the Oil Springs, near which the Corn Planter has his residence, and of which intention of mine, I immediately informed them, and added, that should I be so happy as to meet him at home, I would use every possible endeavor to bring forward, to Buffalo, Captain O'Beel and his chiefs, in order to rekindle the council fire, as my intended interview with the chiefs of the Six Nations would have the most happy effect, by being instrumental in preserving the lives of many hundreds of our fellow men, when, staying one moon longer, might prove forever too late. On these remarks we parted, and I proceeded with my people to a village eight miles distant, called Nondas, and halted for the night at the hut of a white woman, who had been with the savages from her infancy, and had borne to one of them nine children, all of whom were living. Two of her daughters I have seen, possessing fair features, bearing the bloom upon their cheeks, and inclining to the side of beauty; and her second son had lately been adopted a sachem, and styled the promoter of peace. Paid for 2 cakes sugar, and Indian bread, 7*s*. 6*d*. Snow this day, and excessive cold.

Sunday, *April* 3.—Arrived this day at an Indian village called Canaseder, situated on a high bluff of land, overlooking the Genesee river. It consisted of about 30 houses, and some of them done in a way that showed some taste in the workmen. The town was vacated by its inhabitants principally, save only one squaw and a young girl, who were left as guards to the interest of others, who were out providing sugar for their general stock. In this place was erected a wooden statue, (or deity) fashioned like a fierce looking sage. This form they worship by dancing before it on certain festive occasions or new moons, looking on it as through a veil or assistant, whereby they pay

adoration to the Supreme Spirit, as knowing it hath a form, but not a substance. This day we were compelled to swim our horses three times over the Genesee river; and at one of the crossings, Captain Houdin's horse took down the current with him, and could not steer him to the intended shore, having crossed the reins of his bridle at mounting, and were it not that he had left the horse to his own management, (by our entreaties) and our Indian guide rushing into the water to his assistance, and the horse turning for him, the Captain must have certainly drowned in the current, which was excessively rapid a little lower down.

April 4th.—This morning we again swam our horses over the same river, and had the assistance of a canoe, for which I paid 5*s.* 9*d.*, and crossed it again 10 miles higher up, near the emptying of a small lake. Here, likewise, we had the assistance of a canoe to carry over our saddles, &c. Paid for the same 3*s.* 9*d.* At this village resides a Mr. James Latta, a trader, from whom I purchased bread and sugar, the latter to answer the end of meat, as likewise some spirits, for which I paid him 16*s.* 11*d.* From this place we had scarcely the trace of a path, and took up our encampment for the night at an old Indian encampment, where the covering of their wigwams served to shelter us from the inclemency of the weather.

April 5th.—We gained an Indian settlement called Ohhisheu, situate on the waters of Oil creek, the emptying of which, into the Alleghany, about two hundred yards below the huts, in crossing the Oil creek at a very steep shelving place, my horse fell backwards into the water. I happily disengaged myself from falling under him, but got wet through all my clothes. We then entered the cabin of an old Seneca chief, who called himself Captain Joseph Hays. I knew him well, thirty-two years before, at fort Pitt, and he professed having some small recollection of me. He spoke English well, and finding him to be conversant, I gave him to understand the business I was on to the Six Nations, and of the assistance I expected to receive from them as friends to the Thirteen Fires. He seemed very cheerful upon the occasion, and assured me that I should see him at Buffalo as soon as the council fire should be lighted by O'Beel. From him I bought two hams of fresh venison, and Indian bread without any salt, for we had none in our possession, not dreaming of it being so scarce and precious an article in this country. We encamped this night at the great bend of the Alleghany, (so called) on a tract of fine level land, covered with plum trees in abundance. At this place we discovered the ruins of a number of Indian huts, forming regularly with each other like a streetway. This place was formerly called by the Indians Dunewangua.

April 6th.—This morning, having advanced about 4 miles, we met two Indian runners going with belts and speeches from the Cornplanter, alias O'Beel, to the Indians resident in the upper towns, at the head waters of the Alleghany, to inform them that several of the Delaware Indians were killed by the white people, said to be a recruiting party of Virginians, near fort Pitt. The said Indians informed us, that the Indians who had escaped the catastrophe that their brothers had fallen into, turned their resentment for the injury their nation had received on the white inhabitants who resided on the Alleghany, some miles above Pittsburg, and killed and scalped 17 in number; that several of the bodies were partly destroyed by fire; that at the same time this mischief happened, Captain O'Beel, the New Arrow chief, and several other chiefs of the Senecas, as also the commanding officer of Venango, coming up in the garrison boat, and in canoes from Pittsburg, were overtaken by a party of militia, who threatened them with instant death, which was happily prevented, but forcibly carried back the garrison boat and canoes, with all the property purchased by Cornplanter for his nation.

Having at this time no path to go by, and having to keep by the meanders of the Alleghany, made the way lengthy and disagreeable. I therefore desired my interpreter to request that one of them would return with me to O'Beel's town, and as they would by that means be separated, I would give to each one dollar, as a consideration for their trouble. They having acceded to my desires, I paid them 15*s.*, and our guide conducted us in safety, at about 10 o'clock at night, to O'Beel's town, called, in the Indian language, Tenachshegouchtongee, or the burnt house. This town is pleasantly situated on the north side of the river, and contains about 28 tolerable well built houses; and the one which they had selected for me and my followers to reside in, was commodiously fitted up, with births to sleep in, and uncommonly clean, and provided us for the night with plenty of provisions, such as boiled venison and dumplings. Matters were no sooner arranged than I desired my interpreter to have the chiefs collected where I could speak to them. Upon which we found that all the chiefs and warriors of the town had gone on to Venango, hearing that their head warrior, O'Beel, and their sachem, the New Arrow, were forced to take sanctuary in fort Franklin, (one of our garrisons) for the protection of their lives; that none remained in the town on this account, but three very old men, the women, and children.

That, such were their fears, as we were approaching this town, of which they had information, that they all assembled at their place of worship, believing it was near the hour of their dissolution, and they had called on their God to help them. But being happily informed by our guide of the good intentions we were come upon, they came to make us welcome. I then desired that they would furnish me with a canoe and a guide, to conduct me to the place where I could meet with O'Beel and his people, being desirous of going forward immediately; and that I should, without doubt, be the instrument of bringing their chiefs and warriors to them in a few days. Upon which, they sent five miles to procure me a canoe, and by day light, two young Indians attended me, with whom my interpreter and Captain Baldwin went for French creek, distant about one hundred and thirty miles, and arrived on the 8th day of April, about four in the afternoon, as we worked our canoe by turns all night. Cash paid at New Arrow town, corn for horses, fifteen shillings; hire of a canoe and Indians to carry me to French creek, thirty-seven shillings and six pence; provisions, &c. thirteen shillings and one penny.

I no sooner arrived at the garrison on French creek, than I received a visit from Cornplanter, and those Indians who accompanied him at Philadelphia, who professed the greatest happiness to see me, being under the greatest anxiety of mind for the safety of the New Arrow, who was carried in the garrison boat to Pittsburg, in the forcible manner before related; saying, at the same time, that the whole of their goods were taken from them, which they never expected to recover; that, in this distressed situation, they had not a second shirt to put on. I, hereupon, used every argument I was master of, to appease the fears they entertained on account of the absence of the New Arrow, as I could not believe that the inhabitants of Pittsburg would offend, or suffer him to be ill treated; and should any, or the whole of their goods be squandered, by the unwarranted conduct of the militia, that I should make it my duty to present the same to the Secretary of War, who would cause most ample justice to be done them; that, on the morrow, I would write to the commanding officer at Pittsburg, to have their sachem, the New Arrow, conducted in safety to this place, as, also, their goods, as I could not possess a belief that any waste would be committed upon them. I therefore desired him, without loss of time, to bring with him into the garrison all the head-men of the nations then present, so that I might inform them of the message I was charged with, from his Excellency the Secretary of War to the Six Nations; by which means they would be the better able to understand what I had to say to them, before my meeting them in general council to-morrow. Upon this Captain O'Beel left me, and soon after summoned the chiefs present, eleven in number, who met me in the garrison by permission of Lieutenant Jeffers, and, in the fullest manner, I gave them the necessary information. After some time spent on this business, I adjourned, and proposed meeting them again in their encampment over French creek, early in the forenoon, and of which I desired that they might inform their people, so that none might be absent.

April 9th.—I crossed French creek to their encampment, about eleven o'clock, where I found them prepared to receive me, about seventy-five in number, exclusive of women, children, and youth; in the whole, one hundred and eighty. I read first the message to the Seneca nation, from the Secretary of War, and, after explaining the principles upon which it was founded, I read to them the messages from Governor St. Clair to the Wyandot and Delaware tribes, who were deemed and observed to be friends to the United States. Here I thought it my duty to explain to them the force of my message to the Indians, who were carrying on their wanton depredations and cruelties on the defenceless inhabitants resident near the Ohio; assuring them that it was the last solemn warning, should they *refuse* to accept the terms of peace now proffered to them, that they could lay hold of, until done by a decisive stroke of a superior army, just ready to go forward to conquest, and be rooted out of a country which they might otherwise possess and enjoy in undisturbed tranquillity.

That, with this present council, it rests to save those misguided people on the Miamies and Wabash from the destruction that is just ready to fall upon and crush them; and the better to effect so laudable an undertaking,

let there be selected, from amongst you, any number of your chiefs and warriors, not more than fifteen, nor less than five, to guide and accompany me to the Miamies; as, by our going from hence, we shall save the distance of four hundred miles, if not compelled to go to Buffalo creek; and, by this act, you will fully complete the end of my message to the Seneca nations, and for your services you shall receive ample rewards from the United States, and due honor to your nation.

Hereupon they requested of me to retire from them, and those white persons who attended me, so that what I had said might be the more fully digested by them. We left them for about one hour and a half, when a chief came to inform me that they were desirous of seeing me again at their fire. I accordingly attended, and Captain O'Beel was appointed to acquaint me with the determination of their council; which briefly was, that they could not agree to my request of going directly to the Miamies, as they must determine on that business in full council of the Six Nations, at Buffalo creek. Seeing, therefore, that I had no other alternative, but by going to Buffalo, I requested, then, that they would prepare themselves to leave this place, and proceed for Buffalo on to-morrow, which they readily complied with; and for Cornplanter's address to me, upon this occasion, see subsequent page.

I immediately from hence retired to the garrison, to prepare a letter for his Excellency Governor St. Clair, through which I gave, in detail, a circumspect account of every material transaction since my arrival in the Indian country; enclosing to him the speeches of Little Beard and Cornplanter, thereby to enable him to judge of the obstructions that had fallen in my way, which, with others that I might probably have to encounter, would be a means of exceeding the time limited by the Secretary of War for my meeting him at fort Washington, on the Ohio, after passing through the country of the Miamies and Wabash Indians, to which nations my mission was principally intended, to the restoration of peace between them and the United States.

During the time I remained at fort Franklin, I received every mark of attention and respect from the commandant, Lieutenant John Jeffers, of the Connecticut line; and I think it but proper to name it in this place. A few days previous to my arrival at this fort, the inhabitants, resident at Conneyat, and on French creek, were driven into the garrison, as also those at Cassawaga, and obliged to leave behind them their habitations and effects, possessed of every requisite for the comforts of life. David Mead, Esq. formerly of Wyoming settlement, with three of his brothers, and their families, were of the number of these unfortunate people. At Venango I was called upon by a white prisoner, named Nicholas Deamhoat, to give him a blanket, as he wanted one much. I did so, and paid for the same, 18*s.* 9*d.* He was dressed in the Indian garb, and, what I was grieved to see, his ears were cut round, and each hung with a considerable weight of lead, designed to stretch them to a proper length. He acquainted me that his friends lived in Schenectady; his father lately dying, left him a considerable sum of money. I urged him to go round with me on my tour, and, on our arrival in Philadelphia, I would give him decent apparel, and subsistence, while going to his relatives; but he declined it, saying, that he could not live so agreeable with the white people as with the Indians. Contingent expenses, mending my sword, two pair moccasons, washing bill, &c. 34*s.* 4*d.* hire of two Indians, from hence to O'Beel's town, 45*s.*

April 10*th.*—Agreeably to the arrangement made by me at the general council yesterday, we set out from French creek, to go up the Alleghany river, with thirty canoes, leaving, at the same time, with Lieutenant Jeffers, for the defence of the garrison, fifteen Indians, to act as scouts for the garrison, as occasion should require—the garrison being very weakly manned at this time, only for the addition made to it by the inhabitants, neither had they any flour, on account of the detention of the garrison boat, before spoken of, but what was supplied by David Mead, Esq. who had brought from his mills at Conneyatta a sufficient quantity, as, likewise, some hundred gallons of whiskey, which he dealt out to the garrison and inhabitants, as they required it. Halted this night at Oil creek, about eight miles from the garrison. Lieutenant Jeffers came to us at this place, about twelve o'clock at night, and brought with him certain letters that he had received from Pittsburg that evening, with verbal messages he had received through the express, by which means the Indians were informed, that some of their canoes were plundered of what they contained, but that the garrison boat was returning with their chief, the New Arrow, &c. under the escort of Major Hart, with a proper guard. The news of the canoes being plundered, gave rise to apparent disgust in most of the countenances of the Indians, saving that of Cornplanter's, who received it with that composure that he was usually wont to do. Upon the whole it gave me to fear, that this rude piece of conduct of our militia had damped the zeal of those whom I yesterday conceived were engaged to serve agreeable to my desires. I, however, undertook to give them assurances, that, even should their goods have been plundered, as verbal report gave it, I would use every possible means to have every article replaced; and that, therefore, I earnestly entreated them to dispel those fears for a few days, having, in their presence, enjoined Lieutenant Jeffers to forward an express to me, at the castle of O'Beel, and to write me, fully, every matter that took place; and to obtain another letter from Major Hart, with whom they were well acquainted, to authenticate the same; and that, whatsoever the result should prove, I would faithfully communicate the contents to them. Upon this promise, about ten o'clock in the forenoon of Monday, the 11th of April, we silently began to load our canoes, and, shortly after, took up the line of march, O'Beel taking the lead. I held it proper to take my place next to his canoe, to stimulate him to press forward on his journey. Ere we could reach Buffalo creek, we arrived this evening at an old Indian settlement, called Hog's town; we had much rain this night, and very cold.

April 12*th.*—I was invited this morning to breakfast with Captain O'Beel, his squaw, &c. Our repast, boiled chesnuts, parched meal, sweetened; his daughter made us some tea, also, which she put into an open kettle, when the water was cold, and being boiled in that manner, without any cover to the kettle, it became very dirty, and disagreeable to the taste; but, of the chesnuts, I partook sufficiently. Finding, this morning, by an Indian who had lately left the garrison, that several canoes loaded had deserted our little fleet, the Indians, being under much intoxication, had returned there again; in consequence thereof, I wrote the commanding officer, by an express, requesting him to cause the Indians, who were designed to go forward with O'Beel, to quit the garrison and proceed. To express, 11*s.* 3*d.* This day, about one o'clock, we arrived at the Munsee settlement, where all the canoes came to at, in order to rest, and prepare our dinners. Immediately after we had landed, and what appeared very strange to me, several Indian women came forward with kettles full of boiled corn and bear's meat, and placed it before Captain O'Beel, whom they had heard was approaching with his people. This being done, each family of a canoe, (as in each were women and children) approached with their kettles, without any signal being made, to receive their stipend; and, to do which, an old squaw was appointed to act as an issuing commissary, who dealt it out in proportions so justly, that each went away fully satisfied. Captain O'Beel requested of my interpreter to inform me, it was expected that I would partake of what was prepared; I did so accordingly, to prevent displeasure, but with the weakest appetite. Expenses at this place for eatables, 22*s.* 6*d.*; one gallon of whiskey for O'Beel, and his people who accompanied me, 15*s.* After the whole had refreshed themselves, O'Beel informing the Delawares the business I was on, I was invited to their council fire, of which council Captain Snake was the principal; about thirty of the Delawares were present. I spoke a few words to them, introductory to my reading Governor St. Clair's message to their nation, residing on the waters near Lake Erie; the same message being directed to Captain Pipe, as the principal chief of that tribe. Shortly after this discourse was ended, Captain Snake spoke through his interpreter to mine, as the person I had could not speak the Delaware tongue, and its contents are as follows:

"Brother: We are thankful to God for the safe arrival of our brother amongst us; and we are glad to see him with such good intentions, and of the good news he brings. It makes us feel warm in our hearts, and easy in our minds, that such confidence is placed in our nation. But the request he makes of us, to go with him to Buffalo, we cannot give an immediate answer too, as all our head-men are not present; moreover, we want to talk with him and them together; and now we give him the kind invitation of your staying with us all night; and it is likely we shall then help him to the council fire, where he now asks us to go to, and our chiefs shall be sent for." Here O'Beel spoke, and aided my proposition; and, as I was fully sensible of his friendship, I took his counsel, before I should determine on staying in this town. And, finally, judging of it to be a sure means of securing them, to go to Buffalo with us, I consented; and of which they being informed, they sent off runners for their chiefs and warriors, while we still remained in the council-house.

12*th.*—At 9 o'clock at night, Capt. O'Beel, the Delaware chiefs, and Senecas, called me into council, when Captain Snake's, interpreter gave his speech, as follows: "Uncle, (for that is the term given by the Delawares to the Senecas) God has been good to us this day: for we have each heard the good talk sent from the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires; and we have ever said, that we would advise each other of every thing that we heard that was bad; or that was like to befall either of our nations. Now, uncle, we have determined to go with you, and our brother, who brings to us these good tidings, to Buffalo, and there meet our nations at the great council fire. Blood may fall upon us while we are going, but now we give you our hands as we promised, and we will lie down and will rise together." [Here a belt of wampum was given, consisting of five strings, which Capt. O'Beel viewed in his hand a short time, and then presented it to me.] Captain Snake again repeated: "Uncle, in three days we move our women and children, and all that we have, to your towns; they are to remain with your women until our return." In the course of his speech he also mentioned, that their people expected to receive a stroke from the Messasagues, a part of that nation who were led to war by their brothers.

13*th.*—Our fleet set out from Hickory town, and reached Log-trap creek, 10 miles distant, and encamped. Rained the whole night, and not a dry thread of clothes on myself or companions.

14*th.*—Proceeded up the river this day, took up our encampment near the mouth of Casyoudang creek, it being the place where Colonel Broadhead, in the year 1779, had fought against the savages; and, in which action, Joseph Nicholson, his interpreter, was wounded.

15*th.*—Being very unwell this morning, and overtaken with rhuematism pains, and to such a degree that I was obliged to have assistance to convey me from my canoe to the fire; same time being cold and rainy, I informed Cornplanter that I should leave *his fleet* and proceed to his lower town, to procure some assistance; and I arrived there, some time in the night, after a very laborious day's work to the Indians: the current of the river being so very much against us, at this place, I applied to an Indian doctor, who prepared poultices of roots and herbage, and applied it to my foot, the power of which, over the parts affected, threw it into my knee, which produced the most exquisite pain; and I perceptibly felt that it shortened the sinews under my ham, upon which I applied it no more; fearing the consequences might be fatal to me for life. About eight miles above the encampment, where I left O'Beel, I came to a large river, called the Conawango; and, at its emptying into the Alleghany, is said to contain as much water as flows in the other river, above it. At the confluence of those two rivers, the government of Pennsylvania have laid out a manor of 3,000 acres, and up the said river (Conawango) to an Indian town called Cayantha, or the Corn-fields, are extraordinary rich lands, of which a survey was made, by David Rittenhouse, Esq. of the city of Philadelphia, some time since. The Indians whom I hired at Venango, to bring me to O'Beel's town, (there being two called by his name) drew so nice a distinction, that they chose the first, or lower town, and insisted that this was the town they intended to come to, and not the other; and should I require their assistance to go to the upper town, I must pay to each one dollar (fifteen shillings.) The terms being agreed upon, we proceeded to the upper town aforesaid, by some called the New-Arrow's town, being the name of the head sachem of that place. At this town I left Captain Houdin, Indian Peter, the guide which I brought from near Tioga Point, also, our horses, when I departed from thence to Venango, on the 7th of April, and found the Captain in an enfeebled state of health, owing entirely to the hardships he underwent before his arrival at this place.

16*th.*—At this town I met, in company with Capt. Houdin, a French gentleman from Montreal, by the name of Dominick de Barge, who had followed the Indian trade, in this country, for six years past, and who lost by the same, a considerable fortune, by the credits he had given to some of the Indians, &c.; with them I found, also, a Mr. Culbertson, a trader from Genesee; and it gave me pleasure to find that the Captain was not altogether alone, he seeming to have an aversion, in general, to the company of Indians.

17*th.*—This day the canoes, which I left on the 15th, arrived here, and brought news which they had received from an Indian runner, that, on Wednesday last, the 13th, the New-Arrow, and his associates, with the garrison boat, arrived at Fort Franklin; having suffered no damage in their persons, nor loss of their merchandise, as was reported, which belonged to Cornplanter, and other Indians, but two or more cases of gin, taken by the militia, for which Squire Wilkins, of Pittsburg, caused restitution to be made them. Settled with Mr. James Culbertson, for supplies for my people and horses, during my absence, 44 shillings York, Pennsylvania, 41⅓.

18*th.*—An express arrived here from the New-Arrow, advising that they must send down to him, at fort Franklin, a certain number of canoes, sufficient to carry the goods brought forward by Cornplanter, from Philadelphia. Finding, from experience, that the Indians were exceeding slow in putting matters in motion, which I held to be important, and slothful to the last degree, I wrote immediately by the return of the canoes to Franklin, to request that the commanding officer would lend them every assistance necessary to their being forwarded to this place; as I was well informed, by a person that I employed upon the occasion, to know the general intentions of the chiefs, that not one of them would go for Buffalo, with me, until they should see his safe return. This afternoon the canoes, which had loitered on the way, arrived; and by which I was informed, that the Delaware and Munsee Indians, at Hickory town, were moving with their stock, &c. to Cattaragus.

19*th.*—O'Beel and chiefs arrived here from the lower town, and ordered their conch shell to be sounded through the village, to summon their head-men into council. After some time spent therein, the whole of them adjourned to my hut, being confined, to pay me and my friend Capt. Houdin their compliments, as having come to visit them in their settlements, under such friendly intentions. Nothing more material this day. But dancing was carried on the major part of the night, assisted by drumming, songs, &c.

20*th.*—An express arrived from Buffalo creek, informing, that the fire of the Six Nations had been lighted, by a number of chiefs and warriors; and that they had been stirring it long, to keep it alive, waiting for the sachems of the Senecas, and their brothers, who were sent by the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, whom we want to hear speak with us. It is, likewise, our desire, that all writings received at Philadelphia, from the great chief, Honondaganius, (General Washington) may be brought forward with them, so that the great council may hear the contents. On receiving this public message, I was requested by O'Beel, and the other chiefs, to write an answer to this message, on their behalf, as hearing that Colonels Butler and Brandt were at Buffalo, waiting our coming. I complied, agreeable to their request, and directed the same to the Farmer's Brother, Kuyasutta, and Red Jacket, chiefs of the Six Nations, at Buffalo creek.

21*st.*—This morning, the whole of the town were preparing to have a grand feast, to return thanks to the Great Keeper of all men, for their being spared to meet once more together; several of the chiefs called upon us to give us the invitation to be present, while they should perform divine worship in their way; adding, that Indians worshipped one Supreme head, the Preserver of all, both white and red men. Their speaker advised us, also, to be prudent while they worshipped, and not to be guilty of laughing, or gestures, though the manner of it might differ, widely, from our own mode of worship; he likewise told us, that we must bring with us our ear, (the interpreter) to testify that they taught the true principles, by moral precept, and that their teachers, both men and women, admonished their hearers against thieving, lying, and speaking lightly of one another.

The manner of their preparing for worship is, that, in every house, they provide large quantities of such provisions as they think proper to bring with them, and the more varied the better, so that they may have a little of every sort, and none of the same returns to that house again, their method being to exchange their victuals on the ground, eating that which was brought by their neighbor; thus prepared, they proceed to the statue, which was erected in the centre of the village, bearing some proportion to a man, and justly painted, as the Indians are in common, but having no weapon of war about him; intimating that he was the maintainer of peace. This figure is about nine feet in height, and stood on a pedestal of about twelve feet, having on breech-clout, leggings, and a sash over its shoulders, and a very terrible appearance. Under this statue were placed two chiefs, termed the women's speakers; each of these held in their hands the shell of a large tortoise, the belly part covered with a thin skin, stretched on very tight, having, in the inside, several small stones, which shells being struck upon a deer skin, which is stretched between them, beating time together, accompanying the same with their voices, they made such melody that the whole of the assembly were delighted. The old and the young women dance round in a circle, the image in the centre, the men following them, using gestures that would have made a saint laugh, had he forgotten that he was

in a place of worship; but the women looked meek and humble, while they moved in concert in the dance, sliding their feet sideways, and folding their hands before them, in a half circle, looking, at the same time, steadfastly on the ground, inclining their heads to the left. The last of worship was performed to what they call a brag dance; the young warriors retire to a house adjacent, where are paints, feathers, and red clay; with the two former they ornament their heads with feathers, and their faces with paint, and their bodies with reddish clay, that give their skins all the same cast; some with one half their face black, and the other red, in order to look the more terrible: for in this manner they go to war. When all matters are thus adjusted, and ready to sally from their showbox, their leader gives a long yell, such as when a scalp is taken; and on the third being given, it is re-echoed by the whole, rushing forward, at the same time, to the place of worship, while they dance round the statue, throwing their bodies and heads in every curious attitude, and brag, alternately, of all the cruelties they had exercised in war, of prisoners taken, and of thefts committed on their enemies, and of many other exploits never performed. In the evening of the day, Captain O'Beel, and other chiefs, told me that they would be ready to go with me to Buffalo Creek in the morning, if I thought proper; the information gave me the most heartfelt satisfaction; and I acquainted him, that I was ready to depart at any hour they should agree to go, as much precious time had been wasted since my arrival at this place from the Genesee country.

22d.—I closed my letters this day for his Excellency the Secretary of War, and a second letter for Governor St. Clair, (having wrote him the first from Venango) and forwarded the same by a white prisoner named Nicholas Deamhout, and for which I drew on the commandant at fort Franklin to pay him to the value of 37*s.* 6*d.* in such articles as could be spared from the garrison; paid Indian Peter for services from Newtown Point to O'Beel's town, 22*s.* 6*d.*; to mess expense from the 16th to the 23d, including horse feed, £6 18*s.* 3*d.*; to cash paid Francis Slocum, a white prisoner, 7*s.* 6*d.*; do. a white prisoner at Cattaragus, 11*s.* 3*d.*; she informs me that she is a sister to Henry Kepple, in Market street, born in Germany; her husband, a Lieutenant Groves of the Royal Americans, was killed at Venango in the year 1761; had been prisoner ever since, but too old and enfeebled to leave them; she informed me that she was truly poor, which I had apparent reason to believe, and I mean to inform her friends of the same, which is the cause of my making this minute, as knowing her brother was under wealthy circumstances. Hire of a horse for my servant to Buffalo, and loss of a bell, 15*s.*; to house and fire wood expense, at New Arrow's town, 15*s.*; Indian doctor's bill, 11*s.* 3*d*; one pair old shoes and buckles, 11*s.* 3*d.*; cash for an Indian kettle taken away by some of the Indians, 7*s.* 6*d.*

23d.—We left O'Beel's town about 12 o'clock, and proceeded with a few chiefs and warriors, (the whole not being ready to depart with us) taking the route for Buffalo, through a village called Cattaragus, which we did not reach before the 25th, in the evening; and on our way thither passed through a settlement of the Delaware or Munsee Indians, in which was about twenty houses. In this place I saw a number of active young men; they being playing the game of bandy wicket, gave me the fairer opportunity of judging. The town of Cattaragus contains in or near about fifty tolerable houses, bordering on a beautiful river, and about two and a half miles from Lake Erie, surrounded by a most beautiful country and excellent land; but the water they have to drink, taken from a pond, is very indifferent. We had arrived but a short time when I caused the chiefs to be summoned into council, and, as in other instances, I made them fully acquainted with the business that led me into their country; and in answer thereto, a sentimental speech was delivered by Thyogachee. [See subsequent page.] While we remained in this town, they were preparing to bury the daughter of a great chief, and in the house that I was placed, there was a number of the mourners, who appeared under the greatest distress, by their cries; during which time, all their heads were covered with their shrouds, but when they had uncovered themselves I did not discover that they had shed one tear. This brought to my recollection the manner of attending wakes in the old country, with the native Irish, where the rich hire old women to lament the loss of the deceased, and to recount all the valuable actions of their past life.

26th.—We took up our journey towards Buffalo, and in about five miles going from thence, we came in upon the verge of Lake Erie, which had a beautiful appearance, it being a pleasant morning, and the waters were very serene, and looking over the lake we could just perceive the land at the other side. We travelled along the sandy beach for some miles, but were obliged, at three or four different places, to leave the shore and take to the woods, the rocks having come bluff up to the deep water; from small springs that appeared upon the face of the rocks, it shewed that it passed over bodies of mineral, from the hue that it gave; but the greatest curiosity that I had seen was alum lying on the surface of the rocks, off which we might have gathered a pound in a quarter of an hour.

27th.—We arrived at Buffalo creek, having travelled through a country of exceeding rich land, from our last encampment, the extent of which I had not been able to ascertain. The pre-emptive right to this valuable country was vested in the State of Massachusetts, but at present the property of the Hon. Robert Morris, of the city of Philadelphia, by a late purchase. The principal village of Buffalo belongs to the Seneca nation, and in it the young king, the Farmer's brother, resides, as also Red Jacket, the great speaker, and prince of the Turtle tribe. On my entering the town, there were numbers of Indians collected at the hut where we alighted from our horses, and on taking a general view of them, I found that they were far better clothed than those Indians were in the towns at a greater distance, owing entirely to the immediate intercourse they have with the British, being but about thirty-five miles distance from Niagara, and but six miles from fort Erie, situate on the north side of the lake; from which places they are supplied yearly with almost every necessary they require, so much so as to make them indifferent in their huntings. And the chiefs, who are poor in general, have to look up to them for almost their daily subsistence, not only of provisions, but for apparel: for the Farmer's Brother, the Young King, was fully regimented as a colonel, red faced with blue, as belonging to some royal regiment, and equipped with a pair of the best epaulétts. So that, from his after conduct, it may not appear extraordinary, where the king has thrown in his opposition to my errand, he being paid so well for his influence over the Indian nations as to carry his favorite point in question. I had not been long in the village before I was invited to the great council house, with my companion, attended by Red Jacket, O'Beel, and other chiefs. Just as we approached the porch of the council house, they had a two pounder swivel gun, which they had loaded very high, having put into her an uncommon charge, which the acting gunner being sensible of, stood within the door, and fired it from the end of a long stick, which he passed between the logs; which being done, the explosion upset the gun and its fixture. This, they said, was done as a treat for our safe arrival through the dangers that we had encountered, and for which they were thankful to the Great Keeper. The speech, as an introduction, given by Red Jacket, being ended, he came forward to me to the seat I had been ushered to in the centre of the council, and presented me with four strings of wampum, which he had held in his hands while speaking; for the particulars of which see another page. Capt. O'Beel having been particularly named by Red Jacket, he rose and returned the compliment, in behalf of us that were strangers. Being at this time just sun setting, I apprised the council, through my interpreter, that I had messages from General Washington, the great chief of the Thirteen Fires, which were particularly addressed to the notice of the Six Nations, the representatives of which nations I presumed were principally present; but, as it was drawing late, I requested leave to postpone the introduction till the morning, which was consented to. Upon this, Red Jacket rose to remark, that many persons had occasionally come into their country, who said that they had also come in by the authority of the Thirteen Fires, but of the truth of which they were not always convinced. This information opened the door that I expected; being informed by a French gentleman, a trader amongst them, that these sentiments had fallen from Colonels Brandt and Butler, about seven days previous to our arrival at this place, who desired of the chiefs, in private council, to pay no attention to what should be said to them by me; and, as they knew the purport of my mission, from the chiefs whom I had held council with at the Genesee river, the Colonels advised them not to assist me in going to the Miamies, as the consequence would be fatal to those that should attend me, and consequent death to me and my companion. From these suggestions, which had fallen from Red Jacket, I mentioned, in open council, that I was desirous that they might call forward any gentleman of veracity, whom they had confidence in, to be present while I should deliver myself to them, and overlook any writings that I was directed to lay before the Six Nations, as by that means proof would be made that my commission was founded on the authority of the United States of America. They then agreed upon sending for the commanding officer of fort Erie, and despatched a runner for the purpose. Soon after

the council broke up, Captain John, of the Onandagos, came to my hut, and informed me, in private conversation, that no scruple was made of the authority I came under to them, being well informed by the chiefs of the Genesee, who had given that information some considerable time before my reaching Buffalo. Captain John, from his manners, appeared to be a man of veracity, and had received a Mohawk education, and understood himself very well, and during my stay at Buffalo attached himself to me in person, and promoted, all that lay in his power, the business that I had before the council; but the reasons, he said, they were so particular with me, was on account of a certain William Ewing, a resident from the Connedesago lake, who had come in behalf of the Hon. Robert Morris, whom he called the second greatest man in the Union; that he had convened a council the day previous to my arrival, informing those of the Six Nations present, that the pre-emptive right to the lands in this country, as belonging to the State of Massachusetts, were now the property of the said Robert Morris, whensoever the Six Nations of Indians were disposed to sell any part of the same; that, the better to authenticate this business that he had to perform, he produced his instructions, under the hands and seals of the Hon. Robert Morris and the Hon. —— Ogden, both of the State of Pennsylvania, adding, that the chain of friendship now stretched between the said gentlemen and the Six Nations, the centre of which was to be supported by him; that in consequence thereof, he desired their permission to traverse the several courses of the lands granted by their agent, —— Livingston, of New York, to the said State of Massachusetts.

28th.—The council being convened within the house, there appeared to be about one hundred and fifty in number. Mr. Ewing began to open and continue his business, which he had introduced the day before; upon which, I rose to inform him that he must desist from going on any farther, as it was an interference with my mission, that was of the utmost consequence to the United States, and to the Indian nations in general; and that, as soon as the same was completed, agreeable to the purport of my coming here, that then I would lend him such assistance as was in my power, and through which I would evidence my respect for the gentlemen who sent him.

The commanding officer of fort Erie sent word to the council this morning, that he could not leave his garrison without the express permission of the commandant of Niagara, (Col. Gordon) but that he had sent Captain Powell, of the Indian Department, as a suitable person to superintend their business.

As a proper introduction to my mission, and by the consent and desire of O'Beel, I began by reading his address to the Governor and Council of the State of Pennsylvania, as also his several letters to the President of the United States, and his Excellency's answer to them, in order, and a third letter to the same, from the Secretary of War. The reading of these several papers, and the deed from his Excellency the President, for the restoration of their lands in the Six Nations, and the interpreting the same, took up the whole of the day, upon which I concluded to adjourn till to-morrow, leaving them to digest what had been said, and to judge of the great attention that had been paid to them by the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires. I thought it proper to give the invitation to Captain Powell, to take up his abode at my hut for the night, which he very willingly accepted of. After we had taken a little refreshment, we entered into a general conversation, and spoke on many matters, the consequences of the late war. The captain, being free in conversation, gave me to understand, that Colonels Butler and Brandt, himself, and several other officers from Niagara and fort Erie, had been at Buffalo some time, waiting my coming, as they had advice that I was on the way hither; that while there, Brandt received private instructions, from head quarters, to set out for the Grand river, and from thence to Detroit. This business, Captain Powell judged, was to carry instructions of *some* kind to the Indians, at war with the United States. It had the appearance of truth, from what had fallen from the lips of Butler and Brandt, some days since, with the chiefs of the Onandagos and Senecas, as it had the tendency of their joint advice, when they spoke in the great council, viz: that they should not determine on any matter of consequence with me without their concurrence. These injunctions being laid upon them, (as I received it from my informant) the British officers retired to their different posts.

Friday, April 29th.—The business which I postponed yesterday, I opened in a much larger council than had appeared before; and, after I had read the Secretary of War's message by me to the Six Nations, I continued to read those also directed to the Delawares, Wyandots, the Miamies, and to the Indians inhabiting the Wabash; and closed the whole with an address to them, clearly explaining the greatness and power of the United States, and of their trade and commerce; as also of their being at peace and amity with many of the powerful nations of Europe: and though we were once angry with Great Britain, with whom we had fought for eight returning seasons, and having compelled them by force and arms to quit our country, the red hatchet between them and the United States was buried deep under the earth.

I also went into and explained the treaty, held at New York, between his Excellency the President and Colonel McGillivray, the political chief of the Creek nations, and the most numerous body of Indians on the continent, and at this interview there were thirty-two of the most principal chiefs. Every thing being most amicably adjusted at this treaty, they are now become the established friends of the United States, and have firmly engaged themselves to act as our allies in offensive and defensive wars, as the nature of the case will require. Moreover, as they had journeyed far from their own country, not less than sixteen hundred miles, that, to save them the trouble of returning the same way, an American vessel was properly equipped for their accommodation, and conducted them, fully satisfied, to their own country.

And here I was happy to have it in my power to give a more recent proof to the Six Nations, of the great justice done them, by the President of the United States, in the late negotiation had with him by Cornplanter, and others, at Philadelphia; to evidence which, no greater testimony can be given than what I have produced this day, in the hearing of this large assembly. And that nothing more remained, at this time, to be done, but for the chiefs of the Six Nations to evidence their attachment to the United States, by their speedily proceeding forward with me to the unfriendly Indians, and assisting me by the same to inform their minds, to reclaim them from the murders and thefts which they were daily committing upon the defenceless inhabitants near the Ohio, &c. &c. By this, they might have an early caution what must be the consequence, should they refuse to accept the terms of peace, and the proffered mercy of the United States, before that a decisive blow be levelled at those misguided people, and which cannot be far off, if they persist in their cruelties. Moreover, that it is a business worthy the attention of the Six Nations, nay, of all good men, both of the Indians and of the whites; and the speedier their determination might be made known to me the better, so that we might go on to the accomplishment of this good work, thereby to preserve hundreds of our fellow men on both sides. The reply of Red Jacket to the foregoing, as it will come more proper in this place, I here insert it at its full length:

"BROTHER FROM PENNSYLVANIA:

"We have heard all that you have said to us, and by which you have informed that you are going to the bad Indians to make peace with them, and that you are sent to us to receive our assistance. Now we must consider the matter thoroughly, and to choose which way we must go, whether by land or by water. You likewise tell us, that you have messages to the Wyandots, and to Captain Snake, of the Delawares; and that they are to take hold of you and us by the hands, and go to the bad Indian nations with us; and this, also, we must consider of thoroughly: for we find that all our Six Nations are not present; and, as our brother, Captain Powell, of the British, is here, and true to us, for he is with us at every treaty, we must let you know that we shall move our council-fire to Niagara with him, and that you must go with us to-morrow, as far as Captain Powell's house. And, as soon as we can know what time we can reach Niagara, we will send runners off to the fort, to acquaint the commanding officer of the garrison. And now the council want to have your answer."

I did not long hesitate to make answer, in what I deemed a very unwarrantable request; and particularly so from a people that have received so many marks of gratitude and attention from the Government of the United States.

I therefore addressed myself to the council, and acquainted them that I had the honor of receiving my instructions and messages for the Six Nations of Indians from the honorable the Secretary of War of the United States of Ame-

rica, by the advice of his Excellency the President thereof; that, by those instructions, I was ordered to proceed to the council-fire of the Six Nations, where it should be *deemed proper* and advisable to light the same. This is, therefore, the place I have been led to by some of your principal chiefs; and upon my account, and the messages I have for your nations, this council-fire has been lighted; this being truly the case; and that my errand here was to invite you to send with me some of your head-men and warriors into the nation of the unfriendly Indians, as proposed at Philadelphia to the Secretary of War, by your chiefs who are present. That, on my coming thus far, I am certain to be in the line of my duty; but to move from hence, with this council-fire, to Niagara, a British garrison, there to transact important business, in which the United States were concerned, is of such a nature, that neither my principles nor commission would warrant me in such a transaction. Therefore I should decline to accompany them; adding, that, if the Six Nations were so far obligated that they must have the particular counsel and advice of any person or persons at Niagara, let them be sent for to this council, so that the result of such deliberations might be done openly at this place; and that my desires were, that this fire should not be quenched until the intentions of the Six Nations were fully made known to me, so that I might lay the same in form before the Secretary of War, by him to be laid before General Washington, the Chief of the Thirteen Fires.

A silence for some time pervaded the whole of the council; after which, Red Jacket and the Farmer's Brother spoke to the council by turns; the result of it being, that a runner must be immediately sent to Niagara, to request the attendance of Colonel Butler, &c. to meet them in their council as soon as he could make it convenient. The foregoing speech of Red Jacket, as done by the advice of the Young King and Fish Carrier, (for they sat on either side of him, and prompted) plainly demonstrates, that the most of the chiefs of the Six Nations are under the influence of the British; as no business of consequence will be undertaken, to the advantage of the United States, but what must first be sifted by British counsel. These suggestions, which were pressed on my mind at this time, gave me to fear that I should not meet the wished for assistance that I had a right to expect from the Six Nations; but fully determined to persevere in my endeavors, till I should gain the summit of difficulty, which I saw arranged before me.

April 30th.—No business this day, but private counselling among themselves. In the evening, Captain Powell invited me to go with him to a store, about four miles distant, in which he was interested, and his partner who kept it a Mr. Cornelius Winney, of Fish Kills. With the last named gentleman I staid 'till the Monday following, through a very pressing and polite invitation, which at length I accepted of, being lame, and much indisposed, through fatigue and change of diet, such as from poor, to exceeding poor indeed; but with him there was plenty of every necessary, and given with so good a grace that I shall seek occasion to return the compliment.

May 2d.—No further business with me, but the Indians still continue their councils, keeping their fire burning, waiting the arrival of Colonel Butler, and, by information which I received, that leaked out of the cabinet of the Sachems, the council were much divided upon my account. About two in the afternoon, a messenger arrived from Niagara, informing them, that Colonel Buttler &c. had set out from Niagara, for this place. Among other circumstances in their private council, by the friends to the British interest, that the place where I was desirous they should accompany me, was on the verge of the ocean; that it would take them twelve months to reach the place of treaty; but those falsities were soon explained to my friends, and through which, I plainly shewed them, by my draughts, that the distance from hence, to fort Washington, did not amount to six hundred miles, and that half that distance we should go by the waters of lake Erie, and, that, when I was satisfied of their going with me, I would charter one of the trading vessels on the lake for that purpose.

May 3d.—Finding, upon inquiry, that there was no general council to be held this day, waiting the coming of Colonel Buttler, I sent the interpreter to invite the chiefs to my cabin, as I had some matters to communicate to them, previous to their going to general council. They soon attended me, and I took the opportunity to open my map before them, and showed, from our situation at Buffalo, the trace we should make into the Miami nation; from thence to fort Washington, on the Ohio; the first, by a transport on lake Erie, to the mouth of the Miami, which, with any thing of a fair wind, could be completed in less than two days and two nights. From the mouth of the Miami to the Messasagoe nation, situate on the same, and from thence to the Miami and Wabash tribes, at such place where they might generally be assembled; plainly demonstrating, to their satisfaction, that the whole tour could be performed in a short time; and, therefore, enjoined them, under the friendship which they professed to bear to the Thirteen Fires, that they would, in their next council, promote and further my business, that I came to receive their assistance to perform; so that I might go on my journey, without farther hesitation, as my orders were, not to remain at any council longer than two or three days, if I could possibly do otherwise; so that it might be reasonably expected, that my stay here could not be much longer, this being the seventh day since my arrival. I hoped, therefore, they would not be silent with me longer, as I plainly saw that they were not to exercise their own opinions but on the opinion of the British agent. These remarks I made, with intention that they should feel the force of my observations; upon which, Red Jacket desired that I should hear him speak; as I had been speaking a long time. "Tell him, said he, (speaking to the interpreter) that some of his language is soft, but that other parts of it are too strong; for the danger that is before us is great, and our enemies are drunk; and they will not hear what we say, like a man that is sober, and we consider that, whatever number of the Six Nations accompany him, will be in the same danger with himself, and it is likely that we shall not live long, when the bad Indians shall see us. Therefore, as it is a business of such great weight to us, we must take counsel, in order to save ourselves, and him, from falling by their hands. Moreover, the Indians are not like white men: for they must think a great while. He must therefore attend our councils, and look and hear till we shall speak on his business; and to-morrow our head-men will meet together, and try what can be done." While we were in conversation together, a runner came to the Young King, acquainting him that Colonel Butler, with several officers, from Niagara, had arrived at the store house, on lake Erie, where, Colonel Butler desired, that the sachems and head-men of the nations should meet him in the morning; but did not advise that I should attend with them. This, the Young King desired, might be told to me, that I might know that Colonel Butler had called them together. The circumstance of their moving the council fire from hence to lake Erie, had never been attempted before, and may with propriety be said, that, their being called together without my being to be present, was intended to answer some private purpose; perhaps to damp the ardor of such friends as I might have gained among the Indians, through the fair and honorable statements which I had laid before them in their councils. Since the dusk of the night, Captain O'Beel has called a meeting of the chiefs, at the cabin of Cayassutta, as I understood it, to advise them not to do any thing to injure me, in the business I had to do with them. In the course of this day, Captains Half-Town and Big-Tree, and several of the head-men and warriors from O'Beel's town, and Cattaragus, about sixty in number, and Captain Snake, with about forty of the Delawares, arrived, attended by many of their women, youth &c. By invitation, I dined this day (in company with Captain Houdin,) with the principal chief of the Onandago nation, named Big Sky. His castle lay about three mile east of Buffalo, near which were about twenty eight good cabins, and the inhabitants appeared, in general, to be decent, and well clothed, particularly their women, some of which were dressed so richly with silken stroud &c. and ornamented with so many silver trappings, that one suit must be of the value of at least thirty pounds; some of the latter attended the feast, which principally consisted of young pigeons, some boiled, some stewed, and the mode of dishing them up was, that a hank of six were tied with a deer's sinew round their necks, their bills pointing outwards; they were pluck'd, but of pen-feathers there plenty remained: the inside was taken out, but it appeared from the soup made of them, that water had not touched them before. The repast being the best I had seen for a long time, I ate of it very heartily, and the entertainment was given with the appearance of much hospitality. Returned about sunset to Buffalo.

May 4th.—The whole of the head-men and warriors repaired to the place, yesterday appointed by Colonel Butler, to open that council they intended holding at the *British garrison* of Niagara. I pressed my friend O'Beel to go forward with them, by all means, lest the United States should not be represented. About eleven o'clock, an Indian runner delivered me a letter from Colonel Butler, through which Captain Houdin and myself received a polite invitation to dine with him and his officers, viz. Captain Burrows, commandant of fort Erie, Colonel Street, Captain Johnson, Captain Powell, and Captain Butler Shane; most of which gentlemen appeared to speak the

Indian language fluently, and all appeared to be busily engaged with the parties, holding converse with them. The tenor of which was, as I since understood it, that they must be cautious what they should undertake to do, in such matters as I had laid before them; and before they might determine, they must repair to Niagara, and receive the instructions of Colonel Gordon. Colonel Butler speaking to them, in my hearing, to the same effect, also mentioning, that, as Colonel Brandt, of Grand river, and Mr. M'Gee, agent for Indian affairs for Detroit, were now preparing to go among the Indians at war with the Americans, to know what their intentions were, whether for war or for peace; advising them by all means to wait the information that would be received from them, and, should it not come as early as might be expected, they should not go without it, as thereby they would draw war upon their own nations; for they were very angry with them already, and would be more so on finding an American among them; and that, nothwithstanding his going among them was to establish peace, they would kill them all, without waiting to hear what errand he had come upon. This, and the like conversation, from Colonel Butler, beside what were doing by his officers of the Indian department, then present, lasted till late dinner time, and previous to their going away to their castle at Buffalo. The Young King and Red Jacket remarked to Colonel Butler, that the speech intended for the Miami and Wabash Indians contained threatening sentences, which would be more likely to irritate them, than soften them into a compliance. Upon this information being given, I undertook to show them to Colonel Butler, and others that were present; that, on the same being read publicly, they acknowledged, that they had not understood it so well before, and appeared satisfied that a mistake rested with them. A considerable conversation took place with Colonel Butler and myself, in presence of the Young King and other chiefs, entirely on the subject of a peace, and of my intended progress through the Miami country, which were severally interpreted to them, the tenor of the Colonel's advice being, to leave the whole of the treaty, and adjustment of the same, to the chiefs of Buffalo, Colonel Brandt, and M'Gee, whom he should engage for, to accomodate the disputes between the Indians at war and the United States, and on no account to attempt the undertaking myself, as he was well aware what must be the consequence.

Colonel Butler having given his opinion so fully, gave me the opportunity to explain myself, by saying, that, if I possessed weakness enough to submit to a negotiation on the terms he had introduced, that a peace could not be confirmed with the thirteen States, but with his Britannic Majesty's subjects, in their behalf; that, on the completion of this business, due honor would rest with the negotiators, and, by such a passive procedure in me, I should justly entail on myself lasting disrepute. That, for those reasons, the chiefs of the Six Nations must be decisive in their answers to me, within a few days, being compelled, by my duty, to seek assistance by other expedients, which are in my power—perceiving in some of their chiefs, an indifference of conduct in matters which I held to be of the utmost importance. These expressions having been interpreted to them, they severally retired to their villages, and I received the invitation of continuing the night with those gentlemen, and complying with the same, I received the utmost civility and agreeable conversation till one o'clock in the morning.

May 5.—This morning, Col. Butler and his suite took boat from hence, which was rowed by six British soldiers across the lake, for fort Erie; and previous to their departure, as before mentioned, I saw that each, and every public paper, received by Cornplanter at Philadelphia, together with the message that I brought to the Six Nations, were safely put under the care of Col. Butler, and by him to be presented to the commanding officer of Niagara, as concluded upon by the council of the Six Nations, so that the counsel of Col. Gordon might be obtained by them. In the afternoon of this day, I wrote a letter to obtain permission from the commanding officer of Niagara, to freight one of the schooners upon the lake, to conduct me, and such Indians as were willing to go with me, to Sandusky, in order that no time might be lost when I should gain their concurrence, and forwarded the same by an Indian, being unwilling to trouble either of the officers with its carriage, to Col. Gordon: paid him 15*s*. [See the letter to Col. Gordon.]

May 6.—Red Jacket and Captain O'Beel came to see me, when the former acquainted me with the reason why no council would be held this day, to wit: That it was their pigeon time, in which the Great Spirit had blessed them with an abundance; and that such was his goodness to the Indians, that he never failed sending them, season after season; and although it might seem a small matter to me, the Indians will never lose sight of those blessings. This is, therefore, the reason why our men, women, and children, are gone from their towns; but on to-morrow, our headmen will return, and your business again shall be taken up. 'Tis a matter worthy of observation, that at some convenient distance from every of the Indian settlements, the pigeons hatch their young in this season of the year, and the trees which they commonly light on, are low, and of the bushy kind, and they are found in such great abundance, that, exceeding a hundred nests, a pair of pigeons in each are common to be found in a single tree; so that I have seen in one house, belonging to one family, several large baskets full of dead squabs; these they commonly take when they are just prepared to leave their nests, and as fat as is possible for them to be made; when, after they are plucked and cleansed a little, they are preserved by smoke, and laid by for use.

May 7.—Captain O'Beel called the chiefs together on business concerning themselves; to take into consideration where land should be selected for the accommodation of certain tribes and families, who had put themselves under the protection of the Six Nations, being compelled to leave their former situations, dreading the rage of the Shawanese and Miami Indians. To Captain Snake, and the Delawares under his immediate care, the place appointed for them to plant in, was near the village of Cattaragus; to the families of Connondoghta, a chief of the Messasagoes, and to the Bear Oil Chief and his family, who fled from their settlement, Conyatt, all of the same nation, had their planting grounds assigned to them near the village of Buffalo. On the arrival of the Bear's Oil chief and Connondochta at this place, they acquainted me, that, from their friends, they had intelligence, that large bodies of Indians were assembled at the Miamis, preparing for a descent on some part of our settlements, or garrisons, on or near the Ohio; and that many white people had lately fallen by the hands of the Indians; in which attack, two warriors were lost: and by the same information they received accounts that war traces were seen leading to fort Pitt. They professed to be very happy in seeing of me, as they had heard it in their own country, the business I had come upon. At this meeting advice was received that the Squawky Indians, those of Carrahadeer, and Hishhue, were in fear of our white people, and about to leave their settlements and repair to Buffalo. This account several of the chiefs came to make me acquainted with. Upon which, I told them that such a report had not the least shadow of truth, for it was a well known subject to the inhabitants of the Genesee, that, by my mission, I was sent to the Six Nations as a pledge for the friendship of the Thirteen Fires to them; that whosoever was the author of this bad report, was a great enemy to the Indians, as well as to the whites inhabiting the frontiers, and that, therefore, without loss of time, they should send messengers to advise the Indians of those settlements not to stir from their property, but to go on with their planting as usual, and that neither our army, nor our militia, dare to disturb the quiet. This my advice was communicated to the council, and Cornplanter was active in forwarding the despatches to them. During this day's business in their council, it was moved that some of their chiefs, attended by the Farmer's Brother, should go to Niagara to obtain the counsel and assistance of Colonel Gordon; but nothing was determined upon. Mr. Joseph Smith arrived this day from the Genesee, with a message from Col. Pickering, intimating to the Six Nations that he had received presents for them from the United States, desiring their attendance at the Painted Post, on the Tioga river, on the 16th day of June next. The introductory part of his address pointed out to them the interview that he had had with their chiefs at Tioga Point, two years since; that there the mutual friendships between the United States and the Six Nations were entered into; that he was happy to inform them that the chain between them was held fast by the States, and kept free from rust. In his next position, he recommended to them to keep peaceable in their towns, and by no means to join the Indians who were carrying on a war against the United States. I seconded the purport of his speech to them, and advised, in a particular manner, that the whole of their chiefs and warriors, with their women, would present themselves at Cohockton, on the day, or as near it as possible, and receive the benefits which would be bestowed upon them by the Thirteen Fires; and this the chiefs promised should be attended to.

Council this day, as usual, without my meeting amongst them. Nothing more material.

May 8.—A great dance was performed here this day, and worship, by the Six Nations present; but in the fore part of the day they held council, and I was present. For the particulars, see the speech of Fish Carrier, a chief of the Cayugas, and the right hand man of Brandt and Butler.

May 9.—The council being convened, I replied to the speech of Fish Carrier, delivered yesterday, in which I gave them to understand, that I thought it useless for me to stay any longer with them at Buffalo, seeing that those who were in the interest of the British had deterred others of them from serving in the cause of the United States; and that, whatsoever they might have conceived of their conduct throughout this business, that I would lay it in its true colors before General Washington, the President of the United States, that he might be the judge how far the Six Nations deserved his future attention and care. And here I must inform the chief and head men of the Six Nations, that I have, by your desire, from time to time, overstaid the period limited me to be at fort Washington, being the thirteenth day since my arrival. I therefore call upon you for your final answer to my message, and I cannot doubt but it will be such that will remove all those troubles from my mind that it has labored under for many days past; and this you must receive as the last talk I have to make to you, unless that something worthy of my attention shall be publicly declared by your head-men, that can alter the opinion I now possess. And shall only add, in this place, that it is my fervent desire that the Great Spirit may always preside over the councils of the Six Nations, and direct all their doings for their lasting happiness.

Previous to my leaving the council, Red Jacket and the Young King desired that I would wait their future deliberations, and from a few words which were afterwards spoken to me by Red Jacket in council, gave me the first reason to expect their assistance.

May 10.—Worship was performed this day, as usual.

May 11.—The great dance that succeeded was attended with a very drunken entertainment, from the Young King to the meanest subject, Corn Planter and some of the elders of the women excepted; but not the least insolence was offered to me, or any of my people.

May 12.—There was a general alarm took place in all the villages near this quarter, the cause of it I had judged proceeded from the enemies of the United States; but report gave it that there was a large number of Indians approaching the castle of Buffalo, and that one of them had come to a woman the last evening, and showed her two fresh scalps, one of which was a white man's, and the other an Indian's; the last scalp so large, that the ears, with its bobs, remained to it; and that the main object was to make demand of the white persons among them, and of me, in particular, to be surrendered; and should it be denied, they would commence an open war against them. Capt. O'Beel on this feigned alarm: sent out, early in the morning of the 13th, a number of his Indians, to discover if there were the appearance of an enemy's track; but returned in the afternoon, and reported that there had been no Indians where it had been said they were seen in numbers. Some time in the day, the Young King went to the encampment of the Bear's Oil chief, and, in conversation with him, and many others of the Indians, told them to prepare going for Niagara in the morning, with him and others, to consult with Col. Gordon what was necessary to be done, as I had required an immediate answer from the Six Nations, on my messages to them, and to determine whether they should take the advice of the United States, or the advice of the British. This information I received from Captain Print, an Indian chief, and one of those who accompanied Gen. Sullivan, speaking the English language sufficiently well to be understood. He told me farther, that the British were the main instigation of my not succeeding hitherto. This led me to call a meeting of the chiefs at my cabin, this evening, and particularly the Young King to be of the number. Captain Print was present; as also O'Beel. Before them I recounted many principal objects, as the end of my mission to them; and in the clearest and most becoming manner, I showed them where they had failed to perform, in many instances, all that I required at their hands; and if such had been attended to by them, the United States would be the more liberal in their rewards; but the contrary having taken place, the more straitened their gifts would be in future; and that the reasons they were now called to the Painted Post, to receive clothing, &c. at the hand of Col. Pickering, were under the firmest belief of the President of the Thirteen Fires, that we are, at this time, far advanced in the country of the unfriendly Indians, proceeding on our way to the treaty at fort Washington, which is to be held by Gen. St. Clair, Governor of the Western territories. What passed at this interview between me and them, was soon carried for the information of the elders of the women, and was the cause of the awakening the whole of them from their lethargy. Mess expense for four persons, and feed for our horses, commencing 27th April, to 13th May, both days included, £12 16*s.* 7*d.*

Information received this day of Mr. Joseph Smith, interpreter, as he had the same from a Mr. John Knowles, of Detroit, and formerly of the city of Philadelphia, silversmith, viz. that, after the battle which was fought last fall, between Colonel Harmar and the Wabash Indians, &c. great quantities of provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries, were sent to the seat of war, to supply the Indians, and conducted by a Simon Gerty, and some other persons, from the garrison of Detroit, said to be of more notoriety than said Gerty. This being a fact, founded on truth. *Quere*, Is it not as likely that they are constantly supplied by the same process with every article they stand in need of to carry on war with the United States? And can this be a principle, comporting with the reputation of a *brave Briton*? I think not.

14*th.*—Private council this day with the Indians, as usual, in which they strongly debated on the principles under consideration between me and Colonel Butler: the particulars of which are more fully explained in the speech of the Young King, assisted by Fish Carrier, which he delivered in my hut after candle light. [See subsequent page.] The afternoon of the 9th instant, about 5 o'clock, my interpreter came to inform me, that Mr. William Ewing had called the chiefs to his hut, (as was his custom, unknown to me, almost every afternoon) and that a council fire was lighted in the front of the same; that Fish Carrier, the Farmer's Brother, and several other chiefs, were present, consulting on the business I have before alluded to. It gave me some concern, that the imprudence of this young man had compelled me to come forward, to silence him; as I saw plainly, and received information also, that the Indians were not able to decide what purpose was intended, by sending two extraordinary messengers to them at one time; being led to believe, that the authority of each was nearly similar. I proceeded to the council fire, and in a short manner introduced my business to the chiefs, of what was the cause that brought me forward to interfere in the business of their council.

Upon this, I turned to Mr. Ewing, and charged him with having insidiously thrown obstructions in my way, and was one of the principal causes of my not having succeeded in the purpose of my message to the Six Nations. In consequence of which, I commanded him, in the presence of the chiefs, at his peril to proceed any farther, in either their public, or their private councils, until my mission was fully decided upon by the chiefs of the Six Nations; and should he attempt it after this caution, that I should be unpleasingly compelled to commit him to the first prison that could be come at within the United States, and prosecute him, on the obvious reasons before recited. The purport of this conversation with Mr. Ewing, I desired my interpreter to communicate to the chiefs, and upon which I left them to regale themselves with liquor, placed before them for the occasion.

On the Young King's closing his conversation with me for the night, and *roundly denying* that they would accompany me in person to the Miamies, &c. I took this as the last occasion I should have, to tell those who accompanied him the sentiments of my mind, and assuring them, at the same time, that whatever I should say to the Secretary of War on my return, should be identically to the same effect that I had upon all occasions accosted them; and that, as I scorned deception, I must generously tell them, that I was displeased with their delays, and of the little respect they had paid to the message that I was charged with to their nations. That if the same was well received by the Secretary of War, it would tend to their future advantage; but that I could not persuade myself would be the case; and closed our conversation for the night.

15*th.*—Early this morning the elders of the Indian women resorted to my hut, (present a number of chiefs.) Having heard the general conversation that took place between me and the Young King the evening before, addressed me in the following manner.

"Brother: The Lord has spared us until a new day to talk together: for, since you came here from General Washington, you, and our uncles, the sachems, have been counselling together. Moreover, your sisters, the women, have taken the same into great consideration, because that you and our sachems have said so much upon it. Now,

that is the reason why we have come to say something to you, and to tell you, that the Great Spirit hath preserved you, and you ought to hear and listen to what we women shall speak, as well as to the sachems; for we are *the owners of this land*—and it is ours; for it is we that plant it, for our and their use. Hear us, therefore, for we speak of things that concern us and our children, and you must not think hard of us, while our men shall say more to you; for we have told them." The above speech being ended, I acceded to a request they made, that I would attend their sachems in council this day, and hear what should be said by the women's speaker, the young prince of the Turtle tribe, (Red Jacket.) Soon after their departure the alarm gun was fired, which was their signal to call their head-men into council. They were soon assembled from their adjacent villages, and sent some of their sachems to usher me and my colleague into their assembly. Being arrived, the first matter unusual that presented itself, were the elders of the women seated near their chiefs. When, after a short silence, the speech of the women was continued by Red Jacket, agreeably to the terms entered into between them, and the whole of the leading sachems of the six nations, as follows.

"BROTHER FROM PENNSYLVANIA:

You that are sent from General Washington, and by the Thirteen Fires; you have been sitting side by side with us every day, and the Lord has appointed us another pleasant day to meet again.

Now, listen, Brother: You know what we have been doing so long, and what trouble we have been at; and you know that it has been the request of our head warrior (O'Beel) that we are left to answer for our women, who are to conclude what ought to be done by both sachems and warriors. So hear what is their conclusion. Brother, the business you have come on is very troublesome, and we have been a long time considering on it, ever since you came here; and now the elders of our women, considering the greatness of your business, have said that our sachems and warriors must help you over your difficulties, for the good of them and their children. Moreover, you tell us, since the treaty at Tioga with us, the Americans are strong for peace.

Now, all that has been done for you has been done by our women, and the rest will be a hard task for us: for the people at the setting sun are bad people, and you have come on us in *too much haste* for such great matters of importance. And now, brother, you must look when it is light in the morning until the setting sun, and you must reach your neck over the land, and take all the light you can, to show the danger. And this is the words of our women to you, and the sachems and warriors who shall go with you. And now we shall name them, as they have first presented themselves in this full council, viz: Our first great sachem Kuyascetta, Red Jacket, the young prince of the Turtle tribe, Captain John, of the Onandagoes, the Grand Carrier, Awangogathe. [The foregoing are four chiefs of six, who were appointed to conduct me into the country of the unfriendly Indians. The names of the other two grand chiefs were at the same time given, but, by some accident, not inserted.] And now we will name our chief warriors, viz: Sawishua, Cuyanddoas, Unundastheuous, Thenachqua, Conneague, Tenanquachqua, Othanjohngottang, Hottendeyoucke, and Attwanikea.

Now, brother from Pennsylvania and from General Washington, I have told you what has been directed. Let us, therefore, throw all care on the mercy of our Great Keeper, in hopes that he will assist us. You now know that Col. Butler, of the British, told us that he must take our writings down to Col. Gordon, as he is a very wise man, and perhaps he may have something to say to us that is for our good. And we also want his assistance, as he is the man that keeps all the vessels that is on the lake.

Therefore, my brother, make your mind easy, for your request is granted, and when we hear from our brothers the British, then we shall know what time we can start. And you must not be uneasy that our brother O'Beel does not go with you, for he is *very tired*, and he must rest awhile, and take charge of our young warriors while they *are playing*, (hunting) to keep them *in peace*, for fear of danger. And now, while we are speaking, more of our young warriors have given their names to go with you."

Having received this welcome information, and so firmly authenticated by so complete a council, I undertook to write a second letter to Col. Gordon, commandant of Niagara, making request of him to grant me a passage in one of the merchant or other vessels on lake Erie, for a certain number of Indians, and others, intended to accompany me to the Miamies, and from thence to fort Washington, on the Ohio; and, the better to prevent any miscarriage or delay, I sent it by Mr. Horatio Jones, my interpreter, on the morning of the 16th, enjoining him by all means to present it to the colonel himself, and to return with an answer to me as speedily as possible. [See the letter.]

Early on the morning of the 17th he crossed the river St. Lawrence to Niagara, and, being well acquainted there, he went through any part of the garrison he thought proper, until about ten o'clock, when he went to the commandant to present my letter. Mr. Jones informed me, that, as soon as it was known that he was charged with a public message from me, the town major had orders to put an orderly non-commissioned officer to attend him, and to prevent his going through the garrison, or of holding any particular conversation with the inhabitants. And, as soon as Col. Gordon sent to him the answer of my letter, he was ordered to return to Buffalo by the same route he had came; and the orderly conducted him to the ferry where he had crossed in the morning, and returned, on the 19th, to me at Buffalo.

The answer which Col. Gordon sent in his letter was, that, as he had not seen those public documents that I had wrote him of, therefore he could not enter into a discussion with me on matters of a public nature, viewing me only in the line of a private agent; nor was he authorized to permit me a passage for the Indians I proposed carrying to Sandusky, in any of the vessels on the lake. [See his letter.] This unfriendly denial puts a stop to the further attempting to go to the Miamies, as the Indian chiefs who proposed to accompany me were unable to walk the distance required, and it was held by them unsafe to go in a large Albany boat I had contracted for, fearing disappointments: as, to gain a harbor for such a boat in case of rough water, it could not be met with at times, under going the distance of twelve or fifteen miles, and all winds from the northeast and northwest and northerly, made the lake very turbulent, and the waters as rough as the ocean.

While Mr. Jones continued at Niagara, six engineers and twenty-five or more artificers arrived there from Quebec, being sent by Lord Dorchester for the purpose of carrying on some works of fortifications. He likewise saw that fresh work had been done to the face of the garrison, &c.

I have likewise been informed that the British have laid the foundation of a new fortress on the north side of lake Erie, at some distance higher up the rapids, and, I presume, (beyond the range of thirteen inch shells) from the present garrison; it being very evident they cannot, in justice, maintain it *much* longer.

The reason of their establishing of new garrisons on the lakes is very obvious, they being intended for the support of the fur trade, which produces abundance of wealth yearly to Great Britain. But this revenue will, I hope, very soon be decreased, on the surrender of the fort of Detroit, the key of the fur trade by the lakes, and such posts as may be established by the United States in the Western territory, near the Mississippi, and also in the Wabash country, and by the Government of Pennsylvania, at the *old French garrison of Presqu' Isle;* which will invite most of the trade from the Grand river, that empties itself into lake Erie, on the north side, and at a small distance from that beautiful station of as fertile lands as America produces, of a pure air, and a healthful climate.

During the absence of my interpreter, twelve of the chiefs, headed by the Young King, came to the store-house on the lake, (at which place I was writing my despatches for the Secretary of War) and informed me that they understood that I had intentions of going away secretly from them in the night, and that I had proffered an extraordinary price for a horse for that purpose, and had likewise offered a large sum of money to an Indian to carry my letters to Pittsburg. I then inquired who was their informant that I had communicated these things to. They answered that John Berry, an Indian, who interpreted for Mr. Ewing, had told them so, and they had come to know my reason for so doing. I replied, that such a thought had not passed my mind; and that, if I had had such intentions, why should I have sent my interpreter to Niagara, to obtain a vessel to conduct me and them to the place I so earnestly and so constantly had solicited them to accompany me? And that, were I disposed to leave them in that manner, I should not have sold my horse yesterday to their trader, Mr. Winney; and the sole reason of my having sold him, was, that we could not take a horse by water to Sandusky: for, when there, we should have the

utmost occasion for them, having to travel a long distance on foot. But the mistake or wrong interpretation rested on this point: My intentions of going by water, as above related, prompted me to engage one of O'Beel's Indians, whom I believed to be an honest man, to carry my letters to fort Franklin; and, as well as having offered him certain payment for his services, I had proposed to him a horse to carry him to the New Arrow's town, where the horse belonged, and the rest of the way he might go by water, if he chose to do so. Moreover, to speak in their own language, I was more of a *man* than to leave my friends in that manner; and that, whenever I was about to go from them, I should tell them so, and take my leave of the Six Nations. Having so said to them, I gave them a treat, and they returned to the towns fully pleased and satisfied.

May 17.—Red Jacket and other of the chiefs informed me that my friends in the different towns expected that I would give them something to drink, as they were going to have a great dance before they should leave their women. I readily accepted his proposition, and ordered eight gallons of the best spirits to be presented them for the entertainment, and I desired that the women should be attended to particularly, for their valuable conduct in the last great council.

18*th and* 19*th*.—I was engaged in preparing my despatches for the Secretary of War, and other letters of the same import, for Governor St. Clair, and I proposed to forward them by the way of New Arrow's town, thence to fort Franklin and Pittsburg, and appointed Captain Stingfish, of New Arrow's town, to be the bearer, whose wife was the principal governess and leader of the chiefs among the women, and the principal promoter in gaining the sachems over to my interest. It is well known to every person entrusted with a public commission among the Indians, that they are expected to possess a liberal hand. Red Jacket, whom we have often spoken of, waited on me this morning, to tell me that his house wanted a floor; that, as he was going with me, and desirous to leave his family more comfortable in his absence, he expected that I would have it done for him. Moreover, he wanted some rum for his wife and his mother; and, that he might drink with them before he set out on his intended journey, he wanted a little for himself. The first request, of laying his floor, I promised to have done immediately before our going on board the vessel; and to make him and his wife cheerful at parting, gave orders to present him with one gallon of rum. The Young King was not less pressing in his request for rum, on various occasions; and although he did not behave so well in their councils as I desired, I did not send them away empty handed, sound policy having dictated my motives. And, as I perceived that Captain O'Beel's modesty prevented his calling on me in that way, to him and Cuyaratta I was not less liberal. To a Shawanee Indian, named Chafudet, (or Hot Sun) one of the chiefs appointed to conduct me into the Shawanee country, I gave a blanket, being entreated by him in a particular manner to furnish him, for which I gave 18*s*. 9*d*. This afternoon, and immediately after Mr. Jones' arrival from Niagara, the Young King, and the major part of the chiefs, came to be acquainted what was the result of Colonel Gordon's answer to me, upon which I informed them to meet me in general council in the morning, being desirous of communicating some matters of consequence to them, and then they should be informed of the contents of his letter. About this time, I received information, that, about eight days since, Colonel Brandt had set out from the Grand river, with about forty warriors, to touch at Detroit, to take with him Mr. McGee, agent for Indian affairs in that district, from thence, to proceed to the great encampment of those Indians at war with the United States; and by those who are professed friends of the British family, believed that his motives were not to pacify them, but to inflame their minds to a more vigorous opposition.

20*th*.—According to my proposals of yesterday, I met them in general council, introduced and explained the substance of Colonel Gordon's letter to me, apprising them that I was sensible of the cause that led him to give me such a denial; that it was replete with envy in him towards the United States. And it spoke no great affection in him towards the Indians, and that, ultimately, it must reflect on his name and station, the unfavorable epithet of a discernible public, as preferring to cherish the rage of the desolating sword of war, to the happiness which flows in such abundance through the channels of peace. And perceiving from those causes, that nothing farther can be done by us at this time, I must take my leave of the Six Nations, and return with my information to the chiefs that sent me, to whose attention I will recommend them, seeing that no fault at this time lays at their door. Having placed the whole of our disappointment to the fount from whence it came, and to-morrow being the day I propose moving hence, I have now to desire that the chiefs will prepare to deliver me their farewell speech, which I will duly communicate to the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, and hope that it may be done soon to-morrow.

21*st*.—The whole of the chiefs resorted to my cabin, and the Young King, by appointment, gave their farewell speech, but not without the aid of Fish Carrier, whose physiognomy, when speaking, put me in remembrance of the old Roman senators, possessing so much *keen* gravity in his manner. [For the conclusive speech of the Farmer's Brother, see subsequent page.] Settled with Mr. Cornelius Winney, for liquors, &c. had for the Indians occasionally, £26 5*s*, deducting 32 dollars for a horse sold to him, bought of Mr. Maxwell, at Tioga. Also, gave a white prisoner that lived with said Winney, 9*s*. 4½*d*.

Having now all matters arranged, I delivered to Captain Houdin all the public writings I had prepared for his Excellency the Secretary of War, and sent him by the Genesee, in company with Messrs. Smith and Ewing, residents of said place, (in the several villages adjacent to the castle of Buffalo, to wit: the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Onandagos, &c. there are more than 170 tolerable well-built huts,) and proceeded by the verge of the lake for Cattaragus, with my interpreter and servant, where we arrived on the 22d. Paid for the hire of two horses hither, and time for returning, 45*s*. The reason of my taking the route for Pittsburg, was, that I was apprehensive that my letters might have been intercepted, had I put them into the hands of the Indian before named, and taken to a British garrison for inspection; and that my conducting them myself, might give me the opportunity of meeting with General St. Clair, or Colonel Butler, and giving them personal information of such matters as might not have been treated on in my letter. Having found myself fully disposed to make a forced march to Pittsburg, though late in the afternoon, I hired fresh horses, and an Indian, to go to New Arrow's town and to return, for which I paid eight dollars; and for a supply of stores from a British trader, 16*s*. 10½*d*. I arrived at the New Arrow's town on the 24th, in the evening, (distance 80 miles) having encamped out in the woods the two preceding nights. I had no sooner arrived, than the chiefs were summoned to council by the sound of a conch shell, which was intended for nothing more than to take their leave of me.

Here I parted with my interpreter, for him to return to the Genesee country, the place of his residence, and accounted with him for sixty-one days services, allowing him six days to return, at 10½*s*. per day, a balance appearing in his favor of £24 13*s*. 1½*d*. I gave him my obligation to pay the same at sight, in Philadelphia; and at a late settlement with the paymaster-general of the United States, I left the same, together with £18 payable to Messrs. Hollinbeck & Maxwell, for a small horse received of them at Tioga Point, and £7 10*s*. to the payment of my draft on the Secretary of War, to Joseph Smith, Indian interpreter. Previous to my leaving this town, 23d of April last, I was obliged to send my own riding horse to the Genesee settlement, it being impossible to procure forage or corn for him, and at which place he has remained ever since, at expenses. Not having it in my power of doing otherwise, and whether the same will be allowed for to me, I must submit to the judgment of the Secretary of War.

Being in private conversation this evening with Captain O'Beel, and sitting between him and the New Arrow sachem, I hinted to Captain O'Beel, that if he would go and join General St. Clair with 35 or 40 of his warriors, as well equipped as he could make them, purely to counterbalance the force that Brandt had taken with him to the unfriendly Indians, I would use endeavors with the Secretary of War to procure him a commission that should yield to him and his people a handsome stipend. He replied that the Senecas had received a stroke from the bad Indians, by taking two prisoners, a woman and a boy, from Conyatt, and that, should the hatchet be struck into the head of any of his people hereafter, he would then inform me what he would undertake to do. I hired a canoe and two Indians this evening, to carry me to fort Franklin, and should have set out immediately, but for a heavy rain that fell. I agreed to pay them $4 50, and a proportion of whiskey, when we should reach the garrison, and provisions to bring them back. I arrived the next morning by daylight at fort Franklin, took breakfast with Lieutenant Jeffers, had a canoe prepared with four fresh hands put into it, and after having adjusted my engagements with the Indians brought from New Arrow's town, pushed off as speedily as lay in our power for fort Pitt, (distance about 156 miles by water) and gained the same in 25 hours, the men having worked hard all night to complete it, and assisted

myself, for which I paid extra to each, one dollar, and one dollar for entertainment at Pittsburg, having completed in five days and two nights, going by land and water from Buffalo to this place, 411 miles. Expenses at Pittsburg to the 29th, 40*s*. 4*d*.; To servant's wages, engaged at Venango, April 8th, 52 days, at 3*s*. 9*d*. per day, as per receipt, is £9 15*s*. To Horatio Jones' expenses going to Niagara with my letter, and returning, 46*s*. 10½*d*.

Set out from Pittsburg to Philadelphia, on the evening of the 29th of May, and arrived the 7th day of June. Expenses from Pittsburg hither, £7 14*s*. 3*d*.; and for the keeping of a horse employed in public service, and for stabling in Philadelphia, and returning the horse to James Smith, Esq. Cumberland county, 40*s*.

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 8, 1791.

SIR:

I left the castle of the Six Nations of Indians, at Buffalo creek, the 21st of the last month, in the afternoon, the forepart of the day being spent in council with the chiefs of the above nations, of which there were a full representation; and, by the following, as delivered by the Young King and the Farmer's Brother, will evidence their friendly disposition towards the United States, in maintaining with them an inviolable peace; as, also, with the British, as, from the situation of their nations, they are centrally placed between them.

The same day I sent forward my despatches for your Excellency, under the care of Captain Houdin by the route of Wyoming, while I should proceed by the way of forts Franklin and Pittsburgh, with the letters I had written for the information of General St. Clair, and arrived here yesterday afternoon. It is also with pleasure I inform you that, as to the several posts on the Alleghany river, &c. they were under no apprehensions of danger from the unfriendly Indians, and were in good health and high spirits.

I am your Excellency's most obedient servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

The Honorable SECRETARY OF WAR.

The speech of Little Beard, April 1*st*, 1791.

BROTHER OF THE THIRTEEN FIRES, HEAR WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY TO YOU: The Lord has spared us this day to meet together, and for you to let us know what has been done at Philadelphia, a few days ago, for our nation.

You say our lands are secured for us, and that the grant given by the Great Chief, General Washington, will last as long as the sun goes over us.

That is the reason why we give you great thanks, our lands being secured to our children's children, And great reason we have for doing so.

Every one of us will wish well to your Great Chief Honandaganius, (or General Washington) and our women and our children will thank him, and will look up to him as a strong sun for protecting of the right of their lands to them forever. And you tell us that there is a great paper in the hands of O'Beel for us. Now we want you to shew with your finger how large the lands are which are given to us. [Here I named to them certain grants to lands which they had made to the States of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, &c.]

Captain O'Beel's speech at Fort Franklin, April 9th, 1791.

We have met our brother here, and I believe he remembers what we said at Philadelphia: that we would try our friends once more, viz. the Wyandotts; as there were bad people among them, advising to use the hatchet.

There we said it would be well for one man to go with us from the United States, in order to hear what we should say to them.

Now the Lord has spared us to this day, to meet our brother, that has been sent from the Thirteen Fires, and to join our hands with his to have justice done. And we should have been glad that he were with us on our way to Pittsburg, for then our wagons would not have been stopped, our goods taken, and our liquors drank, and that by people whom we thought to be our friends.

And when we had got to Pitt, more and great trouble began on us by the bad men of the Big Knife. For when we had started from Pitt, with all our goods and writings with us, to shew what we had done for our nation, the white people and our friends seized upon the garrison boat, belonging to French creek, which had our goods in, and several canoes, and forcibly took them back to Pittsburg, and there deprived us of all that was necessary for the comfort of our women and children; and we are sick for them. And now we wait here to know from our runners, if any thing is left for us; and then we are ready to shew you the road.

In one part of General Washington's speech to us, he gives us to choose whether we will go by land or water; and it affords us great pleasure, as we shall choose for the best and safest, as there are bad men on the way.

Now the chiefs of our nations here have made their choice, and we must go to Buffalo, where our head-men are waiting for us, and where the council fire has been long lighted and put out again. And we must light it the next, and that will be soon.

There we shall finish our minds, and have good plain faces wheresoever we turn against those bad men, and we shall be strong. Our friend sent by General Washington must not think hard by our requesting of him to wait for us. For this is the last speech the unfriendly people can have. And it is a heavy matter. And we must take time to do the business well and sure.

Now we shall send a runner right off, where the great fire is to be lighted at Buffalo, so that our great men of the different tribes may assemble all their people. And when there, we shall be able to tell you what number of Indians are going to accompany you to the Miamies. And he can write to General Washington of every particular of which our brother wishes to send.

And now we have determined to start from here in the morning, although we have left all our papers behind us. But we shall leave some of our young men to bring them after us to the council at Buffalo creek.

This is all we have to say at this time, but to leave the business we have here to do with our brother and the commanding officer of the fort, to obtain our goods, &c. which your people have deprived us of. And we hope you will now send for them, as we are now going away.

Now we want to know if our speech is pleasing to our brother, who will shew what we have said to General Washington: for we again say we must go by water. And with all our friends being with us we shall be strong.

BUFFALO CREEK.

Speech of Thyogasa, Chief of the Senecas, at Cattaragus, near Lake Erie, as delivered 25*th April.*

Some time ago there came messages into our country, that our people should meet at Buffalo creek, and then they should hear of our head-men from Philadelphia, what they had from the council of the Thirteen Fires.

About this time they had got to fort Pitt. And we heard there was a great man, and a Frenchman coming, also from Philadelphia, in great fear, trying to make peace. Then we thanked God. The next express said that our head-men and those from Philadelphia were coming on the waters together, to have the great council fire lighted at Buffalo, and we that live here sent on the express, and gave great thanks to our Great Keeper.

Now that you and they have arrived here, and have shewed your faces at our council fire in trouble and fear, we give great thanks again to the Great Spirit for keeping you and our chiefs from the trouble that befel others coming o this place. Now tell the man from Philadelphia to pity us children, for we are fearful. And we say to you, that

will open your throats, that you may speak fair and clear to us without any hard thoughts, when you get to our great council fire of the full nations, that you may deliver any message you are sent upon, from the great chiefs at Philadelphia. Besides, now we open your ears to hear any thing which may be said by us, and hear the same in peace.

BROTHER: These are the few words we have to make known to you. And give thanks to God for our safe meeting this day together, our brothers and our chiefs. [This speech being ended, Thyogasy handed to me a belt of wampum of three strings, and then continued his discourse as follows;]

BROTHER: This is our custom, to make a small speech on seeing our friends, but Buffalo is the place where you must speak, and at that place matters must be talked over in peace and quietness, and of which tell all people to be careful. Now wipe the tears from your eyes, and make your throat clear, so that you may be understood.

The speech of Red Jacket before the Great Council at Buffalo, April 27th, as an introduction to the business of the day, addressing himself to me.

BROTHER: Listen! It is usual for us to speak; and to you we do it as to a brother that has been absent a long time. Now we all speak to you, and to our head warrior that left us last fall: and we thank the Great Spirit for his and your safe arrival here, as you are together, hand in hand, from Honandaganius, (General Washington) upon great business.

You have travelled long, with tears in your eyes, upon account of the bad roads, and bad season of the year. Besides the disturbances between the bad Indians, and our brothers, the white people, every thing has been trying to prevent your coming, and to stop your business, and to lose the way.

Thus the big waters might have stopped your coming, and the wars might have stopped you, and sickness might have stopped you: for we cannot know what is to happen us until it comes upon us. So, therefore, we thank the Great Spirit who has preserved you from such dangers that might have hindered us from hearing of the good news which you and our head warrior have opened to us. But how could it be that any thing bad could have happened to you, while you have such important business to transact, as we understand you have come on?

You must now wipe away those fears occasioned by all the great dangers you have come through. And now we set you upon a seat where you can sit up strait—on a seat where you are secure from the fears of your enemies; where you can look round and see all your friends and brothers in peace. Besides, you have come along, with your heart and your throat stopped up, to secure all that you had to say in your body. But now we open your heart with your brother's hands, and we run our fingers through to open your mouth, to speak clear, and not to be molested. Your ears also have been stopped by Honandaganius until you should see your brothers at this place, being spared by the Great Spirit to arrive safe.

Now open your ears to hear what your brothers may say after you have made your speech. This is, therefore, the compliment of the chiefs and head-men of Buffalo creek, to you and our great warrior (O'Beel) and you may, each of you, go on safely with your business.

Monday, May 8th.—In full council. The speech of Fish Carrier, a chief of the Cayugas, and the right hand man of Butler and Brandt, as may appear from the following, addressed to me:

BROTHER: This day you have met again with your brothers in peace; a day provided by the Great Spirit for you and them to sit together, and talk over the business you have been sent to perform by General Washington, the Thirteen Fires, and for which you are to come to our council; and likewise, to hear us with regard to the people (the bad Indians) on the other side of your body, toward the setting sun.

Here you have made your business known, and to all the chiefs and warriors, who met every day; and now they understand the same, because they have taken due notice. Therefore, you shall hear what we have determined upon by all of us, for we all had a hand in it, or it would not be strong.

NOW, BROTHER: We shall say more to what General Washington sent you for, and to tell you, that our head warrior (O'Beel) our nephew, has done things which we know nothing of; and it seems to us, that he has requested that this business should go forward without our consent. Neither do we know you in this matter; and were we to undertake to help you, we do not know what might happen before we went far with you, as that might be the cause of our country being destroyed, or broken up by the mad people.

Now we tell you, as we told you before, that we have met on your business, and that the *one-half is not for peace.* So we look at the man that has been sent to the Shawanese (Brandt) and we have sent to see how matters go at their council fire. We must, therefore, see his face, for we can't determine until we know what they are about.

So we beg of you to grant our request; to keep your mind easy; for we who do this business, look on you, and hold ourselves to be slaves in making of peace. Now we all say, you must look for C. Brandt's coming, to hear the words that come from his mouth, for then we can say to you, what towns will be for peace; and this is all we have to say to you at this time.

Upon this I told the council, that, in the morning, I would give them my talk, in answer to what had been said this day, and immediately return, with what they had spoke in their council, to the Great Chief that had sent me. Captain O'Beel then told them, in council, what would be the consequence to the Five Nations, and publicly declared to accompany me, if no other chiefs would attempt it. For further particulars, I beg leave to refer to the continuation of my letter of the 4th of May.

The speech of Conyandoeta, an Onandago Chief, addressed to the council of the Six Nations, through which he explained the dangers which attended on him and his people, should they remain at Coneyat.

BROTHERS:

There is a great deal of danger at this place, for we are told by the enemy, the Missesagoes, that we must come to their side, or else we wont live long. But, said I, we turned our face once, and you did not pay us the compliment to call us to council with you, or even to shake hands with us. Now, we turn our face to this council, and you must prepare a place for us when we come; for we mean to be true to the promise we make to you. [On the close of this speech, four strings of wampum were presented, a mixture of black and white.]

The speech of Bear's Oil, a Chief, to the same effect as the above, who, with his people, are in danger of the Missesagoes.

BROTHERS:

Now hear me a little. I am a Messesago chief, belonging to the Six Nations. I, and my people, are in great danger, because I have been the entire instigation of saving the white settlers at Coneyat and Cassacago: for I told them of the danger they were in, as I heard the Red Indians say they were bound for that place, and that they intended to murder them. Moreover, that if I did not come away to them, I should die, for that was the only way to save my life; and that, should I attempt to go to the Six Nations, they would meet me on the way and kill me. For they say, if they meet with any of the Six Nations, they will strike them. But I have not listened to them. I have come to you, and you must have a place ready for me to sit down when I come with my people.

These matters, I take the liberty of communicating to your Excellency, in order to shew you, the Six Nations themselves profess, that they are not secure from the anger of the Indians who are unfriendly to the United States.

BUFFALO CREEK, *May* 5, 1791.

SIR:

Although I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance, I am, notwithstanding, emboldened to address you, by letter, and through the same to inform you, that I am the person charged with certain messages from his Excellency the Secretary of War, for the United States, to the Six Nations, and other tribes of Indians, residing near Lake Erie, &c. One of those messages are particularly sent to the tribes now unhappily at war with the Americans, and with whom, it is the ardent desire of General Washington, the President, that peace should be established, on the most lasting terms of equity and justice to them. My mission is, therefore, to invite them to a treaty with Governor St. Clair, on the Ohio, not far from the country they inhabit.

The better to effect so desirable an object, proposals were made to the President, in January last, by certain chiefs, who came on business of the Six Nations to Philadelphia, viz: That they would appoint in their councils, certain of their head-men, to accompany such gentlemen as might be sent into the country of those misguided people, to bring them to terms of amity with the thirteen States. This, sir, you will discover, on reading the Secretary of War's letters to the Six Nations, and committed to my care. It will be handed to you by the Young King, with other public papers, which were delivered Captain O'Beel, for the better information of the nations concerned.

I have, therefore, to entreat you, to conceive the most favorable sentiments on the meaning and intent of those public instruments of writings, as they are founded on the principles of humanity, and a regard for the well-doing of our fellow men; and I cannot doubt, but the same motives will invite you to assist in so laudable an undertaking: the effects of which, will establish happiness to the British subjects of Canada, &c. as well as to the United States.

The favor that I here request at your hand, is to permit me to charter one of your vessels, in the lake, for such number of Indians, &c. who may accompany me to Sandusky, on Lake Erie. So far as my request meets your approbation, I shall receive much pleasure, by your signifying the same by a few lines to,

Sir, your most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Col. A. GORDON, *Commandant of Fort Niagara.*

May 14*th*, 1791. *The Speech of the Farmer Brother, or the King.*

BROTHER:

The last summer was the time we had our last talk with the Shawanese, and then we tried to make peace in their minds, but they would not listen to us. They named to us their great chief of the Shawanese, called the Little Hoope, who told them, that all the nations beyond them to the setting sun, being in number forty-eight large towns, were all under arms, and that Little Hoope said they would be at peace with the Long Knife. So that when peace was put in their heads, and that we had returned home, then the great fight was had between them and the Virginians, the Long Knife, and that made their determinations stronger for war than ever, because they had killed many of their people, and hurt their nations. And after this, we tried and told the Americans to be at peace and quietness. So we concluded to send some body again, to know what they were doing among the bad Indians, so that we might judge, and we consented to send a chief to them, with whom they were acquainted. And upon that determination, as we told you before, we sent Capt. Brandt, so that he might know how many people were bent for war, or how many nations were not so hard for war, so that we might judge whether it was worth while to try again to make peace. That is the reason why we asked you, the other day, to attend our council fire, until you should see his mouth yourself, when he should tell us all that was doing in that country. And that is the reason why we are afraid of our brother, for we know that they wont receive you in peace, for it is their determination as we hear. We tell you again, that one of the same mind with us is gone to speak to those people, and we want to hear him as much as General Washington does, and we pay all attention to what he has laid before us; and now our opinion is, we must go alone and try to make peace ourselves; and that is the reason we dont want you to go with us; for this is the outermost edge of the bad people's settlement; and were we to take you by the hand, and go together, we must instantly meet with a great loss, which would make war on both sides, and we should be killed. Now we will tell you the reason why they refuse to make peace, is, that General St. Clair struck the bad Indians, while they were thinking of making peace with the Americans; and this is the reason to try ourselves, to make them hear by our chief, that is gone before us; and that will be the time for General Washington to light his fires, when he knows they are determined for peace, and we, the Six Nations, are strong for it. Therefore, tell General Washington to hold back his warriors a little, and let his intention be strong for peace, and God will assist the Americans to make it up.

Now the Six Nations give great thanks to General Washington, that his mind is so strong for peace, and the Six Nations look to him for peace. Therefore, the sachems and head-men of our nations have come to you this evening, to tell you that you shall not go with them into the towns of the enemy Indians.

BUFFALO CREEK, *May* 15, 1791.

SIR:

The 5th instant I had the pleasure of addressing my first letter to you, and delivered the same to the care of Capt. W. Print, an Indian, to be presented by him, but having received no answer since, I presume it has miscarried through some neglect. The purport of it was, to be permitted a passage in one of the vessels on Lake Erie, for such number of Indians and white men, destined to accompany me to some convenient port on the west end of the lake. The mission I am charged with, is directed to the Indians, now unhappily at war with the United States, with desires to reclaim them to a peaceable demeanor, before certain destruction overtakes, which is now pending over them.

Mr. Horatio Jones will deliver you my letter, and wait your answer, which I hope will be to the granting of my request. And whatsoever expense may accrue upon this occasion, I shall most cheerfully satisfy the same with the commander; and subscribe myself,

Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Col. A. GORDON, *Commandant of Fort Niagara, &c.*

NIAGARA, *May* 18, 1791.

SIR:

A few days ago I had your letter of the 5th instant, to which I should have returned an immediate answer. had I not waited for some public papers, which you wrote were to be handed to me by the Farmer's Brother, and other chiefs, who were to wait upon me, to receive my advice on business of importance. They have, however, as yet, never made their appearance at this post.

I think it but proper to give you this explanation of my not having sooner replied to your letter; but as there is no document which places you in any other light than a private agent, I cannot enter into any discussion of a public nature. Whenever any of the chiefs of the Senecas, or others of the Six Nations, apply to me for counsel, I shall give them such advice as I conceive best suits with the present situation of affairs.

As to that part of your letter which requests to be permitted to freight one of the vessels on Lake Erie, to carry you, and such Indians as may be inclined to accompany you, to Sandusky, on the west side of the lake, I beg leave to inform you, that I am not authorized to comply with your request.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

A. GORDON.

Colonel PROCTER.

The speech of the Young King of the Six Nations, on my leaving of Buffalo Creek, May 21, 1791.

BROTHERS:

We are called together this day by the appointment of yesterday, to hear what answer has been sent to your letter, from the commanding officer of Niagara. And the same having been made known to us, we find that you are disappointed in your expectations of getting a vessel, in which we were to go with you toward the unfriendly Indians; and that, therefore, you would return by the way of Fort Pitt.

You have also said, that you do not blame us, but that you blame the British; and that, therefore, we should be easy in our minds, and be at peace with the United States.

You have also mentioned a letter, which came from General St. Clair to us, and what answer we should give to the same, so that Colonel Butler, at Pittsburg, might be informed by you.

The answer of our fighting, as requested by General St. Clair: On seeing how your troops should act against the enemy Indians, you must listen, and hear what is the full determination of all the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations; what they have determined upon, and that in a few words, for Col. Butler, to be sent to General St. Clair.

Now, the answer is, that we are desirous of complying with the instructions of his first letter, sent to Cuyasatta, our great chief for the Six Nations; namely, that we must sit still, and not to mind any other business but peace; and those were the words of his letter. Moreover, last fall it was told to us by Col. Pickering, that the Six Nations must take no notice of any thing, but what tended to be peaceable; for that would be an advantage to our nations, and nothing else. So that, ever since, we have conformed to these instructions, in not interfering in any matter that has another tendency: for with the British we are at peace, according to their request of us; and we are the same with the Americans. And should the unfriendly Indians come forward to seek peace by us, we will help to do so; and we are desirous ourselves of remaining peaceable.

The reason why we now tell you these things, is, that we are neither on the one side, or on the other; whether of the British, or of the Americans; for we desire to be still, and to be at peace with both.

Here, brother, we speak to you on another matter, that has respect to the Six Nations. General Washington, the great chief, has kindled a fire at the Painted Post; and this, we expect, is done for the sake of peace: for he has called all the nations, from the Grand river to the Oneidas. And it is our desire to attend the same, at the time proposed.

Therefore, tell Colonel Butler, at Pittsburg, that we cannot attend, according to the request of General St. Clair: for we shall attend the treaty at the Painted Post, where the fire is lighted by General Washington, and at that place all matters we here related shall then be talked over again. In this, brother, you have heard the sense of the Six Nations, and our sentiments are firm and strong: for, amongst us, there is not one deficient. This is, therefore, the close of this speech, as we want to talk over other matters which concern the errand that you have come to us upon, and which we can't go through with, because we can't speak to the Indians, that reside towards the setting sun. But we have told you, that we have sent Captain Brandt, to know their opinion; and we have always wanted you to stay with us until his return, to know what is the minds of those people towards the Thirteen Fires.

We have also told you, that we shall take the same into consideration, as we want to speak to them once more, on terms of peace: for our mind is the same as when you first came amongst us, and we are desirous of seeing Captain Brandt return: and when we hear that those people will incline to peace, we will help it, and try to bring the same to effect. And should Captain Brandt be here before we go for the Painted Post, whatever their intentions are, we shall make the same known; and if for peace, the one half of our chiefs shall go to the unfriendly Indians, and the other half, with our women and children, shall attend the treaty before named; and the same information shall be sent to fort Pitt, for the information of Col. Butler, as you have requested of us.

This, therefore, is all that we have to say to you at this time, and are desirous that you may go whither you intended.

SIR:

Thus far, I have attempted to delineate the several events and progress of my tour, among the Six Nations of Indians, &c. And although the commissions you were pleased to honor me with were not so completely accomplished as wished for, I nevertheless enjoy a conscious evidence, that, in no instance, have I omitted to put in practice such means as I conceived to be the most conducive to that end.

I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Major General H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

Instructions to Colonel Timothy Pickering.

SIR:

The Vice President of the United States, and the Heads of the Departments of State, who are empowered thereto by the President of the United States, having determined it to be expedient, at this time, that the Six Nations of Indians, so termed, should be assembled together, for the purpose of cementing the existing friendships, and that this business should be performed by you, I have the honor of giving you the instructions herein contained, which are to serve as the general rules of your conduct.

In order that you may comprehend clearly the present relative situation of the United States with the Six Nations, I herewith deliver you copies of certain written speeches which were delivered by the Cornplanter, a chief of the Senecas, and his companions, who were lately on a visit to this city, to the President of the United States, and the answers thereto. Two of these answers were signed with due form by the President of the United States, and the first engrossed on parchment, and also the instructions to Colonel Thomas Procter, and a letter to Governor Clinton.

It would be proper that you should repeat to the said Six Nations, all that has been stated by the President of the United States, as the foundation of their future expectations.

It being the sincere desire of the General Government that the Indians, on all occasions, should be treated with entire justice and humanity, you may give the strongest assurances on this point.

The great object of the proposed meeting will be, to impress on the minds of the Indians that their interest and happiness depend upon the protection and friendship of the United States, and to conciliate their affections, for which purpose you will use your highest exertion.

That the war in which we are involved with the Western Indians is highly disagreeable to the United States, and would be speedily terminated, were the Indians to manifest pacific dispositions; but, if they persist in hostilities, their destruction must be the consequence, as may be easily proved to them by a comparative view of the respective force.

That, if the Six Nations shall be convinced that the United States are desirous of peace, on terms of moderation and justice, and that any further opposition of the Western Indians, after receiving information of the humane dispositions of the United States, will be entirely unjustifiable; in this case, it is the expectation of the President of the United States that the Six Nations do not only abstain from joining the enemy, but that they manifest their friendship by sending their young warriors to join our army, for which they shall be well paid.

It will be important to dwell much upon this point. It will be difficult, if not impracticable, for the chiefs to restrain the young men from indulging their passion for war. They will, therefore, probably join the Western Indians, unless they join us. If this should be the case, the United States will consider the Six Nations as responsible for the conduct of their young men. To avoid, therefore, so dangerous a situation, they had better join our

forces than remain liable to join the enemy. In case of their compliance with your request, it would be proper that you make a decisive arrangement on this point, so that a number of their warriors, not exceeding fifty or sixty, join the troops at fort Harmar, or fort Washington, by the fifteenth or twentieth of July. If the Cornplanter should head this party, it would be most acceptable, as his attachment and fidelity could be relied upon.

You will observe the contents of the letter to Governor Clinton. If, therefore, you should see Captain Brandt at the meeting, you will endeavor, by all reasonable methods, to attach him to the United States; and, if you should think proper, you may invite him to repair to this place, when the President of the United States shall be present, together with such other important characters as you may judge proper; but none but such characters ought to be invited, on account of the expense. In case of their accepting the invitation, the proper time of their visit would be during the next session of Congress.

That the General Government are not insensible to the improper conduct of some lawless whites on the frontiers, to the friendly Indians. That every measure shall be taken to make atonement to the Indians aggrieved, by making liberal compensation for the loss of property, upon which subject General St. Clair is fully instructed, and that, also, the States have been applied to for the punishment of the aggressors.

You will, also, inform the Indians how desirous the President of the United States is, that the Indians should have imparted to them the blessings of husbandry, and the arts, and of his willingness to receive the young sons of some of their principal chiefs, for the two-fold purpose of teaching them to read and write, and to instruct them fully in the arts of husbandry.

If they should readily accede to this proposition, you may receive the children to be educated, either at the time of the treaty, or at such other time and place as you may agree upon.

You have delivered to you certain goods, agreeably to the invoices hereunto annexed, in order to be presented at the treaty, according to your judgment; and, if it should be your opinion, that pensions, not exceeding one hundred dollars each, bestowed, annually, on four or five of the principal chiefs, would greatly tend to create or increase an attachment to the United States, you will please to intimate the same to them, on condition of being hereafter confirmed by the President of the United States.

You will conduct your business journal-wise, in the manner you observed at Tioga, keeping written copies of all speeches delivered to, or received from, the Indians; and you will report every part of your proceedings, in order to be submitted to the President of the United States.

You will keep all your accounts accurately, and present them after the treaty, supported, in all cases, by proper vouchers; and, on this point, the delivery of the goods to the Indians to be witnessed by the most respectable white characters who may be present.

The rate of your compensation for your services shall be the same as the President of the United States stipulated in your former employment of this nature, at Tioga.

Given at the War Office of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, this second day of May, 1791.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

To Colonel TIMOTHY PICKERING.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May* 18, 1791.

SIR:

I have received yours of the 8th of May. The report of the Jersey men to Colonel Abraham Miller, as delivered to you, relative to the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Cayugas, and Onondagas, joining the Western Indians in hostilities against the United States, is, most probably, ill founded. In order that you may possess all the information relative to the objects of your mission, in my power to afford, I transmit you, herein enclosed, a letter from Colonel Brandt, dated 20th February, 1791, which I have not yet answered; a letter from Mr. Kirkland, of the 22d of April, and my answer thereto; and, also, my letter to General Schuyler, of the 11th instant; Brandt's letter to Mr. Kirkland, of the 8th of March; Governor Clinton's letter to me of the 27th of April, and my answer thereto, of the 11th instant. You will see by the letter to Governor Clinton, the turn that the idea of employing Brandt has taken, and you will please entirely conform thereto. It is sincerely to be desired that every effort be made to establish peace with the Indians on a solid basis, and, if possible, previously to an active campaign against them. But, if force must be exercised to prevent their depredations, it is to be hoped that it will be administered in such a manner as to bring them to terms, so as to prevent the necessity of another campaign. You will, therefore, to the utmost of your power, give every facility to all the messages of peace, and impress all the Indians who shall come within your sphere of action, with the justice and humanity of the General Government.

The goods for your treaty were sent off by Mr. Hodgdon, on the —— instant.

I am, &c. &c.

Colonel TIMOTHY PICKERING.

SIR: WAR DEPARTMENT, *June* 13*th*, 1791.

I have received yours of the 12th ultimo, with its enclosures for General Chapin.

Colonel Procter has returned to this city, without effecting the object of his mission. He was at Buffalo creek from the 29th of April, until the 21st of May. Brandt's interest was against any of the chiefs going forward with him to the Western Indians. But he finally carried the point, that a number of the chiefs and warriors would accompany him, provided he could obtain a vessel for their transportation from Niagara. But they absolutely refused to proceed either in canoes or by land, from, as they said, an apprehension of the Western Indians.

Brandt had gone to the Western Indians, about the 12th of May, with a design, as the Indians said at Buffalo creek, of endeavoring to make peace.

Indeed it would appear, from the imperfect information I at present possess, that the British have made use of Brandt, with a view to peace, intending to make a merit of it, in some future time. You will see by the speech of the Farmer's Brother, which I enclose, the ultimate intentions of the Indians who were assembled at Buffalo creek. This is the only written document which I have yet received from Colonel Procter, he having sent his despatches by Captain Houdin, by the way of Wyoming. I expect that he will wait on you, and I hope you will conceive it to be proper to open his despatches to me. But if you should not, and there should be any thing of real importance for you to know, I shall despatch an express to you.

I believe your treaty will be pretty generally attended. Mr. Morris will not attempt to purchase any lands at present, although one of his sons will be present at the treaty. Mr. Morris does not approve of the conduct of Mr. Ewing, and informs me he has ordered Ewing to be discharged. General Butler, in a letter of the 2d instant, mentions that he was taking some steps with the Six Nations, to induce them to send some of their warriors to join our army, and that he would inform me further thereon by the next post. He was informed by Colonel Procter of your treaty, and has not been directed by me upon the subject. And I have also recently informed him of the treaty, and that he must not take any measures which would interfere with it.

If you should persuade the Indians to send a party to join our troops, the route should be from Cornplanter's town to fort Franklin, on the junction of French creek with the Alleghany.

Lieutenant Jeffers and a party of the continental troops would join them, and proceed as General Butler should direct. Lieutenant Jeffers is well known to the Indians, and is really an intelligent and sensible man. If more than sixty should offer for this service, it would not be material. But unless they could be at fort Franklin by the 20th July at farthest, the arrangement would be useless.

I enclose you a copy of my last letter, lest you should not have received the original.

Since writing the above, Captain Houdin has arrived, and brought your letter of the 5th instant, and, also, Col. Procter's despatches. But as they confirm the above ideas without containing any thing further, it is not necessary to

send you copies of the several species. The Cornplanter may be depended upon; through all the changes of policy, we must cultivate and elevate him. Brandt, the Farmer's brother, and all the rest of them, ought to be treated with great kindness, and attached to us if possible. But the Cornplanter is our friend from the solid ties of interest, and we must rivet them by all ways and means in our power. Houdin's receipt will be credited to your account.

I am, &c. &c.

Colonel TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Letter from the Secretary of War to Governor Clinton.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 12*th April*, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to inform your Excellency in confidence, that the present view of affairs upon the frontiers, indicates strongly, that all the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, will, in the course of the ensuing campaign, be combined in hostilities against the United States.

The President of the United States has been exceedingly desirous of avoiding an Indian war, and to establish a general peace with all the tribes, on liberal terms, and measures have been taken for that purpose, but the effect is extremely doubtful. The involved state of things, arising from circumstances not under the control of the General Government, have proceeded from one stage to another, until it seems but too probable that force only can decide the contest.

As it is to be apprehended that the Six Nations may be brought to act against us, it has been conceived important to assemble them together, particularly the Senecas, at as early a period as possible, in order to brighten the chain, and to remove all causes of discontent.

Accordingly, Colonel Timothy Pickering, who resides at Wyoming, and who had a meeting the last autumn with the Senecas at Tioga Point, has been requested to invite the Six Nations generally, to a meeting at such place as shall be most convenient to them, and at as early a period as they could conveniently be assembled.

Aware of your Excellency's influence over Captain Joseph Brandt, I have conceived the idea, that you might induce him, by proper arrangements, to undertake to conciliate the Western Indians to pacific measures, and bring them to hold a general treaty. This measure would be abundantly more compatible with the feelings and interest of the United States, than to extirpate the Indians, which seems to be the inevitable consequence of a war of long continuance with them. You are entirely able to estimate Brandt's talents, and the degree of confidence which might be placed in him on such an occasion. It ought not, however, to be concealed from your Excellency, that Captain Abeel or the Cornplanter, has undertaken this object, and that, most probably, he is actually employed at this time on the business with Colonel Procter, who was sent from this city for the purpose. And it is also proper, that you should understand, that a mortal enmity exists between Brandt and the Cornplanter.

In this situation of things, if your Excellency should entertain the opinion strongly, that Brandt might be used with good effect, and consistently with the Cornplanter's mission, and that they would not clash in the business, I earnestly request that you would take the necessary measures for the purpose, according to your own judgment.

Perhaps Colonel Willet, of whose talents in managing the minds of men I have a high opinion, might accept of an agency on this occasion, as it might respect Brandt.

He will be on the spot, and if you should consider the idea practicable, you could give him such information and instructions as would tend to success. After which, the Colonel might repair to this city, in order to make the further necessary arrangements. Your Excellency could despatch an express to Brandt, to meet Colonel Willet, either at Colonel Pickering's place of meeting, or such other as you should judge proper.

Your Excellency will please to hold out such inducements to Brandt as you may judge most proper, with respect to money. The arrangement for Colonel Willet's services should be made satisfactory to him.

Any sum of money which you should conceive necessary to put this affair in motion, shall be paid to your order.

I beg your Excellency to be persuaded, that nothing but a solid conviction of your regard for the public welfare, could have constrained me to trouble you on this occasion; and I take the liberty of requesting a line from you immediately, in answer to these suggestions: for, should you judge them practicable, not a moment's time should be lost.

With great respect &c.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON.

The Secretary of War to Governor Clinton.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *April 28th*, 1791.

SIR:

Having had the honor to write to your Excellency, on the 12th instant, upon a subject of considerable importance to the welfare of the United States, and not having received an answer thereto, I am induced to believe, that my letter may, by some accident, have miscarried; I therefore transmit your Excellency a copy of it, and as Colonel Pickering is now in this city, I beg the favor of an answer as soon as possible.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON.

Copy of a letter from the Governor of the State of New York to the Secretary for the Department of War.

NEW YORK, 27*th April*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received the letter, which you did me the honor to write on the twelfth instant; and by the tenor of the communication therein contained, I am led to conclude, that the President has given you discretionary powers in regard of the objects upon which you have been pleased to confer with me.

I observe, with some regret, that the measure of attempting a convention of the whole six nations, hath been resolved and acted upon. It cannot be unknown to you, that those nations are at present disunited by private animosities; that there subsists not among them, mutual intercourse and confidence, sufficient to lead to a general combination, or to effect (without the interposition of the agents of the United States) a general congress of those nations, even for the purpose of deliberation; that this disunion produces impotency and secures inaction, and that, if we should revive their importance, by renewing their union, we may give power and vigor, which we cannot with certainty direct, and over which we shall, with much trouble and expense, have an uncertain control. But, having heretofore communicated to the President my sentiments upon the policy of that measure, I shall not now further obtrude them upon you; and I entreat you to be assured, that, how muchsoever I may differ as to the means, I will, with the utmost cheerfulness and assiduity, concur with you in endeavors to attain the ends, which you justly consider as momentous and interesting to the Union.

I have communicated to Colonel Willet, your confidence in his talents, and desire for the interposition of his influence with Brandt, but have it not in my power to inform you of his explicit answer; I could wish that your application might be made to him directly, if you should continue in the opinion of the importance of his personal exertions on this occasion.

I had, in June last, appointed an interview with Brandt, contemplating the danger you appear to apprehend from his address and his influence with several of the Indian nations, (which I am persuaded is very considerable) and from different letters I have since received from him, I have reason to hope he will give me the opportunity of a personal conference with him at this place, the beginning of the ensuing summer, if the proposed convention, to which I will not venture to say he may not be opposed, should not prevent it; but the good understanding between us, and the

friendly and familiar intercourse I have successfully endeavored to preserve, will, I doubt not, predominate over any transient disgust that the measures of the Union may have heretofore excited in his mind, and enable me to procure an interview with him, at any time and place not particularly inconvenient. To accomplish this, however, with certainty, it may require the personal application of some one expressly delegated, and in whom he will confide. As your wishes appear to be confined to Colonel Willet, I shall not, without your farther advice, undertake to exercise a discretion on this subject. Your knowledge of the views of government enable you to determine the importance of this measure. I can only add, that the most perfect reliance may be had in my exertions to carry those views into effect, when the particular mode of co-operation shall be defined, and connected with competent authority.

With sentiments of the highest respect and esteem, I am, your most obedient servant,

GEO. CLINTON.

The Honorable HENRY KNOX, Esq.

Copy of a letter from the Secretary of War to the Governor of the State of New York, in answer to his Excellency's of the 27th of April.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 11*th May*, 1791.

SIR:

I had the honor, on the fifth instant, to receive your Excellency's favor, dated the twenty-seventh ultimo, being an answer to my letter of the twelfth of the same month.

I am sorry that you do not approve the convention of the Six Nations, at this particular crisis. The measure appeared highly expedient, in order not only to prevent their joining the Western Indians, but, if possible, to induce them, as a security to the continuance of their friendship, to join some of their young warriors to the troops of the United States.

Although the Senecas were the principal object of the meeting, that tribe constituting the main body of the Six Nations resident within the general limits of the United States, yet it was conceived that it would have been impolitic to omit inviting the other tribes, eastward of the Senecas, to the meeting.

My having seen your letter to the President of the United States, relative to Captain Joseph Brandt, and knowing also from repeated personal communications with your Excellency, the confidence Brandt reposed in your character, together with a persuasion of your cordiality to pacific measures with the Indians, were my inducements to address you on the twelfth ultimo.

My authority on the occasion, was founded on the circumstances, that the business of Indian affairs had been established by law, as a branch of the Department of War, and that the President of the United States had instructed me upon the objects of the Department during his absence.

I am not enough acquainted with the character or views of Captain Brandt, to be able to conclude whether he would work cordially in the design of peace, upon such principles as may not hereafter create greater embarrassments. This was a point which I submitted to your Excellency's decision.

I am fully possessed with the information of his enmity to the Cornplanter, who, I am of opinion, is greatly attached to the United States, upon the solid conviction of the measure being the only one by which he and the other Indians shall be secured from utter destruction.

The Cornplanter has been actively employed to persuade the Senecas to send forward a powerful deputation, under his direction, to escort Colonel Procter to the Miami Indians, in order to induce them to peace. This information has been lately received, and from circumstances, I am inclined to believe, that Colonel Procter, protected by the Senecas, may be at this time, either actually with, or very near the hostile Indians.

Your Excellency may remember Captain Brandt's exertions, in the year 1786, to form a grand confederation of all the Indians northwest of the Ohio, the Six Nations included.

By a late letter which he has written to Mr. Kirkland, and which I received yesterday, it appears that he still should like that measure, if he could find it practicable. But such an event could not be for the interest of the United States: for, although justice, policy, and humanity, dictate a liberal treatment of the Indians, it cannot be for the public interest to consolidate them in one body, which would be liable to a single impulse.

Therefore, although it would be wise to conciliate Captain Brandt, and if within the power of a reasonable sum of money, to attach him warmly to the United States, yet, considering the train of the business, under the Cornplanter's management, and the designs of Brandt relative to a general confederation of Indians, it would not, probably, be good policy to employ him actively, at present, with the Western Indians.

It appears to me, judging from experience, that the United States may entirely depend on the Cornplanter's abilities, fidelity, and his active exertions. Brandt's attachment may be doubted, and his views may be dangerous.

But, as it may be concluded that Brandt's visit to your Excellency ought to be encouraged by all means, and that the result of the impressions you may make upon him, would be highly favorable to the public interest, I shall instruct Colonel Pickering not to obstruct, but facilitate his visit.

Colonel Pickering has appointed the Painted Post as the place, and the 17th of June next as the time, of his meeting with the Indians.

I am persuaded that the President of the United States, upon his arrival in this city, about the beginning of July, would be much gratified to receive a visit from Captain Brandt.

It may be proper, also, to intimate to your Excellency, that any pecuniary engagements you shall judge proper to enter into with Captain Brandt, to secure his attachment to the United States, will be paid without delay by the General Government.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your Excellency's obedient humble servant,

H. KNOX.

His Excellency the Governor of the State of New York.

Letter from the Secretary of War to the Honorable General Schuyler.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 11*th May*, 1791.

DEAR SIR:

I was in hopes to have heard from you relative to your idea of employing the chief Old Peter, of the Oneidas. Mr. Kirkland has written relative to the same objects, for Captain Hendricks, of whom he speaks well.

The Cornplanter continues firm, and most probably has gone forward to the hostile Indians before this time.

If you think proper to employ Captain Hendricks, and Peter, whom you mentioned, and furnish them with the necessary means for the purpose, I will instantly make the re-imbursements to your order.

I request the favor of you to forward the enclosed letter to Mr. Kirkland.

I am, sir, &c.

The Honorable General SCHUYLER, *Albany.*

Letter from the Secretary of War to the Rev. Samuel Kirkland.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 11th*, 1791.

SIR:

I have just received your letter of the 22d of April, for which I sincerely thank you. I highly approve of Captain Hendricks being employed, and will make good any reasonable allowance to him for his services. Let him call on Colonel Pickering, at Wyoming, who will furnish him with clothing and necessaries for the purpose. General Schuyler also mentioned an Oneida chief of great respectability, who I wish would also accompany the others. But, I imagine the Cornplanter has already anticipated the others, and gone forward

Colonel Brandt is right as to the principles of the boundaries. The idea, in future, of conquest, ought to be relinquished, and fair purchase and optional sale take place.

I shall be glad to hear that you have pushed forward Captain Hendricks, and the Chief Peter.

I am, sir, &c.

To the Rev. SAMUEL KIRKLAND.

Letter from the Secretary of War to Governor Clinton.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 17th*, 1791.

SIR:

The President of the United States has commanded me to transmit to your Excellency, an extract of the report of Colonel Timothy Pickering, who acted as the commissioner of the United States, at a late council held with the five nations of Indians at the Painted Post, on the Susquehannah.

The object of the said council was, to conciliate the said Indians, and attach them to the United States; to prevent them listening to, or being combined with, the Western hostile Indians. The more effectually to carry this design into execution, it was thought proper to draw them to a greater distance from the theatre of war, and at a critical period to hold out an object of employment for the minds of their young men, who are with difficulty restrained from indulging their ruling passion for war.

These objects appear to have been executed with ability and judgment, and good consequences may be expected to flow from the council.

But it appears, that the commissioner's desire to accomplish the objects of his commission in the greatest degree, has led him incautiously, at the earnest request of the Cayugas present, to ratify and confirm a certain lease of lands, belonging to the Cayuga nation of Indians, to John Richardson, and to certify that a certain assignment of the Seneca Indians, to the daughters of Ebenezer Allen, was done at a public treaty, held under the authority of the United States. No copies, however, of either instruments, have been retained, or produced by the said commissioner.

The right of the State of New York, to the pre-emption of the Cayuga lands, is unquestioned, and also, that the said right embraces all possible alienations of said lands by the Indians, with the concurrence of the United States, according to the constitution and laws.

Therefore, I do, by command of the President of the United States, hereby transmit to your Excellency an explicit disavowal of the conduct of the said commissioner, relative to the said lease of the Cayuga lands to John Richardson, and also of the certificate relative to the Senecas' assignment of lands, to the children of Ebenezer Allen; and I am further ordered to inform your Excellency, that the said acts of the said commissioner were unauthorized by his instructions, and will be considered as entirely null and void by the United States.

But if, however, the State of New York should judge that it would derive any benefit from the due execution of said lease, the Executive authority of the United States will do every thing which may be proper, upon the occasion.

Colonel Pickering, who is going to New York, will personally wait upon your Excellency, to give you any further explanations which you may request.

I have the honor to be, &c. H. K.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON.

Queries proposed by Captain Hendrick Aupamut, Chief of the Muhheconnuck (or Stockbridge) tribe of Indians, and the answers to those queries, by Timothy Pickering, Commissioner in behalf of the United States for holding a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians, at Newtown, in the State of New York, June 27th, 1791.

1*st. Query.*—Whether, if he makes a visit to the hostile Indians, he may assure them that the United States are sincerely desirous of making peace with them?

Answer.—The most solemn assurances may be given: for the United States are sincerely desirous of making peace; and I have received pointed orders to give every possible facility to the messengers of peace.

2*d. Query.*—Whether, if the Western Indians consent to make peace, the United States will not, as a condition of peace, oblige them to give up part of their lands?

Answer.—The United States will require no such condition. The Western Indians will retain all their lands, agreeably to the treaties of peace subsisting between them and the United States, until of their own will and choice they shall fairly sell them; unless they should obstinately persevere in their hostilities, until the United States shall drive them from their country; and, in that case, their lands will never be restored to them.

3*d Query.*—If the hostile Indians should be disposed to make peace, and be willing immediately to commence the negotiation, how shall the knowledge thereof be communicated so speedily as to suspend the operations of the army of the United States? Should messengers from those Indians, or he himself, attempt to go directly to the nearest post of the United States, they might be in the utmost danger of being killed by the scouting parties of white men.

Answer.—Should the hostile Indians be sincerely disposed to make peace, I have no doubt but they will hit on proper means of communicating a knowledge of it to General St. Clair, or the commanding officer of the troops of the United States in the Western territory; perhaps by sending some of their warriors, accompanied by one more of the white men living among them, with a white flag, or by getting some of those white men to come along with their message, and a letter from you. A direct communication in some such way is most to be desired; lest, if a circuitous route be pursued, our troops should begin to operate before the messengers of peace should meet them; and that a letter from you (who are not known to the officers commanding the troops of the United States) may be properly received, I will write to General St. Clair, informing him of your character and business, and assuring him that he may perfectly rely on the intelligence you shall give him; and that General St. Clair, or the commanding officer, may distinguish your letter of intelligence from a counterfeit, it may be proper for you, with your own hand, to write me a request to communicate a specimen of it to him, and underneath I will write the letter above proposed. This specimen I will transmit to General St. Clair, and a duplicate to the Secretary of War, to forward to General St. Clair without delay, so that when your letter of intelligence shall reach him, a comparison of the hand-writing may supersede or remove all doubts of its authenticity; and as you may be obliged, or find it expedient, to send runners to the Alleghany river with your intelligence for General St. Clair, I will write to Lieutenant Jeffers, or officer commanding at fort Franklin, (which is near the junction of French creek with the Alleghany river) desiring him to forward, without delay, any letters which you shall transmit to his care. This letter I will send by Captain Baldwin, who is now here, but who resides with the Cornplanter, in the neighborhood of fort Franklin.

4th. Query.—What treaties have been made with the Western Indians, relative to their lands?

Answer.—For your full information on this subject, and other concerns with the Western Indians, I will furnish you with copies of the treaties made by the United States, with the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, and Chippewas, in the years 1785 and 1786. I will also give you a copy of the treaty made last year with the great Creek nation of Indians, by which you will see, strongly manifested, the good will of the United States towards the Indian nations: for, the benevolent spirit conspicuous in that treaty truly marks the kind disposition of the United States towards all the Indian nations within their limits.

These queries and answers I will transmit to the Secretary of War, and request him to give the necessary orders corresponding with these arrangements. With the same view, I will write to General St. Clair, by the way of fort Franklin.

Copy of a letter from Colonel Timothy Pickering to the Secretary of War.

PHILADELPHIA, 16*th August*, 1791.

SIR:

In addition to the information given in my report of the proceedings at the late treaty with the Six Nations of Indians, relative to the land assigned by the Seneca nation to the children of one of their women, by Ebenezer Allen, and to the Cayuga reservation, leased to John Richardson for twenty years, it may be expedient for me to mention more particularly the grounds and inducements to a public ratification of both at that treaty.

It appeared to be understood by the Senecas, that Messrs. Morris and Ogden, as the grantees of Massachusetts, had the right of *pre-emption* of all their lands. But, at the same time, there existed nothing to bar a *division of their whole country among themselves;* and if they could *divide* the whole, they could certainly *set off a part to two individuals of their nation as their share.* This is the object of their deed to Allen's children, whom they called *their children,* agreeably to the rule of descent among them, which is in the *female* line; and in this deed, the land assigned is declared to be in full of those two children's share of the whole Seneca country. Here was the ground of my ratification.

Now, you will be pleased to recollect, that before this matter was opened in council, I had repeated the law of the United States relative to the Indian lands, and the solemn declaration of the President, last winter, to the Cornplanter, that they (the Indians) had the right to sell, or to refuse to sell, their lands, and that, in respect to their lands, they might depend on the protection of the United States; so that on this head they had now no cause of jealousy or discontent. This being by them well understood, I saw no way of avoiding the ratification of the assignment to *their two children,* without reviving, or rather exciting, their utmost jealousy, *as it would have been denying the free enjoyment of their own lands, by some members of the nation, according to the will of the nation;* and a denial, I was apprehensive, would lead them to think that the solemn assurances of the President were made but to amuse and deceive. Here you see my great *inducement* to the ratification. Let me now remark, that every proposition made by me to the Six Nations, for introducing among them the primary and most useful improvements of civil life, (propositions grounded on the President's declarations to the Cornplanter, which I was enjoined to repeat, and on your particular instruction on this point) leads to a *separate occupancy* and *enjoyment of land.* The introduction of the art of husbandry, in its improved state, was the great object; but improvements in husbandry could not take place without exclusive property, that the improver might enjoy the fruit of his labor. Neither could the improving husbandman exist without the *smith* and the *carpenter;* and his *flax* and *wool* would furnish employment to the *spinner* and *weaver.* These were all the manual arts I mentioned. Instruction in the arts of *reading* and *writing* was at least equally desirable to the Indians; some of the chiefs have even manifested an anxiety to obtain such instruction for their children; and on this head the President was explicit, that they should receive the necessary aid. The obvious consequence of such improvements is the *separate enjoyment of lands;* the nature and advantages of such improvements were explained, and appeared to have been fully understood by the Five Nations, and they have explicitly agreed to adopt them. They only wait for that assistance which they were assured the United States were ready to afford them. Should that assistance prove successful, (for at this stage of the business I cannot entertain a *suspicion* that such assistance will not be furnished) it will tend to defeat the pre-emption right *altogether,* unless those improvements, by showing the Indians how small a portion of their lands, under proper cultivation, will suffice for their ample support, should induce them to part with the residue in exchange for a full supply of domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other necessaries adapted to their improving condition; and this, as I some time ago intimated to Mr. Morris, appeared to me to afford the only chance of extinguishing the Indian title to any of the lands he had bought of Massachusetts.

With respect to the Cayugas' reservation, I had determined to give no countenance to a lease of it. John Richardson applied to me about it before the Indians arrived. I told him that the pre-emption right was with the State of New York; that, if the Cayugas could lease it for five years, they might for ten, twenty, a hundred, or a thousand, and thus defeat the pre-emption right of the State. I heard no more of it until a few days before the treaty was closed. Then the Cayuga chiefs and Richardson made their applications, and then I was informed that a law of the State (passed as suggested, in consequence of the long lease obtained of the Indians by John Livingston and others) allowed of leases for any term not exceeding twenty-one years; and that, at the treaty last year, at fort Stanwix, Governor Clinton expressly assured the Cayugas that, if they pleased, they might lease their lands. The chiefs discovered much anxiety, and were importunate (the Fish-carrier, their head chief, in particular) to have the lease accomplished. I asked for the law referred to; the statutes were produced, but those at Newton did not reach down to that session of the Legislature in which it was said the law had been enacted. I was further informed, that, at a late session of the York Legislature, (I think the last winter) a petition had been preferred in behalf of a lessee from the same Cayugas, for the ratification of a lease of a small tract of land lying on the water communication of the Seneca and Cayuga lakes, for the term of fifteen years, and that the Assembly said a Legislative sanction was not necessary, *the lease being for a term less than twenty-one years.* All this information was repeated to me in such a manner as to afford a strong presumption of its truth; yet, that I might have all the evidence which the case would then admit of, I made inquiry of Colonel Brinton Paine, one of the judges of the county court at Newton, and he generally confirmed the information above recited. I then ratified the lease, as stated in my report, grounding the date on the information, and expressly referring to it. I have not a copy of the lease or of the ratification; the latter I wrote when I was in a very great hurry, I believe the last day I was on the ground; and, in transcribing it from my rough draught, I made divers alterations, which rendered the rough draught useless. The inducements to this ratification were similar to those in the case of the assignment to Allen's children. The ratification of that assignment I subjoin, as copied from my rough draught, in which I do not remember that any alterations were made.

The foregoing detail I have given as the matters rest upon my mind. I wished to have avoided meddling with them, but I could devise no way of doing it without exciting or confirming jealousies, which it was the great object of my mission to prevent or remove.

I have the honor, &c. TIMO. PICKERING.

P. S. I might have mentioned, that Mr. Allen declared that he would make to Messrs. Morris and Ogden a reasonable compensation for their pre-emption right to the lands assigned to his children.

Ratification of the deed of assignment executed by the chiefs of the Seneca nation, to the two Indian children of Ebenezer Allen; by Timothy Pickering, Esq. commissioner in behalf of the United States for the purpose of holding a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians.

I certify that the instrument of writing contained in this sheet, and in the sheet of paper annexed to it, (on which also I have written my name) being an assignment made by the Seneca nation to their two children, Mary Allen and Chloe Allen, therein named, of the tract of land therein described, as their full share of the Seneca lands, was yesterday particularly explained by me, in full council of the said Six Nations; and, after I had explained the same, I asked them if they understood it: the sachems and chiefs of the Seneca nation answered, that the whole was well understood. The instrument having been thus agreed to, in full council, as aforesaid, was then signed, sealed, and delivered, in my presence, by all the sachems and chiefs, whose names appear in my hand writing, being the fifteen whose names are subscribed in the right hand column and one in the left hand column, save that the chief So-ne-auk-do-wau only *signed* and sealed the instrument in my presence.

In witness whereof, &c.

Instructions to Major General Arthur St. Clair.

Sir:

The President of the United States having, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed you a major general in the service of the United States, and of consequence invested you with the chief command of the troops to be employed upon the frontiers during the ensuing campaign, it is proper that you should be possessed of the views of the Government respecting the objects of your command. I am, therefore, authorized and commanded, by the President of the United States, to deliver you the following instructions, in order to serve as the general principles of your conduct.

But, it is only general principles which can be pointed out. In the execution of the duties of your station, circumstances which cannot now be foreseen may arise to render material deviations necessary. Such circumstances will require the exercise of your talents. The Government possesses the security of your character and mature experience, that your judgment will be proper on all occasions.

You are well informed of the unfavorable impressions which the issue of the last expedition has made on the public mind, and you are also aware of the expectations which are formed of the success of the ensuing campaign.

An Indian war, under any circumstances, is regarded by the great mass of the people of the United States as an event which ought, if possible, to be avoided. It is considered that the sacrifices of blood and treasure in such a war far exceed any advantages which can possibly be reaped by it.

The great policy, therefore, of the General Government, is to establish a just and liberal peace with all the Indian tribes within the limits and in the vicinity of the territory of the United States.

Your intimations to the hostile Indians, immediately after the late expedition through the Wyandots and Delawares; the arrangements with the Senecas who were lately in this city, that part of the Six Nations should repair to the said hostile Indians, to influence them to pacific measures; together with the recent mission of Colonel Procter to them for the same purpose, will strongly evince the desire of the General Government to prevent the further effusion of blood, and to quiet all disturbances. And when you shall arrive upon the frontiers, if any other or further measures to effect the same object should present, you will eagerly embrace them, and the reasonable expenses thereof shall be defrayed by the public. Colonel Procter's instructions, and the messages to the Miamies, &c. are annexed, marked A.

It is, however, important to be remembered, that all persons employed on this account, must, if practicable, return to fort Washington, on or before the 5th of May next, for the reasons which will hereafter appear.

But, if all the lenient measures taken, or which may be taken, should fail to bring the hostile Indians to a just sense of their situation, it will be necessary that you should use such coercive means as you shall possess, for that purpose.

You are informed that, by an act of Congress, passed the 2d instant, another regiment is to be raised, and added to the military establishment, and provision made for raising two thousand levies, for the term of six months, for the service of the frontiers.

The plan for raising the said levies is hereunto annexed, marked B.

The 2d regiment of regulars will be recruited in the four New England States, excepting one company, to be recruited in South Carolina, and another in the State of Delaware.

Recruits will be raised to complete the first regiment in the States from Maryland to New York, inclusively.

The recruits for the regulars, as well as levies, will, as soon as they shall be raised, be mustered by companies and marched to Fort Pitt, there to receive your further orders.

It is contemplated that the mass of the regulars and levies may be recruited and rendezvous at fort Washington, by the 10th of July. In this case, you will have assembled a force of three thousand effectives at least, besides leaving small garrisons on the Ohio, in order to perform your main expedition, hereinafter mentioned.

But, in the mean time, if the Indians refuse to listen to the messengers of peace sent to them, it is most probable they will, unless prevented, spread themselves along the line of frontiers, for the purpose of committing all the depredations in their power.

In order to avoid so calamitous an event, Brigadier General Charles Scott, of Kentucky, has been authorized by me, on the part of the President of the United States, to make an expedition against the Wea, or Ouiatanon towns, with mounted volunteers, or militia from Kentucky, not exceeding the number of seven hundred and fifty, officers included.

That you may perfectly comprehend this subject, copies of the instructions given Brigadier General Scott, and the powers vested in him, in conjunction with John Brown, Harry Innes, Benjamin Logan, and Isaac Shelby, and dated the 9th instant, are hereunto annexed, marked C.

You will perceive by the said instructions, that, if the said expedition be not prevented, by you, on or before the 10th of May next, it is to proceed according to the instructions.

The period of the 10th of May has been fixed, in order to afford time for Colonel Procter, and the other messengers, to return, before the commencement of the said expedition. You will observe, that Colonel Procter's instructions are pointed, as to the time of his return.

You will also perceive, by the instructions to Brigadier General Scott, that it is confided to your discretion, whether there shall be more than one of the said expeditions of mounted volunteers or militia.

Your nearer view of the objects to be effected, by a second desultory expedition, will enable you to form a better judgment than can at present be formed, at this distance. The propriety of a second operation would, in some degree, depend on the alacrity and good composition of the troops of which the first may have been formed; of its success; of the probable effects a second similar blow would have upon the Indians, with respect to its influencing them to peace; or, if they should be still hostilely disposed, of preventing them from desolating the frontiers by their parties.

It is to be observed, that, in case of a second or third desultory operation, that you will limit the numbers to be employed, to five hundred.

The manner of their being mustered, both before and subsequent to their march, are stated in Brigadier General Scott's instructions.

And you will also judge, how far a desultory operation, made at the time of the main expedition, would conduce to the general success of the service; or, if a party of mounted volunteers, or regulars, or levies, were to form

part of your main force. In case two such desultory operations should be formed, from Kentucky, and you should decide upon a third, of the same nature, to support, collaterally, the main expedition, I suggest the propriety of your employing Briagdier General John Sevier for the purpose.

If circumstances should lead you to decide in favor of employing him, you could send an express to him, between the forks of Holston and French Broad, so that he should have three weeks, or a month, to raise men; or perhaps it would be the best plan, to mount the battalion of levies, which is to be raised in the territory of the United States, south of the Ohio, and with such additions as you should order, put them under the orders of Brigadier General Sevier.

It is, however, proper to remark, that, as the expense of an expedition of a mounted corps would be very considerable, the probable advantages ought far to outweigh the risk and expense.

If such operations should be successful, and a considerable number of prisoners should be taken, particularly women and children, it would have the certain effect of humbling the Indians, and inducing them to sue for mercy.

You will observe, in the instructions to Brigadier General Scott, which are to serve as a basis for the instructions of the commanders who may succeed him, that all captives are to be treated with great humanity. It will be sound policy to attract the Indians by kindness, after demonstrating to them our power to punish them, on all occasions.

While you are making such use of desultory operations as in your judgment the occasion may require, you will proceed vigorously, in every preparation in your power, for the purpose of the main expedition; and having assembled your force, and all things being in readiness, if no decisive indications of peace should have been produced, either by the messengers, or by the desultory operations, you will commence your march for the Miami village, in order to establish a strong and permanent military post at that place.

In your advance, you will establish such posts of communications with fort Washington, on the Ohio, as you may judge proper.

The post at the Miami village is intended for the purpose of awing and curbing the Indians in that quarter, and as the only preventive of future hostilities. It ought, therefore, to be rendered secure, against all attempts and insults of the Indians. The garrison which should be stationed there ought not only to be sufficient for the defence of the place, but always to afford a detachment of five or six hundred men, either to chastise any of the Wabash, or other hostile Indians, or to secure any convoy of provisions.

The establishment of said post is considered as an important object of the campaign, and is to take place in all events. In case of a previous treaty, the Indians are to be conciliated upon this point, if possible; and it is presumed, good arguments may be offered, to induce their acquiescence.

The situation, nature, and construction of the works you may direct, will depend upon your own judgment. Major Ferguson, of the artillery, will be fully capable of the execution.

He will be furnished with three five and a half inch howitzers, three six-pounders, and three three-pounders, all brass, with a sufficient quantity of shot and shells, for the purpose of the expedition. The appropriation of these pieces will depend upon your orders.

Having commenced your march, upon the main expedition, and the Indians continuing hostile, you will use every possible exertion to make them feel the effects of your superiority; and after having arrived at the Miami village, and put your works in a defensible state, you will seek the enemy with the whole of your remaining force, and endeavor, by all possible means, to strike them with great severity.

It will be left to your discretion whether to employ, if attainable, any Indians of the Six Nations, and the Chickasaws or other Southern nations. Most probably the employment of about fifty of each, under the direction of some discreet and able chief, would be advantageous, but these ought not to be assembled before the line of march is taken up, because they are soon tired, and will not be detained. The force contemplated for the garrisons of the Miami village, and the communications, has been from a thousand to twelve hundred non-commissioned officers and privates. This is mentioned as a general idea, to which you will adhere, or from which you will deviate, as circumstances may require.

The garrison stationed at the Miami village, and its communications, must have in store, at least six months' good salted meat, and flour in proportion.

It is hardly possible, if the Indians continue hostile, that you will be suffered quietly to establish a post at the Miami village; conflicts, therefore, may be expected; and it is to be presumed that disciplined valor will triumph over the undisciplined Indians. In this event it is probable that the Indians will sue for peace; if this should be the case, the dignity of the United States will require that the terms should be liberal.

In order to avoid future wars, it might be proper to make the Wabash, and thence, over to the Miami, and down the same to its mouth at lake Erie, the boundary, excepting so far as the same should relate to the Wyandots and Delawares, on the supposition of their continuing faithful to the treaties. But, if they should join in the war against the United States, and your army be victorious, the said tribes ought to be removed without the boundary mentioned.

You will also judge whether it would be proper to extend the boundary, from the mouth of the River *au Panse* of the Wabash, in a due west line to the Mississippi. Few Indians, besides the Kickapoos, would be affected by such a line; this ought to be tenderly managed.

The modification of the boundary must be confided to your discretion, with this single observation, that the policy and interest of the United States dictate their being at peace with the Indians. This is of more value than millions of uncultivated acres, the right to which may be conceded by some, and disputed by others.

The establishment of a post at the Miami village will probably be regarded, by the British officers on the frontiers, as a circumstance of jealousy; it may, therefore, be necessary that you should, at a proper time, make such intimations as may remove all such dispositions. This intimation had better follow than precede the possession of the post, unless circumstances dictate otherwise. As it is not the inclination or interest of the United States to enter into a contest with Great Britain, every measure tending to any discussion or altercation must be prevented. The delicate situation of affairs may therefore render it improper at present to make any naval arrangement upon lake Erie.

After you shall have effected all the injury to the hostile Indians of which your force may be capable, and after having established the posts and garrisons at the Miami village and its communications, and placing the same under the orders of an officer worthy of such a high trust, you will return to fort Washington on the Ohio.

You will please to inform me of all the occurrences of your expedition, in order to be submitted to the President of the United States, together with such observations as may be necessary to form a comprehensive and precise judgment of the campaign, and of the further measures proper to be pursued by Government.

You will observe, by the treaties with the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees, hereunto annexed, marked D, that the President of the United States directed the observance thereof in his proclamation of the 26th of August, 1790.

This proclamation became necessary, as information had been received that certain companies had purchased of the State of Georgia the pre-emption to the almost entire lands of the said Indian nations, and that measures were taking, in pursuance thereof, to effect settlements on the said lands, in direct violation of the said treaties, and the peace of the United States.

And information has lately been recived, that a certain Doctor O'Fallon is levying troops in Kentucky, and issuing commissions in an illegal manner, for the purpose of making certain establishments upon the said lands.

The conduct of the said Doctor O'Fallon is considered of such a nature as that the attorney of the district of Kentucky has been directed to commence a prosecution against him, according to law and the nature of his offence; and, in order that all concerned under him should be warned of their situation, the President of the United States has issued another proclamation, which is hereunto annexed, marked E.

It is presumed the arrest of Doctor O'Fallon, and the issuing of the proclamation, will operate to prevent the execution thereof; but, if they should not, and the party proceed in the execution of their plan, it becomes an important

consideration whether the military shall interfere to prevent them. This point is now under consideration of the legal department, and you shall be informed of the result.

A military post at Bear's Creek, called Occochappo, below the Muscle Shoals, upon the Tennessee, has been considered as proper to prevent the usurpation of the Indian land, and, also, at some proper place upon the Mississippi.

But, the approbation of the Indians is essential to the establishment of either. Governor Blount is to hold a treaty with the Cherokees in May next, and it is part of his instructions to render that nation cordial to the measure of establishing the proposed post upon the Tennessee. The post upon the Mississippi is attended with some difficulties relative to the Spanish claims, and is not to be attempted at present.

Indeed, the force required for the main expedition will prevent the establishment of either post, until after the termination of said expedition. The object is now brought to your view, in order that you may, upon consideration, suggest such further measures, arising from information, as may be necessary to be adopted on the occasion.

It is proper to observe, that certain jealousies have existed among the people of the frontiers, relative to a supposed interference between their interest, and those of the marine States: that these jealousies are ill founded, with respect to the present Government, is obvious. The United States embrace, with equal care, all parts of the Union; and, in the present case, are making expensive arrangements for the protection of the frontiers, and partly in the modes, too, which appear to be highly favored by the Kentucky people.

The high stations you fill, of commander of the troops, and Governor of the Western territory, will afford you frequent opportunities to impress the frontier citizens of the entire good disposition of the General Government towards them in all reasonable things, and you will render acceptable service, by cordially embracing all such opportunities.

The discipline of the troops, and their economy in all respects, will come under your consideration.

Arrangements will be made for forwarding, with the first company which shall march, the arrearages of pay for the last year, as far as the same can be ascertained without the muster rolls.

The recruits, which shall be engaged for the first regiment and the artillery, will depend upon the surplus clothing on hand upon the frontiers. Reliance will be made upon the said surplus clothing for about five hundred and fifty complete suits. One-quarter part of the recruits of the first regiment and the artillery will be clothed, and all will have blankets. From the quarter part, which shall be completely clothed, the officers will make arrangements for rendering all the men comfortable. The second regiment will be clothed.

For the blankets which shall be issued here, of the number of which you shall be informed, a deduction must be made from the clothing for the troops on the frontiers, and the transfer thereof made to the Indian Department, for the purpose of the proposed treaty.

The goods necessary for a treaty shall be furnished, and your estimates upon this subject shall be duly regarded.

Medicines, instruments, tents, and ordnance stores, and all other articles necessary for the proposed expedition, will be forwarded.

Samuel Hodgdon, who has been appointed the quartermaster, under your directions, will repair to the frontiers as soon as he shall have made the necessary arrangements here of the supplies.

He will be entirely under your orders, in all respects; and he must produce your orders for all the general objects of expenditures—such as boats, horses, and other arrangements for transportation.

The provisions will be transported at the expense of, and by the means to be provided by, the contractors.

To the quartermaster's department will belong the transportation of the troops from Fort Pitt to the rendezvous, and the return transportation of the levies; the transportation by land of the ordnance stores, hospital stores, and such essential baggage as you may direct upon the expedition.

It would be unnecessary to be particular, to an officer of your experience, on the article of a great quantity of baggage. The nature of the service in which you will be employed will preclude the idea of all baggage which shall not be indispensable for the existence of the officers and soldiers.

The horses, therefore, that you may require for such objects, may not exceed the number of ——. As you will probably want them for several months, it will be more economical to purchase, than to hire them, and, after the expedition, to sell them again.

As Mr. Mentges, the inspector, will be upon the spot, you will direct him to muster and inspect all the troops as regularly as the service will permit. But the regulars and levies must be mustered on their first arrival at fort Washington.

You will please to appoint some skilful person to make actual surveys of your march, to be corrected, if the case will admit of it, by proper astronomical observations, and of all posts you may occupy, and transmit them to this office.

The paymaster will place in your hands the sum of three thousand dollars. This money will be for such contingencies as shall arise, either for intelligence or the objects of the Indian Department, and for which you will account.

Besides the desultory operations before recited, for the protection of the frontiers, the President of the United States has been pleased to direct, that the lieutenants of the several frontier counties of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, should be invested with the temporary authority, and under the restrictions contained in their instructions, of which the paper, marked F. is a copy.

You will perceive, that the authority given to the said county lieutenants has been great.

The continuance of the said authority will depend upon you. Although the protection to be afforded must be equal to the occasion, yet the expense ought not to be unnecessarily continued: you will, therefore, upon being convinced that the rangers which the county lieutenants may call out, in pursuance of the said authority, would not any longer be necessary for the protection of the inhabitants, direct the said lieutenants to discharge the same, on account of the United States.

It would be proper that, when you issue such orders, it should be done by some responsible character, who will certify to you the time of the delivery, in order that the public should not pay the expenses of the said rangers, after such notification.

You will judge how far a similar protection is to be extended to the settlements in the territory of the United States, northwest of the Ohio. The said copy has been transmitted, officially, to the secretary of the said territory.

Horses and equipments will be provided for the mounting of one hundred cavalry, for the purpose of the main expedition.

At the termination of the expedition, you will direct the quartermaster to sell the horses, excepting such a small number as you shall consider as indispensably necessary for the communication of the posts.

Although it is expected that you will have assembled at fort Washington, by the tenth of July next, a force of three thousand effectives, consisting of regular troops and levies, besides a sufficient number for the occupancy of the posts on the Ohio and Wabash, yet circumstances may possibly arise to prevent the expectation from being realized.

In this event, the expedition must not languish. In order, therefore, to supply the numbers essential for the expedition, you must call forth, in the name of the President of the United States, the militia of Pennsylvania, Virginia, or the district of Kentucky, for the purpose.

You will ground your orders, issued upon this occasion, upon the act of Congress, of the thirtieth of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and of the third of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, and direct them to the lieutenants of such of the counties as will most readily afford the militia required, agreeably to the following form:

"SIR: The President of the United States has been authorized, by the two following acts, to call into service the militia of the several States, for the purpose of protecting the frontiers, to wit: An act, entitled 'An act for regulating the military establishment of the United States,' passed the thirtieth day of April, one thousand seven hun-

dred and ninety;' and an act, entitled 'An act for raising and adding another regiment to the military establishment of the United States, and for making further provision for the protection of the frontiers, passed the third day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.'

"And the President of the United States has, by his instructions to me as the commanding general of the troops of the United States, bearing date the twenty-first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, and communicated to me by the Secretary for the Department of War, invested me with full authority in the premises. I do hereby require you, as the lieutenant of the county of ———, forthwith to detach, of the militia of said county, —— non-commissioned officers and privates, and the following commissioned officers, to wit: ———. The said officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, to serve for —— months, unless sooner discharged, and upon the same pay and rations as the troops of the establishment."

It will be important that the most perfect communication should be kept up between you and this office. The regular post proceeds from this city to fort Pitt every other Friday. An arrangement will be made, after the fifteenth or twentieth of next month, to obtain a rider to proceed to fort Pitt on the Fridays which the post omits, so that the communication will be weekly. I earnestly request that you would make an efficient arrangement from garrison to garrison on the Ohio, so that I may receive correspondent information from you of the state of affairs.

Mr. Duer, the contractor for provisions, is now in this city, making the arrangements with the Secretary of the Treasury for the furnishing of the provisions for the troops under your orders.

The number of rations will be estimated, after you leave fort Washington, at four thousand per day.

The contractor promises the highest exertions in order to furnish the rations which may be required in due season. As your arrangements and success will greatly depend upon his punctuality, it will be important that you should afford him all the facility which the public interests may require.

Such objects relative to the troops, or the proposed operations, as may not have been touched upon in the foregoing instructions, and which may hereafter occur, will be contained in future letters.

In the mean time I have the honor, with the greatest sincerity, to wish you all possible success.

Given at the War Office of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, this twenty-first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *March 28th*, 1791.

Sir:

I enclose you a representation of the Cornplanter, a chief of the Seneca Indians, to the President of the United States, complaining of the murder of some friendly Indians, on the 9th instant, who had been trading at Big Beaver creek.

This matter will be attended with the most pernicious consequences, unless instantly averted by decisive measures. I have stated the case to the Governor of this State, suggesting the propriety of demanding the accused for trial, of the State of Virginia, and such other steps as the occasion may require.

But, as the measures to be expected for a legal process will be both slow and uncertain, it is important that the General Government should do all in their power to express a marked disapprobation of the act, and to heal, if possible, the wound which the friendship of the Indians has received on this unfortunate occasion.

You will therefore please to inquire into the facts, and finding them as stated in the representation of the Cornplanter, you will, in a message to the aggrieved Indians, reprobate the murder in the strongest terms, and assure them that every legal step shall be taken to bring the accused to condign punishment.

You will also write the friends and relations of the deceased, together with the principal chiefs of the tribe to whom the deceased belonged, to meet you immediately at the place you shall mention. You will there repeat the abhorrence of the transaction, and the assurances of justice, and you will convince them of your sincerity by making liberal compensation to the relations for the loss of property sustained by the deceased Indians.

You will also transmit the enclosed answer to the Cornplanter's message, together with such further observations as you may think proper.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

General St. Clair.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *March 29th*, 1791.

Sir:

In addition to my letter of yesterday, respecting the murder of the Indians at Big Beaver, on the 9th instant, I wish you would suggest to the proper magistrates, an inquiry upon oath, relative to the transaction; to be taken immediately, and forwarded to the Governor. This mode of procedure appears necessary, in order that the Governor should ground thereon the legal steps of demanding the accused of the State of Virginia.

With great respect, I am, &c. &c.

General St. Clair.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *April 7th*, 1791.

Sir:

I have nothing in particular to add to my letters to you of the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth ultimo. I enclose you several of the Governor's proclamations.

As far as my information extends, the recruiting service, both in the regulars and levies, succeeds well. I hope in the beginning of May you will have some companies of levies at fort Pitt.

It will be important, if possible, to conciliate the relations of the friendly Indians, who were killed the 9th of last month at Big Beaver; and it will also be important that Colonel Procter should, if possible, be charged by you with conciliatory propositions relative to this subject.

We have learned accidentally of your being detained at Pott's Grove by the gout; but it is to be hoped that you will have it no more.

General Butler will set off to-morrow for Maryland and Virginia, to complete the arrangements for raising these battalions.

I am, &c.

General St. Clair.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *April 19th*, 1791.

Sir:

I have not had the pleasure to hear directly from you since your departure on the twenty-third ultimo. I was sincerely sorry to learn casually you were detained by sickness on the road.

One act of violence of the lawless inhabitants of the frontiers seems to succeed another against the friendly Indians, until all the tribes will be constrained, from principles of self defence, to unite against us.

I am informed by a letter from fort Pitt, of the eleventh instant, that a party of militia, under one Major Gutrie, of Westmoreland county, in this State, has plundered a boat belonging to the contractor, which was on its way with a supply of provisions, to the garrison at Venango, and which also had on board the goods which the United States and the State of Pennsylvania presented to the Cornplanter and his party.

The direct consequence of this atrocious crime appears to be the loss of the garrison and post of Venango, and the enmity of the Senecas.

If Major Gutrie was called into service under the authority and at the expense of the United States, it would seem that he is liable to a trial by a court martial for his conduct, and to be punished capitally if convicted under the tenth article of the thirteenth section of the rules and articles of war.

If you should be of opinion that he is liable to a trial and capital punishment by a court martial, you will direct that he be secured for that purpose.

At any rate, you will take instant measures to give the most satisfactory assurances to the Cornplanter and his party, of complete indemnification for every article lost, and that proper lists for that purpose be forwarded to me immediately.

I hope, between the twenty-fifth instant and the first of May, that we shall march one company of levies from Trenton, and another from Carlisle; and two companies of regulars, one from Delaware, and the other from this city.

One hundred suits of clothing, for the upper battalion of the levies of this State, have this day been forwarded to fort Pitt; clothing for a company at Carlisle was forwarded seven days ago.

I shall write further by the post which will depart to-morrow.

I am, &c. &c.

General St. Clair.

War Department, *April* 21*st*, 1791.

Sir:

The post arrived to-day, by which I have not received any information from fort Pitt, excepting two letters from the lieutenants of the counties of Washington and Ohio.

I have the honor to enclose you the copy of a letter, which I yesterday forwarded by the Viscount Malartie.

The information which I mentioned, not having been confirmed by the post, raises some doubts of its authenticity. I really hope that it has not been as stated. But, if it should have been as represented, I am persuaded you will take every legal measure, which the nature of the case may require, to bring the offenders to justice by a court martial. You have my letter of the tenth of March, and I now enclose the copy of a letter from Colonel Campbell to me, of the thirty-first of the same month.

It is proper I should mention to you, that, being strongly impressed with the importance of attaching the Five Nations to us in the approaching contest, I have desired Colonel Pickering to assemble them together, in order to take effectual measures to brighten the chain, and remove all causes of difference.

I expect him in this city every hour, when I shall be informed of the time and place of his meeting. If I receive any further information of the goods lost by the Cornplanter, I shall take arrangements for replacing the articles immediately, through Colonel Pickering.

One hundred of the Jersey levies will march from Trenton on the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth instant, by way of Reading and Carlisle, for fort Pitt. About the same time, Armstrong's and the Delaware companies of regulars will also march.

I shall also hasten all the levies which shall be assembled at Carlisle.

I shall write you further by the next conveyance, which will probably be by Major Ferguson. The quartermaster will set out by the first of May, having put all the stores in motion before him.

I pray you to observe that, after the first of May, a post will regularly, once every week, set out from this place for fort Pitt, and so from that to this city.

I am, &c.

General St. Clair.

War Department, *April* 22*d*, 1791.

Sir:

The bearer, Mr. Mentelle, has been recommended to me by Mr. Marbois, the consul of France in this city, as a young gentleman of good connexions, and one who is desirous of serving under your auspices as a volunteer.

As we have not any establishment for volunteers, I cannot do more than to recommend him to your protection, and such employment as you may think proper to give him, consistently with the establishment.

I have the honor to be, &c.

General St. Clair.

War Department, *April* 28*th*, 1791.

Sir:

I have received your two letters, dated at Greensburg, the fifteenth instant. I lament sincerely the sickness and detention which you have suffered.

I write this by the chaplain, who will probably not travel very fast, and therefore I shall not be very particular. A detachment of one hundred and one levies, under Captain Snowden, marched yesterday from Trenton for fort Pitt, and, on the same day, Captain Armstrong's company from this city, and Lieutenant Platt's from Delaware, to the amount of about one hundred and fifty men. I have ordered all the levies assembled at Carlisle to march; and Colonel Gibson assures me there will be about two hundred and fifty of them. If so, these several bodies will make up the number of five hundred men, besides the number of the upper battalion, of which I have received no returns.

I have received nothing precise, either from Maryland or Virginia, but I understand the recruiting service goes well there.

The Jersey battalion probably will all march before the fifteenth of May.

None of the companies of the Eastern States are yet nearly completed; but I hope they will soon begin to forward some companies.

As soon as these detachments arrive upon the frontiers, I pray you to make such decisive arrangements of them as that the militia may be dismissed, at least as far as it respects the United States.

I shall write you by the post next week, and will make the arrangement that a post shall regularly set out from this place and fort Pitt.

I am, &c.

General St. Clair.

War Department, *May* 5*th*, 1791.

Sir:

My last to you was of the twenty-eighth ultimo, a duplicate of which is enclosed. By a return of the levies at Carlisle, I find Colonel Gibson overrated the two hundred and fifty, there being only about one hundred and eighty in readiness to march. These had been inspected by Major Ferguson, and would move forward about the fourth.

By a letter from Major Craig, he informs me that you have gone down the river.

I have no specific report from Virginia relative to the levies; but General Butler writes me, from Baltimore, that the Virginia battalion would be completed by the tenth instant. The Maryland battalion will not be so forward, but I hope they will be at fort Pitt by the fifteenth of June.

As the county lieutenants have ordered out so great a number of men, it will be best to dismiss them all, but a small party of rangers, and substitute some of the levies, for the protection of the upper part of the Ohio. I presume you have directed this measure; but, lest it should be otherwise, I shall direct General Butler, if consistent with your orders to him on this point. This I pray you not to consider as interfering in the interior of your command, which is by no means my intention.

Upwards of one hundred more of the levies will march from Trenton, in a day or two, under Captain Piatt. The remainder of the Jersey levies will probably be completed, and march before the twentieth, at farthest; before which I hope two hundred more regulars will be moving forward.

The recruiting service in Massachusetts has not been any ways equal to my expectations; but I hope it will soon be better.

Colonel Pickering's treaty is appointed to be held at the Painted Post, above Tioga, on the seventeenth of June next.

I shall, after this period, write you weekly; and, by the next post, I shall fully reply to all that may be necessary in Brigadier General Harmar's letter.

The inhabitants, who have been compelled to abandon their settlements, will be so far entitled to the public attention, as to receive provisions at Venango, to carry them to the more interior settlements; but it cannot be expected that the public should maintain women and children, at an advanced post, with rations at a high price. This cannot be done.

I have the honor to be, &c.

General St. Clair.

War Department, *May 12th*, 1791.

Sir:

I have received your several letters of the 19th, 21st, 22d, and 25th of April, from Pittsburg, with several letters enclosed, which have been forwarded according to their directions.

The present view of the force marching, and about marching, is pretty much the same as is contained in the duplicate of my letter enclosed, dated the 5th instant.

The upper battalion of levies of this State, does not appear to succeed. The lower battalion will be completed. The Jersey battalion will be full, and march, I hope, by the 25th. One hundred and ninety-six are already pushed forward. By the 20th, a very considerable portion of the Virginia battalion will be on the march; and I hope, a respectable detachment from the Maryland battalion.

The battalion south of the Ohio, to be raised under the direction of Brigadier General Sevier, will be retarded by his sickness, he having been confined at Richmond until the 20th ultimo; but as the clothing and all the equipments for that battalion moved forward on that day from Richmond, he writes me that he hoped to have the battalion completed by the 1st of June, so that it will be the 15th or 20th before it will reach fort Washington. It is to be remembered, that the said battalion is to consist of riflemen. But lest there should be any difficulty about arming them in that manner, I have directed Major Ferguson to transport arms and accoutrements for them from fort Pitt.

I hope that General Butler will be able soon to dismiss the militia of the counties, all but a few guards.

The artillery, medicines, and the principal part of the stores, have been sent forward to fort Pitt, and the quartermaster will follow in a few days.

The cavalry horses will be purchased, and sent down the Ohio under an escort. The equipments, which are excellent, have been sent forward. The horses will be good.

Upon the formation of this corps, much will depend; and the sooner it shall be formed, the more it will be disciplined.

It will depend upon your judgment, whether to make the cavalry to consist entirely of regulars as to officers and men, or whether to make a mixture of regulars and levies. As you will require an efficient corps, you will undoubtedly pick all the officers, non-commissioned and privates, from the whole army. If you take any levy officers, I would recommend Captain Snowden, who was of Lee's legion; he is brave, and, by reputation, judicious.

I have heard nothing further from Colonel Procter, than was contained in your last letter of the 25th ultimo.

As, in all probability, it will at least be the latter end of July, or beginning of August, before your force shall be assembled for the main expedition, it may be proper to arrange more than one expedition from Kentucky, provided the Indians continue their depredations. But of this you will judge from your nearer view of the subject.

A quantity of Indian goods shall be soon forwarded, in order to enable you to hold a treaty with effect, if you should be so fortunate as to have the opportunity.

I shall continue to write you weekly.

I am, &c.

General St. Clair.

Sir: War Department, *May 19th*, 1791.

I have this moment received your favor of the 1st instant.

The information the Wyandot Indian woman gave you of the disposition of the Wyandots and Delawares, seems probable. If it should be true, and the Cornplanter's and Colonel Procter's mission not be obstructed, the prospect of peace with the Indians, on proper terms, is not so hopeless as many people expect.

I am persuaded that you will leave no rational measures for that purpose unattempted.

The conclusion you seem to draw from the tranquillity of the frontiers at the time you wrote, seems to be just, to wit: that the Indians are not united among themselves, or decided upon their measures. They will not receive any countenance from the British; but it is probable they may receive ammunition from the traders.

I instructed Major General Butler, on the 12th, to make arrangements for the dismissal of the militia, consistently with your orders to him relative to the disposition of the levies; and I shall repeat the same to him by this post, as he is now about arriving at fort Pitt.

Colonel Sproat's services appear to be of such a nature as to deserve compensation. I will give the representations relative to his services mature consideration, and if I can, with perfect propriety, I will make some arrangements on that subject: if not, it must remain as it is, until the arrival of the President of the United States, to whom the affair shall be communicated.

My enclosed letter will inform you of the prospect of the recruiting service on the 12th instant.

The present prospects are, including the regulars and levies, that there will have marched from the respective rendezvous, about twelve hundred and fifty recruits, on or before the first day of June next, agreeably to the schedule annexed.

By the next post, I shall hope to be able to be more precise as to the expectations you may justly entertain of the subsequent force. But, independent of the regulars of the Eastern States, I do not foresee any material deficiency. The time of their arrival at fort Washington, will, however, be late in the month of July.

Orders are given for the purchase of a considerable part of the cavalry horses, which, with their equipments, shall be forwarded to fort Washington in the course of the month of June.

I am persuaded the arrangements you have made at Muskingum, will be just and proper.

I enclose you a list of Indian goods which will be forwarded to fort Pitt in the course of this month, and to be forwarded to fort Washington, to be in readiness for a treaty.

I have not heard any thing of Colonel Procter, but I entertain the opinion that he has gone forward under a strong escort of Indians, headed by the Cornplanter.

I am, &c.

General St. Clair.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May* 26*th*, 1791.

SIR:

Nothing material has occurred necessary for me to write you upon, since my last of the 19th instant, a copy of which is enclosed.

The frontiers of this State have, since the beginning of the present month, been much infested by predatory parties of Indians; but the arrival of the troops will probably push them to a greater distance.

The tardiness of the recruiting service will occasion some deficiency of the regular troops. But I do not foresee any deficiency of the levies, excepting of the upper battalion of this State. I flatter myself that the battalion raising under General Sevier, will join you at fort Washington before the 1st of July.

I have not heard any thing of Colonel Procter. If Major General Butler should hear any thing of him, he will communicate it of course.

I have the honor, &c.

General ST. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *June* 1*st*, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit you a duplicate of my letter to you of the 26th ultimo, since which nothing material has occurred.

On the 20th ultimo, marched from Winchester one hundred and seventy levies, and ninety followed from the same place on the 22d. One hundred and fifty levies were to march on the 28th from Hagerstown; the 30th, eighty-three levies from Trenton; and yesterday, Captain Shailer, with seventy-six regulars of the second regiment, marched from New Brunswick.

I am, &c.

General ST. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *June* 9*th*, 1791.

SIR:

As I have mentioned to you in my former letters, I have not received any of your favors since the first of May.

I have written you weekly since the nineteenth of April, always enclosing a copy of the letter of the preceding week.

Colonel Procter arrived here on the seventh instant, by the way of fort Pitt; from that place he says he informed you fully of the failure of his object and the reasons thereof.

This obstruction being removed to the advance of the troops of General Scott, you will of course give them free scope.

I enclose you a schedule of the troops who have marched, and who will probably march in the course of the present month. Although a considerable number of regulars will probably be recruited in the Eastern States, after the present month, yet I do not estimate that they will be of service to your main expedition. They will, however, serve as a reinforcement, and to garrison the posts you may assume.

The force, contemplated in your instructions of the twenty-first of March last, was about three thousand effective for the expedition, besides the garrisons, which might be estimated at about three hundred more. From the present view of the subject, you will have about two thousand eight hundred troops, Sevier's battalion included, in addition to the old troops on the Ohio, which may amount to about three hundred and fifty. In this view, there would be a deficiency of one hundred and fifty. In order to supply this, I have authorized Major General Butler, who seems to be of opinion that a company could be raised in Fayette, to raise it, and three others, if he should be of opinion that they could be raised by the twentieth of next month.

He will communicate with you upon this subject, and you can take measures to supply any deficiency of numbers, by raising companies of levies in Kentucky, or calling out the militia of the district, or to call out a mounted corps to act collaterally with the main expedition, as you shall judge most proper. In case you should raise levies, you may take some of the continental clothing, in the store at fort Washington, for the same.

I am persuaded the force marched from their respective rendezvous will not exceed twenty-eight hundred men, and it may possibly fall short of that number two hundred; but that will not happen, according to present prospects.

All the ordnance, powder, lead, and quartermaster's stores, have been forwarded, and Indian goods, particular lists of which shall be forwarded by the next post.

The quartermaster, Mr. Hodgdon, did not set out until the fourth instant; he will be at fort Pitt about the twelfth. Besides the stores sent from hence, he takes with him the sum of twenty thousand dollars, to pay for boats, pack horses, and other articles for the campaign; one half of the sum necessary for the cavalry horses was before forwarded. Besides this sum, not more than fourteen thousand dollars of which being appropriated, the other six being for contingencies not foreseen, he has orders to draw for such further sums as you may certify to be necessary for the service.

The quartermaster will forward, from the upper parts of the Ohio, hardy horses, which have been used to the woods, for the cavalry.

According to Colonel Procter's verbal report, there will be a pretty general attendance of the Six Nations, at the Painted Post, the seventeenth instant.

It would also appear by the Colonel's statements, that Brandt has gone to the Western Indians, with the concurrence of the British officers, and that his design is peace; that they expect him back before the seventeenth instant, in which case part of the chiefs will attend at the Painted Post, and part go forward to persuade the Western Indians to peace.

I shall be extremely anxious to hear from you before the arrival of the President of the United States, who will be here about the twenty-fifth instant.

I cannot again too strongly mention the importance of frequently hearing from you.

I am, &c.

P. S. I enclose for your information a copy of my letter to Major General Butler, of this date.

Major General ST. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 16*th June*, 1791.

SIR:

I enclose you a copy of my letter to you by the last post, dated on the ninth instant. Your letter of the first of May is still the last I have received from you.

I presume Major General Butler informs you, by every opportunity, of the troops which arrive at fort Pitt, and of his disposition of them.

Captain Doyle has marched from this city, for Lancaster, and Captain Beatty will march to-morrow, or next day, from New Brunswick. These two detachments will make about one hundred and fifty. About the same number of regulars are at this time moving forward from New England, and will probably be at New Brunswick about the twenty-second instant.

I enclose you copies of the returns of ordnance and military stores, medicines, and hospital stores, and goods for the Indian Department, which have been forwarded to fort Pitt.

I have received Colonel Proctor's written communications.

I think it appears pretty evident, that Brandt has gone to the hostile Indians, accompanied by Girty and McGee, with the concurrence of the British officers at Niagara; and that the object of his mission probably is to attempt a

peace between the said Indians and the United States. You will be able, by some signs or information, to judge of the effect of this interference.

The Virginia battalion of levies is completed, and the remainder marched from Winchester on the fourth instant, excepting about thirty, who are deficient by desertions, but who will be replaced.

The first division of the Maryland battalion, of which one hundred and eighty-eight marched on the twelfth from Hagerstown.

The eastern battalion of this State, and the Jersey battalion of levies, are still deficient about a company each, which will not probably be completed and marched until the latter end of this month.

The upper battalion of this State is about two hundred recruited, according to General Butler's information.

The President of the United States has not yet returned, but will be expected from the twenty-fifth to the thirtieth instant.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General St. Clair.

War Department, *June* 23*d*, 1791.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a duplicate of mine to you of the sixteenth instant, and also a copy of mine to Major General Butler of this date. I enclose you the last, for your information, and to avoid repeating the same things to you.

Captain Beatty marched from Trenton this morning, with about ninety regulars and twenty levies. *He has under his charge, seventeen thousand eight hundred and forty-four dollars and fifty cents, which he is to deliver to Mr. Hodgdon, the quartermaster. This money is intended as a sort of military chest, and to be issued from thence by your warrants. It would require about five thousand dollars to pay the old troops up to the thirty-first of March last, which you will do if you judge proper. The remainder would form one month's pay for your army. This you may issue at such times or seasons as your judgment shall direct.*

In my next, I shall be precise as to the number of the regular troops, who are on the way from the Eastward, which will not exceed two hundred. But it is possible, that one hundred more of regulars may be drawn from that quarter, for the purpose of the expedition, provided you do not move until the first of September. But I do not depend upon them. The recruiting service shall, however, be continued, and the recruits forwarded as fast as possible.

It is now pretty well ascertained, that, levies and regulars included, exclusive of the old troops on the Ohio, there will not be forwarded to you more than twenty-five hundred at the extent, and that some may be deducted from that number for sickness and desertion. You willknow the number of old troops: for such additional numbers, then, as you may judge the campaign to require, you must depend on the frontiers. You will fix the number of additionals, taking care to have a force adequate to the object. And you will also decide upon the species of troops, agreeably to my letter to you of the 9th instant.

If you could obtain them, it would seem, at this distance, that a corps of five hundred, or seven hundred and fifty Kentucky mounted volunteers or militia, would tend to give more efficacy to your operations, than any other species of troops.

Not having lately heard from Brigadier General Sevier, I cannot inform you any thing of the battalion he was to raise. I sincerely hope and believe, that he has effected the object, and that the advanced guard of his battalion are now with you.

Brigadier General Harmar having, by his letter to the President of the United States, dated the 28th of March, 1791, requested that a board of officers might be instituted for the purpose of inquiring into his conduct on the late expedition against the Miami Indians, the President of the United States, in a letter of the 17th instant, from Mount Vernon, has commanded me to direct, that such a board be instituted accordingly.

You will, therefore, sir, as soon as the public interests shall permit, direct, that a court of inquiry, constituted agreeably to the articles of war, assemble for the purpose of inquiring into the conduct of Brigadier General Harmar, the commanding officer upon the late expedition against the Miami Indians; and, that they report to you, a full statement of facts, with their opinion thereon.

The court ought to consist of characters of the highest rank in the service, and of the greatest impartiality; and the evidence ought to be delivered from the different species of troops who served on the expedition.

In the course of the investigation, it will be necessary to comprehend all the circumstances of the campaign, from the time the army departed, until it returned to fort Washington. This will embrace the personal conduct of the General, the organization of the army, the orders of march, encampment, and battle. The motives which influenced the detachments of the fourteenth, nineteenth, and twenty-first of October; and whether the said detachments were duly supported, and if not, the reasons which prevented the said support.

The articles of war specify, that courts of inquiry shall not give their opinion on the merits of the case, excepting they shall be specially thereto required. But this seems to be one of the cases in which an opinion seems requisite, as well for the reputation of Brigadier General Harmar, who has requested the court, as for the satisfaction of the public mind, and I presume he will fully concur in this idea.

Since writing the above, and in this moment, I have received a letter from General Sevier, dated the Ceded Territory, the fifth instant, who informs me, that "about three companies of the levies are raised, and will march for fort Washington in a few days."

I have the honor, &c.

General St. Clair.

War Department, *June* 30*th*, 1791.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose you a duplicate of mine to you, of the 23d instant, enclosing a copy of mine of the same date, to Major General Butler; and I also enclose a copy of mine to Major General Butler of this date, by which you will observe the measures directed, relative to the additional battalion of levies, and the other objects therein mentioned. Your letter of the first of May is still the last of your communications.

I hope, before this time, that the battalion raised by Brigadier General Sevier, has principally, or entirely joined you.

As all the troops, (excepting a small deficiency of the Jersey, and the lower battalion of levies of this State, and perhaps a deficiency of the levies of Maryland,) are now to move forward, it seems highly proper that the troops, already arrived at the upper parts of the Ohio, should rendezvous at head quarters; and I have, as you will observe, written to Major General Butler accordingly.

I shall hope, by the next post, to transmit you a return of all the troops who have actually marched, but I am persuaded they will not exceed the number I have mentioned, to wit: twenty-five hundred.

Aware that your regular force may be inferior to the demands, I shall continue the recruiting service, and forward the recruits to head quarters.

But I depend much, that you will be able to obtain from the levies, upon or before the expiration of the service, a considerable accession to your regular regiments: probably you may make use of the moneys in Mr. Hodgdon's hands, for the bounties.

Judge Innes, and the other commissioners at Kentucky, have informed me of the departure of General Scott on the twenty-third ultimo, and that it was expected he would make a stroke about the thirtieth ultimo; we shall be anxious to hear of the result.

You will judge, from the effect of this expedition, and from the view of the time of your general operations, whether to form another such desultory expedition. If, to you, it should appear to have a decidedly good effect, to humble the Indians and prepare them for peace, I am persuaded the expenses thereof will be cheerfully borne by the public.

The President of the United States will arrive here about the 4th of July.

I am, &c.

General St. Clair.

War Department, *July* 7*th*, 1791.

Sir:

I have the satisfaction to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the twenty-sixth of May to Captain Pratt.

I have written you regularly by the post, every Thursday, and I flatter myself you have received them.

I am sorry that Brigadier General Harmar should take the resolution to resign, as, with you, I esteem him to be a good officer, notwithstanding the loss sustained on the late expedition. I sincerely hope he will reconsider that resolution, and continue in service at least for the campaign.

The copies of my letters to Major General Butler, will inform you of the measures which have been executed for the discharge of the militia, and of the guards which he will call out after the troops shall descend the Ohio. I enclose you a copy of mine to him of this date. And I also enclose you a schedule of the troops who have marched, and who will march, in the course of this month. I think this schedule may be depended upon as the extent, excepting such additionals as Major General Butler may raise; of the number of which, I confess I am not very sanguine.

If, therefore, from your own view of the object, you should require additional force, you will obtain it in the manner, and of the species of troops, you may judge proper. If General Scott's expedition should be successful, and satisfactory to the people of Kentucky, there could be no doubt of your raising such another body of mounted volunteers; although a less number, perhaps five hundred, would be sufficient.

I mean that this body is to make up deficiencies, to form part of your army, and act under your immediate orders. With such a body of light troops, well commanded, and mixed with your regular cavalry, it would appear that your movements would be irresistible. I should think, at this distance, the expense would be amply repaid by the services of such a corps. They might be engaged for such time, and be discharged when you shall judge proper.

But of this, or any other effective arrangement, you will be the judge. I will write to the Governor of Virginia, that, if there should be any collateral orders to be issued by him, he will please issue them immediately.

I am not satisfactorily informed of the means the contractor has prepared for the transportation of the rations on the expedition; but, if there should be any deficiencies of any sort in his department, you will not suffer the service to be delayed thereby, if in the power of the quartermaster to remedy them. You will also take care not to interpose but in case of necessity, in which cases you will have a full statement of the circumstances transmitted, so that the contractor may be properly accountable for the deficiencies at the treasury.

The President of the United States arrived here yesterday, in perfect health.

I have the honor to be, &c.

General St. Clair.

Sir: War Department, *July* 14, 1791.

On the eleventh of this month, I had the satisfaction to receive your favor of the first of June.

The fate of General Scott's incursion must have been decided long ere this, but we are in the dark as to the result. It was reported at fort Pitt, on the seventh instant, that he had succeeded greatly, but the particulars of the report were not transmitted to me.

The letters from Major General Butler, at fort Pitt, are encouraging as to the supplies, the state of the river, and the general tranquillity of the frontiers.

General Butler has, most undoubtedly, transmitted you Rhea's affidavit. Although some things contained therein may be doubted, yet there are strong causes to believe that others are true. I transmit you a copy of my letter to General Butler, on receiving Rhea's information.

We must, by all means, avoid involving the United States with Great Britain, until events arise of such quality and magnitude as to impress the people of the United States, and the world at large, of the rank injustice and unfairness of their procedure. But a war with that Power, in the present state of affairs, would retard our power, growth, and happiness, beyond almost the power of calculation.

The information of Rhea will serve to guide your measures, and seems to strengthen and rivet the propriety of assuming the position with a strong hand, mentioned in your instructions.

I enclose you duplicates of my letters to you and Major General Butler, of the 7th instant, a duplicate of the schedule therein enclosed, a duplicate of mine to General Butler, of the 12th, and of mine to him of this date.

The hundred regulars, mentioned in the schedule to march by the first of August, will, I hope, be increased to one hundred and fifty. I judge from appearances, but it may be doubted whether these will arrive in time for the expedition, which I presume you will be in readiness to commence, at the furthest, the first of September.

I shall, with the approbation of the President of the United States, continue the recruiting service in the Eastern States until the first of October, during which time it may be expected we may obtain two hundred and fifty, or three hundred regulars, in addition to those specified in the enclosed schedule.

I hope, however, that you will be able, with the bounty of six dollars, to fill up your regular regiments from the levies. You will please let me have your opinion of the probability of this event.

I am, &c.

General St. Clair.

War Department, *July* 21, 1791.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th of June, by the post of this morning, and I enclose you a duplicate of mine of the 14th inst. the copy of the contract of provisions, and a letter from the President of the United States to the marshal of Kentucky, a copy of mine to Major General Butler, of the fourteenth, and of mine to him of this date.

By my letter to Major General Butler, combined with those written to you, you will observe the progress of your force, and the orders I have given him from time to time.

As Captain Phelon will probably be the last of the troops who will march from the eastward of fort Pitt, so as to be of service in your expedition, you will, before this, have formed your judgment of the auxiliary force you will require from Kentucky, and have made your arrangements for obtaining it accordingly.

I have urged Mr. Duer repeatedly, to take all the necessary steps relative to an ample supply of provisions, and to obtain the means necessary for the transportation thereof, and I am given to understand that he has made the arrangements accordingly. I sincerely hope this to be the case. But as he is not personally present, some doubts arise as to the arrangements of his substitutes.

At this distance, I only repeat the observation which I have had the honor to make to you before, that, in the present stage of public credit, the public interests must not suffer in any wise; that, if the contractor's agents shall not have provided the articles necessary in his department, you will make effective arrangements to supply the deficiencies. That, in all cases of this nature, you will, of course, transact the requisitions upon the contractor's agents in writing, and obtain their answers in the same manner. That you will transmit these several papers, in order that they may be properly acted upon at the treasury.

I omitted, in my last, to reply to your observation relative to Colonel Sargent.

The office of adjutant general is not provided for by the laws. In case, therefore, of an officer of that description being appointed, as seems to be indispensably necessary, he must depend upon an after provision being made for him by Congress, of which there will be very little doubt. It must be left to your view of the subject, to determine the rank and pay which shall be offered such an officer for the expedition, but they certainly ought not to exceed that of a lieutenant colonel.

We have had, for a week past, reports, by the way of fort Pitt, and of Kentucky, of the favorable issue of General Scott's expedition, but nothing to be entirely depended upon.

If Colonel Edwards, lieutenant of Bourbon, should go upon the expedition you mention, it is to be hoped he will meet with some marked success. I have no information of Colonel Pickering's treaty yet being closed. It was attended by about eight or nine hundred of the different tribes, men, women, and children; as he has nothing to request of them but to be quiet, there is little doubt but his mission will be successful.

I enclose you a copy of De Bartzchi's information, which has been sent by Major General Butler, who may not have taken a copy of it. This information and the speech appear to be such as to deserve some credit. I therefore enclose it, that it may be associated and compared with other information.

The President of the United States has commanded me to urge, that, as soon as your troops are assembled, or such portion thereof as you may judge proper, that you commence the establishment of such of your posts of communication, to which your force may be adequate.

He is greatly anxious that the campaign be distinguished by decisive measures, so that the expense incurred may be manifestly useful and important.

I am, &c.

General St. Clair.

War Department, 21*st July*, 1791.

Sir:

The bearer, Doctor Grasson, is one of the emigrants from France, who has decided to incorporate himself among our citizens.

He is recommended to me as a gentleman of science, and professional knowledge as a surgeon.

I have recommended him to Major General Butler, to have him examined by professional characters, and, if the report should be favorable, to appoint him to one of the vacant battalions of levies. In case the said vacancies should be filled up, I recommend him to you for such temporary employment in the medical line, as you may with propriety employ him.

I am, sir, &c.

General St. Clair.

War Department, 4*th of August*, 1791.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter by the post this morning, of the 6th of July, covering a duplicate of yours of the 26th of June, containing Brigadier General Scott's enclosures. Your letter of the 23d of June, and the first of yours, of the 26th of June, have not yet been received.

Brigadier General Scott's despatches were received by Lieutenant Belli, on the 26th ultimo.

The success of his expedition will probably be attended with exceedingly beneficial consequences, and prepare the minds of the Indians for that peace, which only can save them from destruction.

I should hope, by the time you can receive this letter, you will also receive the whole of your force from fort Pitt, Phelon's detachment included.

I have not heard from General Sevier since the fifth of June; he then informed me that nearly three companies were completed, and would march in a few days. As he was furnished with money for all objects, and clothing, I hope there will not be any failure.

But, as Phelon is considered as the rear guard of your troops, for the expedition, of which you have been informed; as you possess all the information of your force which is in my power to afford; and as you embrace the objects to be performed, and the difficulties to be surmounted, you will be entirely competent to decide upon the additional force to be required; and I am persuaded that you have taken efficient arrangements to obtain such additional numbers from Kentucky, and of such species, as you shall judge adequate to make up all deficiencies.

Captain Newman marched from this city, with eighty-three non-commissioned and privates, regulars, on the thirtieth ultimo, and Captain Buell will march from Brunswick, on the tenth instant, with detachments from New England, and such numbers as are in this city, to make up, probably, about one hundred and twenty regulars more. But neither of these detachments will arrive in time to make part of your army.

In addition to these detachments, I presume there will be about two hundred and fifty, or three hundred more regulars enlisted and marched, between the tenth instant and the first of October, after which it is probable the recruiting service will be suspended during the winter season.

But, as I have before intimated, it is most probable you will be able to fill up your regular regiments by recruits from the levies.

The powder and lead which you request, were early forwarded from this city to fort Pitt, and ought to have formed part of Major Ferguson's convoy. The quartermaster will forward them. The five and a half inch shells and the shot you request, shall be forwarded immediately; but it is not possible for them to arrive in time for your expedition. The quantities you have on hand will probably be sufficient in the first instance for your posts, and as many as you can carry.

On the seventeenth of March, I ordered two hundred shot and shells to be forwarded for each piece of artillery, then directed for the posts. Mr. Hodgdon depended on a furnace at fort Pitt for these articles, by which the transportation would be saved.

He on the twenty-eighth of July writes me word they cannot be had.

You mention that you have directed the contractor's agent to make a provisional agreement for eight hundred pack-horses, to transport the provisions for the army. I am persuaded that you will direct no more than shall be requisite to give efficacy to your movements, and your judgment must be definitive on the case. But I am apprehensive, from a conversation between you and the contractor in my office, that he has calculated on a far less number. The idea was then entertained that posts of communication were to be established, and the supplies carried from one to the other.

I shall inform him of your opinion, and request him to extend his arrangements to the number you may direct.

As you will take as little baggage with you as possible, the number I have contemplated in the quartermaster's department will not exceed three hundred pack-horses; but I have directed him to comply with your orders, for such further numbers as you may direct.

Major General Butler writes, that Lieutenant Jeffers is arranged at fort Franklin, agreeably to your orders.

Major General Butler will inform you particularly of the arrangements he has made for the defensive protection of the upper counties of the Ohio. The liberal provison he has made will most probably be satisfactory to the people of that part of the frontiers. You will also please to state particularly the arrangements you may think proper to make on the parts of the Ohio below the Kenhawa.

It will be highly proper to check the spirit of desertion which you mention, by some early and decided examples. The rules and articles of war will probably undergo a revision at the next session of Congress, and, if possible, some grades of punishment be obtained, between one hundred lashes and death, which, as you justly observe, are almost infinitely disproportionate.

It is said, and it is probably true, that Brandt has returned to Niagara from the Miami town, and that he has brought some Western Indians with him; if so, and their designs are for peace, we shall soon hear from them.

The Indians at Buffalo creek, and those at Colonel Pickering's treaty, asserted that Brandt went forth for the purpose of peace, and intimations to that effect are also constantly given in this city by a gentleman in the confidence of Lord Dorchester: and it is said, that Sir John Johnson is to assemble the Five Nations at Buffalo creek immediately. The indications which shall result from this council and Brandt's messages will probably give a decided complexion, for the present, to Indian affairs.

If the British policy frowns upon Indian hostilities, and the Six Nations keep quiet, your operations, and your intimations of the disposition of the United States to be at peace with all the Indian tribes, will, in the course of the season, effect the object, and you will probably be suffered to establish your posts without opposition.

I enclose you duplicates of Col. Pickering's letter to you, of the 8th ultimo, and of the queries and answers of Captain Hendricks.

The treaty closed the fifteenth, and the Indians returned satisfied. Colonel Pickering did not attempt to persuade any of them to join our army, as he found such a proposal would be very disagreeable to them. But Big Tree came from O'Beel's town with a proposition to assist our army to make peace. This was debated and refused.

The President of the United States still continues anxious that you should, at the earliest moment, commence your operations.

I enclose the copy of a letter to Major General Butler, of this date, which I presume will be the last he will receive for the present at fort Pitt.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General St. Clair.

War Department, *August* 11*th*, 1791.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose you a duplicate of my last letter to you of the 4th instant, and a copy of mine to Major General Butler of the same date, and of the one to him of this day.

The President of the United States is exceedingly anxious that the troops upon the upper parts of the Ohio should be assembled at fort Washington, at as early a period as possible, so that you may commence and effect your operations in due season.

Nothing occurs as necessary or proper to be given you as additional instructions. You are fully informed of the objects to be accomplished, the means furnished you for that purpose, and authority to supply all deficiences.

The President of the United States is convinced that you are deeply impressed with the national importance of the force entrusted to your direction, and that you will use it in such a seasonable and decisive manner as shall at once reflect honor on yourself and the army, and the public character of the United States.

I have received a letter from Governor Blount and General Sevier, of the 15th July, which mention that great difficulties had arisen in raising the corps in the Ceded Territory; that two hundred had marched under Major Rhea, and were then probably at fort Washington; and that the remainder would be forwarded immediately.

Governor Blount, on the 2d of July, concluded a satisfactory treaty with the Cherokees; all is, therefore, quiet at the southward, excepting a few rascally Indians, probably Creeks, have been committing some depredations on the Cumberland settlements.

I am, sir, &c.

General St. Clair.

War Department, *August* 18*th*, 1791.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a duplicate of mine to you of the 11th instant, and also a duplicate of mine to Major General Butler, of that date, and of this day.

I presume Captain Newman will not arrive at fort Pitt until the 25th instant, and Captain Buell about the 10th of September. No other troops are on their march excepting a party of about thirty from New Hampshire, who have not yet arrived at Brunswick. Buell's detachment consists of about ninety-two regulars.

All the stores which have been written for have been forwarded, either from fort Pitt or this place, excepting the 5¾ inch shells, which cannot be obtained in season for the campaign; as the most expeditious mode, I have sent for some to West Point, and expect them here hourly; when they arrive they shall be forwarded.

Some reports have recently been raised in this city, as if the powder furnished Mr. Hodgdon, by Mr. Joseph Miller, was not of a good quality, especially that made by his foreman, Jacob Keyser. I have had some powder of Jacob Keyser's make proved, by taking one ounce of each sort, to wit: cannon, musket, and rifle, and projecting a 24 lb. ball out of a 5¾ inch mortar, elevated at 45° placing the powder in the chamber of the mortar loose, and putting a piece of paper over the mouth of the chamber; the powder to be well dried in the sun. This is the surest possible mode of proving powder, and the powder so proved had been manufactured from damaged public powder, and was found upon trial to be equal to the best proof powder. It is considered, that, if one ounce will, under the above circumstances, project a 24 lb. ball thirty yards, it is sufficiently strong. Most of the powder which was tried as above, projected the ball, on an average, forty yards.

Mr. Miller has made an affirmation that the powder furnished the public was made of refined salt-petre, and was at least equal, if not superior, to that which has been proved here.

I mention this circumstance to you lest the report may have reached you by some other channel; you will, of course, direct the powder to be proved in the manner stated by Major Ferguson; I have no doubt that you will find it full proof.

You will readily perceive that this is a sort of suspicion which must be kept carefully from the troops; for unless they rely with confidence on the goodness of the powder, no dependence can be placed on their exertions.

The report here I am pretty confident originated in a jealousy of some dealers in the same article.

I sincerely hope that you will have received your whole force, and have commenced your operations by the time you will receive this letter, which I consider as the last you will receive at fort Washington.

I cannot easily express to you the anxiety of the President of the United States, that the campaign should be entirely successful, and issue in a just and honorable peace with all the tribes: he is persuaded you will brace to exertion every nerve under your command, and that you will establish a sure mode of communication with this office, while you are on the expedition.

With great respect, &c.

Gen. St. Clair.

War Department, *August* 25*th*, 1791.

Sir:

I enclose you a duplicate of my letter of the 18th instant, and of one to Gen. Butler, of the same date, and also of mine to him, of this date.

The President of the United States laments exceedingly, the unfortunate detention of the troops on the upper parts of the Ohio, for which no reasons sufficiently strong have been assigned.

This detention will undoubtedly retard the commencement of the operations, and require the highest exertions to accomplish the objects of the campaign.

The President reiterates his confidence in your activity, and that every thing will be put in motion, on the arrival of the rear of your troops, under Major General Butler.

The quartermaster will give you horses for the cavalry and baggage; and, if you require more than he has provided, he must obtain them.

I have repeatedly written to you, that, if the contractor's arrangements, either in his supplies of provisions, or the transportation of them, should be deficient, that such deficiency must be supplied by your orders, and the contractor made answerable. The public service cannot be retarded or injured by any deficiencies in that line.

I have also written you several times relative to any deficiency of troops, in order that you might make such seasonable arrangements for supplying such deficiency as you should think proper. All of which, no doubt, has been done on your part.

I have the honor, &c.

Major General St. Clair.

War Department, *September* 1*st*, 1791.

Sir:

I transmit you a duplicate of my last to you, of the 25th ultimo, and to Gen. Butler, of the same date, and of mine to him, of the present date.

A company of regulars will march from this place and Brunswick by the 10th instant; either Captain Haskell or Cushing will command it.

I have nothing to add to my former communications, excepting that the anxiety of the President of the United States still continues exceedingly great for the success of the campaign; he is fully aware, that vigor of operation, and the success of the campaign, will reflect honor on you, your troops, and the Government; and that languor and want of success will be attended with consequences directly the reverse. He therefore enjoins you, by every principle that is sacred, to stimulate your operations in the highest degree, and to move as rapidly as the lateness of the season, and the nature of the case, will possibly admit. Pray establish a mode by which we shall be regularly informed of your movements, and the events of your operations.

I have the honor, &c.

Major General St. Clair.

War Department, *September* 9*th*, 1791.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose you a duplicate of the Secretary of War's letter to you, dated the 1st instant, and also a duplicate of his letter to Major General Butler, of the same date.

I am, &c. JOHN STAGG, *Chief Clerk.*

Major General St. Clair.

War Department, *September* 22*d*, 1791.

Sir:

I have received your letters of the 8th of August, from fort Washington, and of the 24th, from Danville; but yours of the 3d of August, and the one you mention from Lexington, are both missing.

Captain Haskell marched, two days ago, with eighty men, for fort Pitt, and thence to descend to fort Washington; about the same number are on their way from New England, and more will follow.

As this letter will not reach you at fort Washington, I have done no more than to acknowledge your letters.

I have the honor, &c.

Major General St. Clair.

War Department, *September* 29*th*, 1791.

Sir:

I have received from Brigadier General Wilkinson, a copy of his report to you, relatively to his expedition against l'Anguille.

As his conduct and his services on the occasion merit public thanks, I have transmitted him a letter, of which the following is an extract:

"I have, by this post, instructed Major General St. Clair to thank you, if he had not already performed that pleasing duty, in the name of the President of the United States, for the zeal, perseverance, and good conduct, manifested by you in the command of the expedition, and for the humanity observed towards the prisoners whom you captured; and also to thank the officers and privates of the volunteers, for their activity and bravery while under your command; and to express his hope, that you and they may enjoy, in future, entire peace, as a reward for your services."

If you should not have previously thanked him, you will please to do it according to the ideas expressed to him.

I have the honor, &c.

General St. Clair.

Per post, to the care of Major Craig, at Pittsburg. Duplicates forwarded the 6th of October, 1791.

War Department, *September* 29*th*, 1791.

Sir:

I enclose you a duplicate of mine, of the 22d inst. since which I have received your letters with their several enclosures: July 6th, a duplicate; August 3d and 8th, both duplicates; August 17th and 29th; all of which have been duly considered.

But as it is highly probable that you are not at fort Washington, and that it will be some time before you will receive this letter, I shall not particularly reply to your several communications.

But if, by circumstances, this letter should reach you, I beg leave to express an entire reliance, that you will endeavor to fill the companies of the first regiment, and corps of artillery, which are with you, *at a proper season*, out of the levies. Captain John Smith and Captain Pratt are recruiting their companies, and will probably have them completed by the first of November; and by the same period I hope the companies of the second regiment will also be completed. But, lest it should be otherwise, I think it would be proper, if convenient, that you should also enlist one hundred men on account of the second regiment.

It is presumed that you have made a perfect arrangement for the quantity of provisions, which is to remain as a stock in the garrisons you shall establish.

I have the honor, &c.

General St. Clair.

War Department, *September* 30, 1791.

Sir: I omitted, in my letter of yesterday, to state, that, on the 15th July, I wrote a letter to the Governor of Virginia, to instruct the county lieutenants of Kentucky to obey your call for militia, of which the enclosed is a copy. I was in hopes General Scott would have received these orders from the Governor, so that you would have experienced no difficulty in obtaining the additional militia you might require.

I am, sir, &c.

General St. Clair.

Delivered to Lieut. Belli. Duplicate forwarded 6th October, to Major Craig, at Pittsburg.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *October* 13, 1791.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, of the 18th ultimo, from fort Washington, by the contractor's light canoe. which refers to a former letter, by some other conveyance, not yet come to hand.

Captain Haskell will have arrived at fort Pitt by this time; Captain Cushing will probably march from Brunswick, with at least ninety men, on the 18th instant.

We shall be exceedingly anxious to hear from you while upon your expedition, which I pray God may succeed in all its parts.

As you will not probably receive this letter, until your return from the expedition, I shall not enter into details.

The President of the United States is absent in Virginia, and will not be here until the 20th.

I am, sir, &c.

General ST. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *October* 20, 1791.

SIR:

The President of the United States having long since received an application from the Baron de Steuben, relative to a young man by the name of George Demelar, who went from New York to the Ohio, some time past, where he has been employed in surveying lands, I request that you will please to make inquiry respecting this person; and, if his character is good, you will appoint him an ensign in the second regiment of infantry, and notify me of the same. As Mr. Demelar has been absent a considerable time, the Baron solicits that this inquiry, relative to his conduct, should be made, before the appointment is decisive.

I have the honor, &c.

General ST. CLAIR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *December* 2, 1791.

SIR:

My last letter to you was dated the 20th of October, duplicates of which have been transmitted. I have not written since, as it was presumed you had departed upon your expedition; and, also, because nothing occurred of any considerable importance.

But as the period has arrived when your operations may be drawing to a close, and you about to return to fort Washington; and having a safe opportunity, by the troops hereinafter mentioned, about to descend the Ohio, which will be the last for the season, on account of the probable difficulty of navigating the river, it seems proper that a full communication should be made to you, at this time, of such circumstances as the public service may require.

I have conceived it important, as well for the comfort of the levies and militia, acting under your orders, as for the reputation of the Government, that the said troops should have their accounts adjusted at fort Washington, and each man paid the balance that may be found due to him before his discharge.

I have therefore sent Mr. Caleb Swan, of this office, to perform the business of settling the said accounts, and making the payments; and he is accordingly furnished with fifty thousand dollars, which is estimated as sufficient for this object.

Mr. Swan is well used to accounts of this nature, having been employed in the pay office upwards of five years; and he is furnished by Mr. Howell, acting as paymaster, with the necessary information.

Mr. Swan will report to you the balances, and receive your warrants for the payments, and he will take a number of blank warrants for your use.

I have entire confidence in Mr. Swan's integrity. But it will be proper that every check be devised and executed to render the business perfectly clear. I enclose you a copy of his instructions; and if there should be any additional guards proper, I pray you to use them.

It will be proper that the levies and militia, although discharged at fort Washington, have such additional allowance, both of pay and rations, as shall be sufficient to carry them to their respective battalion rendezvous at which they were recruited, estimating each day at one ration and fifteen miles; the commissioned officers to be allowed their full rations. The levies and militia will of course be mustered to the time of their leaving fort Washington, to which must be added such further time as the aforesaid fifteen miles per day will entitle them to.

Mr. Swan, besides the aforesaid sum, estimated as sufficient for the levies, has the further sum of ——— dollars, judged sufficient, with the 17,000 dollars which were entrusted in Mr. Hodgdon's hands, for this object, to pay the artillery, and the parts of the two regiments of infantry, their full pay to the first of January, 1792.

But if the said seventeen thousand dollars, or any part of it, should have been distributed to the troops, it will lessen, according to its amount, the sum to be paid out of the sums now sent by Mr. Swan.

I have but little doubt, from the estimates, that the money on hand, and now forwarded, will be ample for all the payments to be made to the levies and militia, and most probably complete the payments of the regulars for the present year.

I estimate that you have enlisted, or will enlist, at least five hundred of the levies. But, if there should be any deficiency, it must fall on the regulars and not on the levies, who ought to be entirely paid up at the time of their discharge, with such additional allowances, both of pay and rations, as will serve them to the rendezvous at which they were recruited: to wit, Trenton, in New Jersey; Carlisle and fort Pitt, in Pennsylvania; Hagerstown, in Maryland; Winchester, in Virginia; and Jonesborough, in the Southwestern territory.

The levies, originally, were to have had only one pair of linen overalls, and two pair of shoes, which would have borne a proportion to the clothing of a continental soldier, as the six months, the time for which the levies were engaged, would to the twelve months clothing for the continental soldiers. But, at a subsequent period, two thousand additional overalls, and two thousand additional pairs of shoes, were forwarded for the levies, with the intention of charging them therewith. But, as the said troops have undergone considerable hardships, and as they probably will be detained longer in service than the six months, it would, perhaps, be rather more rigid and economical than politic, and, perhaps, unjust, to charge them with the said articles.

The said articles will not, therefore, be deducted from the pay due the levies.

As the levies will, most probably, have to return by the way of the wilderness, it will depend upon your judgment as to the manner of their return. You will, without doubt, order them up the Ohio, if the weather and state of the river will permit, at least as far as Marietta or Wheeling. It would, most certainly, more comport with good order, that they should preserve their military consistence and organization, until they should reach their respective battalion rendezvous; and that each major should command his battalion. But there might be inconveniences in this arrangement, independent of the expense, and loss of arms and accoutrements; provided circumstances of danger, in returning, should be such as you should direct that they should retain their arms and accoutrements, or a proportion thereof, until they should arrive at the battalion rendezvous.

It will be proper, and important, that you should not permit more arms to be taken, by the discharged troops, than shall be necessary for their safety; and, for such, the field officers ought to be responsible, and to receipt to you for the same, and their receipts to be transmitted to me. But the officers ought, by all means, to command the men until they arrive at their respective rendezvous. To this end, the officers should possess the discharges of the men, and not to deliver them until a suitable time: and it might, also, be proper, that some of the pay should be delivered to an officer, of each battalion, to be delivered to the men at the place of their dismissal.

But in this case, the men ought to appoint the officer who is to be their agent; each individual to know the precise sum he was to receive. The public, by this arrangement, would be exonerated from any demands, in case of deficiency. But, upon more mature reflection, it will be the least exceptionable to pay the men, at fort Washington, *their whole arrears.*

But, if you should judge that the discharged levies should preserve a military form, it will be necessary that the contractors should make an arrangement to furnish them with provisions on their route, and also to pay any small contingencies of their march, such as straw, fuel, &c.

In case of the levies returning in military form, they must have a proportion of tents, delivered under the same guards and restrictions as the arms and accoutrements.

The orderly and comfortable dismissal of the levies, is a point of some importance; I am persuaded, therefore, that you will take such arrangements upon the subject, as shall at once be regular, convenient, and economical.

Permit me to urge you, in the strongest terms, to direct that all the spare arms and accoutrements be collected, repaired, and put in such situation, as to be fit for immediate use, and a return thereof to be made to this office.

No doubt can be entertained, but that you have, agreeably to your original instructions, furnished the post you may have established at the Miami village, and its communications, with six months' salted meat, and a due quantity of flour. This circumstance omitted, the safety of the said posts must be considered as extremely precarious. If there should have been any defects in the contractor's department, it is to be hoped that you have remedied them, according to my several letters to you upon that subject.

Upon the return of the troops at fort Washington, you will, I am persuaded, have made the best possible arrangement of the sale of the spare cavalry and pack-horses, so that the public may sustain as little injury upon that subject as possible.

The expense of the quartermaster's department has far exceeded my estimates. But I flatter myself, that the excess has been dictated by such sound principles, that, when they are developed, they will appear not only reasonable, but inevitable.

A new contract for the supply of provisions, for the year 1792, has been entered into by the Secretary of the Treasury, with Elliot and Williams, the former contractors, a copy of which is herein enclosed.

I enclose you a list of the officers as they now stand. In this, you will perceive, that General Wilkinson is appointed the lieutenant colonel-commandant of the second regiment of infantry. I hope he will merit your approbation, and that his conduct will reflect honor on his country and the troops.

It is the expectation of the President of the United States, that, at the expiration of the campaign, the necessity of an adjutant general will cease, and that the duty may be performed consistently, by the inspector; and it is also his expectation, at the expiration of the campaign, that Major General Butler will retire with the levies. He was appointed specially for them, and under the law by which they were raised; and however desirous the President of the United States might be to retain him in service, he would not have the power, without a new law for the purpose. You will, therefore, intimate to him, in handsome terms, this order. His pay and emoluments will, however, be continued him, until his arrival at fort Pitt.

I have detained Captain Haskell's company for some time past at fort Pitt, as a substitute for the dismission of the militia. But Cushing's company having arrived at that place, they will be detained no longer than the arrival of Mr. Swan, who will, with his money, be under their protection. Either Major Trescott, or Major Burnham, will command these two companies.

There are recruits, to the amount of two other companies, ready to march, to wit: Captain Mills, from this city, and Captain Cass, with detachments from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; but they cannot possibly arrive in time to descend the Ohio this winter. I have, therefore, caused a provisional arrangement to be made for them at fort Pitt, for the winter.

Captain Hunt's company will be raised during the winter, in Massachusetts; Captain Pratt's, in Connecticut; and Captain John Smith's, in New York. I had ordered Captain Hughes to join his company, but it is probable he will be ordered to recruit a full company this winter.

These four companies will probably be in readiness to join you early in the spring.

Some disturbances have lately been excited among the Creeks, by one Bowles, styling himself General William Augustus Bowles. He has set himself up in opposition to M'Gillivray, and has prevented running the line, agreeably to the treaty at New York. It seems probable, that either M'Gillivray or Bowles must fall. The United States will support the former, who appears to have conducted with propriety and sincerity.

Brigadier General Harmar has arrived, and the proceedings of the court of inquiry are in the press. He has intimated his intention of resigning, but has not yet executed it.

Since mine of the 20th of October, I have received your several letters of the 4th, 15th, 16th, 23d, and 25th of September; and we have heard of you and the army, on the 8th of October.

As those several letters contain information only, it is unnecessary to reply particularly thereto.

Your anxiety at the detention of the troops, at the upper part of the Ohio, must indeed have been great, to whatever cause it was owing.

The arrangements you made in Kentucky, relatively to the calling out the militia, were highly judicious, and extremely satisfactory to all the people of that district. Every such instance of conciliating and proper conduct, is extremely gratifying to the President of the United States, who is desirous of the utmost harmony subsisting between all parts and branches of the Government.

The bills which Mr. Ludlow drew for the pack-horses, have been protested by Mr. Duer, he stating, that Mr. Ludlow had no authority from him for the purpose, and that he made another arrangement, for the purchases of the said horses. But these bills were endorsed by you, in behalf of the United States, and they have been regularly paid. The affair has been stated to the Secretary of the Treasury, and the business will be adjusted by the Comptroller, upon proper principles.

I sincerely hope, by the time this letter arrives, you will have returned to fort Washington, crowned with success, having made an equitable and lasting peace with the poor Indians, and entirely fulfilled all the objects of the campaign.

But although entire confidence is reposed in your talents and arrangements, we shall entertain a painful anxiety until we shall be relieved by your despatches.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect, your most obedient, &c.

Major General ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

Instructions to Major General Butler.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *April* 5, 1791.

SIR:

The public service requires that you should immediately set off for the States of Virginia and Maryland, in order to put into immediate operation the measures necessary for the raising of the two battalions of levies assigned to said States.

The first object demanding your attention will be the appointment of the officers. Colonel Henry Lee having declined the command of the first regiment, it has been, by order of the President of the United States, offered to Colonel Josias Carvell Hall, residing near Baltimore. If he should accept, you will, with him, make a perfect arrangement of the officers for the Maryland battalion. I herewith deliver you a list of officers suggested to the President of the United States by his Excellency the Governor of Maryland. This list must be respected, and the appointments conformed to it, so far as the officers may reside near to, and have influence within, the local districts of Maryland most likely to afford the recruits.

Colonel Rawlings, of Fredericktown, has had the offer of being major of the battalion, but I have received no information of his acceptance or otherwise.

It has been decided that Hagerstown should be the principal rendezvous in Maryland, with one or more subordinate rendezvous for the companies; but it is to be observed that numerous rendezvous create additional expense, and therefore ought to be avoided.

As soon as the arrangements are made in Maryland, you will proceed to Virginia, and there appoint the officers of the battalion; any lists or intimations you may receive upon this subject from the President of the United States, you will, of course, obey.

Winchester is to be the principal rendezvous in Virginia, with a subordinate rendezvous or two if necessary.

Joseph Howell, the paymaster, will deliver you two thousand one hundred and seventy-two dollars and eighty cents, for each of the battalions, being for the objects specified in the enclosed schedule, (marked A) and also the sum of one hundred and forty-four dollars and forty cents, being for the lieutenant colonel-commandant and surgeon.

In case Colonel Josias C. Hall should decline the appointment of lieutenant colonel-commandant, the offer of it is to be made to Colonel Moses Rawlings, unless you should be otherwise directed by the President of the United States.

Mr. Duer, who has contracted to furnish the rations and supplies which may be required in Maryland and Virginia, and thence to the Ohio, has engaged to send a suitable person to Winchester and Hagerstown, to make the proper arrangements, and at such subordinate places as you shall judge requisite.

You will direct the major who shall be appointed to each of the battalions, as soon as a sufficient number of recruits shall be assembled, either at Hagerstown or Winchester, to form a company, that it be marched to Redstone, there to embark for fort Pitt.

This measure may, for a time, occasion some intermixture of companies, but a more perfect arrangement will take place when the levies shall be assembled together.

The company officers to be commissioned on condition of each recruiting the number of twenty-eight non-commissioned and privates, on or before the first of June next.

This condition is essential, as the deficiency of the levies must then be made up by draught sof the militia.

The clothing for the Maryland and Virginia battalions is now preparing, and a sufficiency for the half of each battalion will be forwarded in about fourteen days hence, from this place.

The arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, for the said battalions, are lodged at fort Pitt, and will be delivered at that place.

You have herewith delivered to you the arrangement of the battalions, for the levies, by which you will observe the number and rank of the officers to be appointed for each battalion. (marked B.)

You have also herewith delivered, the establishment of pay, rations, and forage, for the levies, which is the same as to the troops of the United States.

You have also herewith delivered, twelve copies of the Baron Steuben's instructions, thirty Articles of War, thirty recruiting instructions, and thirty blank bonds, which the officers are to sign upon receiving their recruiting money.

To you, who are sensible of the urgency of affairs which requires the highest possible despatch, it would be unnecessary to say any thing to give vigor to your measures; but you will urge the officers whom you may appoint, by the most cogent arguments, to use the greatest diligence and activity.

The lieutenant colonel-commandant must be alternately at both rendezvous of Winchester and Hagerstown; but each major must constantly superintend at the rendezvous of his battalion, and stimulate the exertions of the officers.

The majors must weekly report to this office the state of the recruiting service. In short, that nothing must be omitted which would give a spring and vigor to the recruiting service.

You will write to me twice a week of your proceedings.

With great respect, I am, sir, &c.

Major General Butler.

War Department, *April* 8, 1791.

Sir:

Since writing the foregoing letter, I have received the enclosed letter from the President of the United States, dated the 4th instant, by which you will observe, that he has taken measures for the appointment of the officers of the Virginia battalion, and has directed the major to call upon me for orders.

You will endeavor, in your journey, to find out this person, and give him the money and orders necessary for his battalion; in which case you need not proceed to Virginia.

I have received an answer from Colonel Rawlings, declining to accept the Maryland battalion. Although he declines the battalion, yet probably he would accept the regiment, in case Colonel Hall should decline accepting it. On this point you will consult him personally, before any offer of the lieutenant colonel-commandant shall be made to any other person.

But, in case he should entirely decline, you will endeavor to find some suitable character of the late war, either from Virginia or Maryland, to accept the regiment.

When you shall have finished the business in Virginia and Maryland, you will please to repair to Carlisle, in this State, and complete any deficiencies which may be in either of the battalions or levies to be raised within the State; and, as soon after as possible, you will repair to the frontiers, there to take the command of Major General St. Clair.

You will keep me constantly informed of all public objects necessary for me to know.

I have issued my warrant on the paymaster, in your favor, for the sum of two hundred dollars, on account of your extra expenses, incurred in travelling to Virginia and Maryland; for which sum you will account.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General Richard Butler.

War Department, *April* 15, 1791.

Sir: Colonel Hall declines: Colonel Darke, of Shepherdstown, therefore, must be appointed, agreeably to the letter of the President of the United States of the 7th instant.

As you are the pivot upon which all things turn relative to raising the two battalions in Maryland and Virginia, I flatter myself that you will urge every part of the business with a vigor which will delight and surprise the public.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

Major General Richard Butler.

War Department, *April* 21, 1791.

Sir: I write you this letter to meet you by hazard. Lieutenant-colonel Darke accepts the command, which you probably know.

One hundred and thirteen suits of clothing, and tents for one company, were sent from this city yesterday, by land, to Winchester, in Virginia, and the same quantity necessary to Hagerstown, and the quantities necessary to complete each battalion will be forwarded in ten days, hence.

I have not received any information of the levies of this State; part of the clothing has been forwarded, and the remainder will follow in quick succession.

One hundred levies of the Jersey battalion will march from Trenton, on the 25th or 26th instant, and about the same time, the companies of Armstrong, and of the State of Delaware; and I shall, to-morrow, send some person to march those who shall be at Carlisle. Much injury has arisen for want of a major at that place.

I pray you to make every arrangement in Virginia and Maryland entire, and enjoin on the commanding officers a correspondence with me.

With great respect, I am, sir, &c.

Major General Richard Buttler.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 5th*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letter from Baltimore, of the 30th ultimo. The clothing and tents, for upwards of two hundred men, have been forwarded to Hagerstown, and the same to Winchester, and the remainder, to complete the Virginia battalion, will be forwarded to-morrow, together with camp kettles and some canteens.

As I presume you have made a perfect arrangement relative to both the Virginia and Maryland battalions, I shall say nothing further upon that subject, excepting that I have received no more information, either from you or Colonel Darke, than is contained in your letter.

Mr. Swan, from my office, will set out from hence the next day after to-morrow, to inspect and muster the companies as they shall assemble at the rendezvous of Winchester and Hagerstown.

Captain Snowden marched from Trenton on the 27th ultimo, with one hundred and one levies; Captain Armstrong, from this city, and Lieutenant Platt, from Christiana bridge, on the same day; and Major Ferguson informs me that one hundred and sixty levies will immediately march from Carlisle.

Captain Piatt will march from Trenton in a day or two, with upwards of one hundred more of the levies of Jersey; and I have but little doubt of the battalion of that State being completed and on its march before the 20th instant.

I pray you to urge the completion of the battalions of this State.

Major General St. Clair, I am informed, has descended the Ohio. It is to be presumed he has left orders for you at fort Pitt. In these orders, I hope he has directed part of the levies to be posted for the covering of the upper parts of the Ohio, so that the militia who have been called out by the county lieutenants, under the directions of the President of the United States, as contained in my letter of the 10th of March, should be discharged. But, if he should not have instructed you upon this point, and has left it discretionary with you, as to the disposition of some of the levies, and it should be your judgment that they may be used for the temporary purpose of covering the frontiers on the upper parts of the Ohio, I pray you to dispose of them accordingly.

In this case you will instantly despatch the most pointed orders to all the county lieutenants of Pennsylvania and Virginia, so protected by the levies, to discharge all the militia called out by virtue of the President's directions contained in my letter of the 10th of March last, except such small parties as you may judge indispensable to serve as scouts or rangers, to give the alarm.

The great expense incurred by the militia, renders it necessary that this object should be attended to, as soon as the arrival of the levies will render it proper.

In the temporary disposition of the levies, you will pay a just regard to the protection of the settlements of Marietta, and the French settlements below, both of which are entitled to protection in the same manner as the inhabitants on the south of the Ohio.

I suppose General St. Clair will have directed that all the regulars, and probably part of the levies, descend the Ohio to head quarters. It is far from my intention of interfering in the least degree with his orders. My object is to discharge the militia consistently with the other objects of the troops.

I shall expect to hear from you every opportunity, until you descend the Ohio.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

SIR: WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 12th*, 1791.

Your letter of the 30th of April, is the last I have received from you.

I have sent Mr. Swan to Hagerstown, in Maryland, and Winchester, in Virginia, in order to muster, inspect, and march all the levies at those places.

He is furnished with money and orders to supply any defects which may have arisen on the part of the contractors, either with respect to rations or transportation, and he has, also, all the commissions for the Virginia and Maryland battalions.

I have information from Captain Freeman, whom I despatched upon other public business, that the recruiting of the Virginia battalion has succeeded well, and from his information, I should hope that the greater part of that battalion will be in readiness to march from Winchester on or before the 20th instant.

Tents, clothing, and knapsacks, have been forwarded complete, for the Virginia, and the same articles have gone forward, or are about setting out, for the Maryland battalion at Hagerstown.

I have, therefore, the persuasion in my mind, that you have completed all the arrangements with which you are charged, relative to the said Virginia and Maryland battalions, and that they will be completed in due season.

The Jersey battalion will probably be completed and marched before the 20th or 25th. Captain Pike marched with a detachment from Trenton on the 9th, which makes one hundred and ninety-six non-commissioned and privates of that battalion, which have already marched.

The completion of the battalions of this State will claim your highest exertions. The lower battalion, it is to be presumed, will be completed in due season; but the upper battalion does not succeed so well; pray urge the business by all possible inducements.

The battalion to be raised under the orders of Brigadier General Sevier, will not be so forward as I expected, owing to his falling sick at Richmond.

But as the clothing, and all equipments for it, had gone forward on the 25th ultimo, he writes me he had no doubt of the battalion being completed by the 1st of June.

The recruiting in the Eastern States, for the regular troops, has not succeeded well, but I hope, from the measures taken, it will soon be better. Captain Shaylor, with a company from Connecticut, will, I expect, be shortly at Brunswick, in New Jersey, on its way to Fort Pitt, and I expect, in the course of this month, that Beatty and Doyle's companies will be completed.

I enclose you a duplicate of my letter to you of the 5th instant.

I pray your immediate attention to the objects contained in it, relative to the dismissal of the militia of the frontier countries, as soon as the arrival of the levies will admit of the measure.

If you have not orders from Major General St. Clair, relative to the time of your going down the Ohio, I wish it might be delayed, conceiving your presence will be essentially necessary at fort Pitt, in order to arrange and forward the service. As soon as the major of the Carlisle detachment shall be appointed, you will order Colonel Gibson to Fort Pitt.

I am, sir, your's, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

SIR: WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 19th*, 1791.

I have received your favor, dated at Carlisle, the 11th instant.

Mr. Swan will be able to remedy all defects in Maryland and Virginia, either with respect to provisions or transportation.

I depend upon your appointing the major to the Carlisle battalion.

I am well satisfied you have gone forward to fort Pitt. The Indians have lately committed some depredations on Westmoreland county; the mischief most probably has been committed by a few Indians, but the people seem greatly alarmed.

The Governor of this Commonwealth has again applied to me for arms and ammunition, and I have directed Major Craig to furnish two hundred arms and accoutrements, with a proportionate quantity of ammunition, to the orders of Colonel Biddle, quartermaster general of the State.

I have furnished to the order of Major Smith, of Carlisle, the further sum of one thousand dollars, on account of Mr. Duer, the contractor.

I have not received any precise information relative to the upper battalion of this State. I have written to Major Clark for information, and shall hope to receive it either from him, but more especially from you.

I have been informed that, as no men were called from Fayette county, it is unfortunate that one company had not been raised in that county. I trust that, if there is still a deficiency in other places, you will immediately attempt to raise men in Fayette.

I depend greatly on your presence to give a due stimulus to the upper battalion.

I am persuaded, were a proper distribution to be made, by posting a company of levies at fort Franklin for the present, and until they would be wanted for the active operations of the campaign, and by dismissing the Westmoreland militia, all but a few, who might act as rangers for quieting the minds of the inhabitants, that Major Clarke's battalion would immediately feel the good effects of the measure.

I trust you will take decisive measures, as soon as the nature of the case will admit, consistently with the protection of the frontiers, to dismiss all the militia called out by the county lieutenants, as far down the Ohio as the Great Kenhawa. General St. Clair will take care of all below the Kenhawa.

The dismissal of the militia must be entrusted to you, who will be upon the spot. The expense is a grievous circumstance, and ought to be terminated as soon as possible, consistently with the security of the inhabitants.

When the levies shall arrive, if you shall have the disposal of them by the general's orders, (for I wish not to interfere with the disposition of the troops after their arrival at fort Pitt) it will be important that they should be arranged so as to cover the counties for the present, in order that the militia may be discharged.

The troops which have marched, and which will march, from the respective rendezvous, for fort Pitt, before the first of June, will probably amount to twelve hundred, besides Captain Montfort's company of North Carolina, which amounts to upwards of sixty, and which has marched from Staunton by the Great Kenhawa.

Mr. Hodgdon has employed Colonel Marshall, of Washington county, to purchase fifty horses for the cavalry, and he has or will make arrangements for the purchase of the other fifty. All the stores for the campaign, together with the quartermaster, will set out before the first of June.

I enclose a duplicate of my letter to you of the 12th instant.

I earnestly request that I may hear from you by every post.

I am, sir, with great respect, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 22d*, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you that the bearer, James Woodhouse, is appointed a surgeon's mate to Major Clarke's battalion of levies, and, by order of the Secretary of War, repairs to fort Pitt to join his corps, and to receive any further directions from you that may be necessary.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN STAGG, *Chief Clerk.*

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

SIR: WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 26th*, 1791.

I have received yours, dated at Turtle creek, thirteen miles east of Pittsburg, on the 19th instant.

As the Virginia levies are marching without arms, and, as it appears from your last letter there may be some danger on the route to Pittsburg, it will be all important that you use the armed troops in such manner as to prevent a possibility of injury to the unarmed levies, or the stores, which are on the way to fort Pitt. You could detach arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, to meet the levies before they arrive upon dangerous ground.

I have directed arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, to be forwarded to the Maryland levies, and I would do so by the Virginia levies, but it appears, from the information from Mr. Swan and Colonel Darke, that all the Virginia levies would be in motion before the first of June. One hundred and thirteen were to march from Winchester on the 18th, so that they will arrive at fort Pitt previously to this letter. The levies from Carlisle and Trenton will also be armed.

I enclose you a schedule of the troops which have actually marched, and which will probably march, before the first of June.

By the 10th of June, I expect we shall march one hundred and fifty regulars, under Beatty or Doyle, and, by that time, the remainder also of the Jersey battalion, which will probably be about sixty.

The recruiting service at the Eastward is exceedingly dull: we shall probably fall short in that quarter. In a few days I shall be able with certainty to estimate the force which will march in the course of June.

Besides the request herein contained, relative to the safety of the unarmed parties, I shall write to Colonel Gibson to make use of Purdy's company, which is about marching for the upper post.

I am anxious to hear of Colonel Procter. You will please to give me, and Major General St. Clair, the earliest information you shall have relative to him. And you will also keep me constantly informed of every thing necessary for me to know.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *1st June*, 1791.

SIR:

This will be delivered to you by Mr. Hodgdon, the quartermaster to the army. You will please to give him your advice and directions for such preparations as shall be essential to the campaign.

I am, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *2d June*, 1791.

SIR:

The Secretary of War being absent for a day or two, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to him, dated the 22d ultimo, with its enclosures.

Mr. Hodgdon, the quartermaster, sets out this morning for Pittsburg, and will hasten his journey, in order to make whatever arrangements may be found necessary in his department, and to receive your further commands. By the next post, the Secretary of War will write you more particularly.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN STAGG, Jun. *Chief Clerk.*

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *9th June*, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 22d and 29th ultimo, and of the 1st instant.

The clothing and canteens for Clarke's battalion must have all reached fort Pitt on or about the 1st instant.

Sheet iron was sent forward, in order to make the camp kettles at fort Pitt. Camp kettles, ready made, would have been rendered useless by the transportation.

The knapsacks were neither painted nor strapped, but the quartermaster was to forward both paint and straps.

But, in order to remedy this matter entirely, I have directed a sufficiency to be painted and strapped here, and they will be forwarded in a few days.

The quartermaster says, that he consulted good judges on the articles of the pack saddles; but I believe, from your representation, that he has been mistaken.

I am satisfied that you have employed some persons to make trees for other saddles. If the materials you mention, to make up the pack-saddles, have not been already forwarded, which I believe is the case, it shall be done immediately.

The quartemaster made an arrangement for boats and the cavalry horses. I have conceived that Kentucky was the proper place to purchase the pack-horses, and have directed it accordingly. Mr. Hodgdon, the quartermaster, set out from Carlisle on the 7th instant, and will be at fort Pitt by the 12th or 13th. He is amply furnished with the means of obtaining every thing that shall be wanting for the campaign, and I have directed him to take your advice upon such preparations as you may deem essential, and which have not already been done.

As the representative of the public in the preparations of the campaign, I feel it my duty, and it is most certainly my inclination, that every article, however minute, should be furnished, and I have given the directions accordingly.

From the activity of Mr. Hodgdon, and his ample funds, I have no doubt that all things in the quartermaster's department will be prepared in due season.

By the returns of the provisions which you transmitted me, it appears that such a quantity of flour is already purchased, that no apprehensions may be entertained on that account. Until the expedition shall take place, and during the operations of the troops, dependence must be placed on live cattle. The posts to be established will require six months' salted meats, and the other parts of the ration in proportion. This object the contractor has promised to attend to, and from his information there will be no disappointment.

There are no light fuzees for the levy officers. The French arms which have been forwarded, are not heavy; and I should presume would answer the purpose of all the officers very well.

As the parties of levies, excepting the Virginians, who are yet to march forward, will be armed, the arms requested by the State might have been delivered.

The colors for the levies have not been deemed essential; but at your request, they shall be forwarded.

There are plenty of tents gone forward, but there are no marquees; the nature of the campaign will render it very improper that heavy tents should be used on the expedition. But the quartermaster can modify those already gone, according to the directions of the general officers.

I am well satisfied that Major Butler has been appointed to the command of the eastern battalion of levies in this State. I hope the remaining company will be soon filled and marched.

The object of Colonel Procter's mission having failed, of which he informed you, General St. Clair will no longer restrain the expedition under Brigadier General Scott.

I am persuaded that you transmitted to General St. Clair the whole of Colonel Procter's despatches, because, on his early receipt thereof, much will depend.

You will not retain more troops on the upper parts of the Ohio than shall be necessary for the defensive protection of the frontiers. All beyond that number you will order down the river to head quarters.

You will also make a perfect arrangement for the collection of those who shall be employed in the defensive protection, at the time they shall be required for the expedition.

I enclose you, *in confidence*, an estimate of the troops who have marched, and who will march during the present month.

The recruiting service has been very dull in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. In Connecticut it has been better. I hope, however, to march about five hundred regulars, or three years' men, in the course of the present month; but this includes Doyle and Beatty's, and all others to the eastward. This number is contemplated in the number of the enclosed estimate.

As we shall not have all the three years' men I was induced to hope, and as you seem to think that a company of levies could be raised in Fayette, I hereby authorize you to raise one, two, three, or even four companies, or a battalion of levies, provided the object could be certainly accomplished by the 15th or 20th of July, in the upper counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

If you go into this measure, you will immediately inform me and General St. Clair thereof. For the bounties and advance pay, you will draw upon the paymaster. A great part of the clothing is ready made, and shall be immediately forwarded upon your notification.

You could appoint the officers, and, as soon as the President of the United States shall arrive, which will be about the 23d instant, the commissions shall be forwarded upon the names of the officers being certified by you.

I am afraid of the instability of gentlemen volunteers, and therefore cannot give any encouragement to the idea. The organization of the corps of cavalry is with Major General St. Clair, who will take regulars or levies, or both, as he shall judge proper.

The equipments are excellent, and I hope the corps will be of that description. I have suggested Captain Snowden, who was of Lee's corps, as an officer of horse.

I consider that all the troops mentioned in the enclosed schedule will be at head quarters by the 15th of July at farthest, the greater part long before, as I presume that two thousand three hundred will have marched from their respective rendezvous on or before the 22d instant. But this includes Sevier's battalion.

There is no frontier battalion of Virginia. Sevier's battalion is of the territory of the United States south of the Ohio. There are six battalions of levies only, to wit: Sevier's, Virginia, Maryland; these compose the first regiment of levies; the second is composed of the two battalions from this State, and one from New Jersey.

You mention your taking some measures with the Six Nations. This must not interfere with the treaty which is to take place at the Painted Post, to be held there by Colonel Pickering on the 17th instant.

I am of your opinion, that the Indians must join one side or the other, and that the Senecas and others had better join ours than the enemy. Colonel Pickering is instructed upon this point.

You will, I am persuaded, join at head quarters at fort Washington, so soon as that you shall judge that the service does not longer require your presence at fort Pitt, or as soon as you receive the orders for that purpose from General St. Clair. In this case you will undoubtedly give the necessary orders to be observed relative to the collection and transportation of the troops.

But, as I have before mentioned to you, it is my desire to avoid the least interference with the orders of Major General St. Clair; his orders are therefore to be obeyed in all respects.

I am, &c.

Major General Richard Butler.

War Department, 16*th June*, 1791.

Sir:

I have received your letter of the 9th instant. It may be expected that your arrangements will give protection to the upper parts of the Ohio. I am persuaded you constantly inform General St. Clair of your arrangements.

The circumstance of the want of beef is a strange and unlooked for event, as the contractor has given me assurances of a full supply of provisions. Lest his agents should omit to give him full information upon the subject, I have written him, and enclosed a copy of your letter, and urged him to take the necessary measures for a full supply.

The quartermaster is furnished with a sum of money for exigencies. The troops must not suffer for want of provisions while he has money or credit.

The contractor entered into engagements with the Secretary of the Treasury for to supply the troops with rations of provisions, for which he is responsible. He says his arrangements are adequate to the end. I am not informed of the details, but should suppose that General Neville could inform you of the arrangements for the supplies.

I generally knew that it was not intended that the troops should remain a long time in the upper parts of the Ohio, and that the main part of the supplies were supposed to be required at or near fort Washington.

But the arrangement of keeping the troops a short time on the upper parts of the Ohio, must occasion some change in the contractor's arrangements.

I shall apply to the postmaster to order that the post rider may stay longer at fort Pitt.

It is not probable that your letter to the Five Nations will be received at Niagara, unless you have entrusted it to a special messenger. Colonel Pickering's treaty is to be held the 17th, at the Painted Post. I hope your arrangements will not interfere with him.

Neither of the remaining companies of the Jersey and eastern battalions of this State are completed, nor will they be, in less than the latter end of the month.

I am assured that all the tents and clothing for Clarke's battalion, and canteens, have gone forward some time ago; the painted knapsacks will be sent forward to-morrow.

As Captains Hannah and Darke's companies marched the 4th instant from Winchester, they must have arrived by this time at fort Pitt.

Only a few now remain to complete the Virginia battalion, the deficiency being occasioned by desertions.

The first division of the Maryland battalion, consisting of one hundred and eighty-eight, marched about the 12th instant.

Captain Doyle has marched for Lancaster, and Captain Beatty will march from Brunswick to-morrow or next day. These two will make about one hundred and fifty.

Two companies of regulars are about embarking from the Eastern States, and will, I hope, be at Brunswick about the 20th, to commence their march forward.

Hospital stores, and other articles necessary for the campaign, are about being sent forward to fort Pitt. I enclose you a copy of my last letter. I am, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 23*d June*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 16th instant, and I am very sorry to learn that you were unwell, but which I sincerely hope will be of short continuance.

I have communicated to Mr. Duer, the contractor, the embarrassments relative to beef. From the liberal supplies of the treasury, I flatter myself he will instantly take effectual measures to prevent a repetition of any cause of complaint on this head.

It affords me great satisfaction to learn from you that every other part of the preparations are going on well.

I have communicated to Major General St. Clair, the power entrusted to you of raising another company of levies, or another battalion, if necessary. All the troops who are to be depended upon for the campaign, are, or soon will be, in motion forward. The recruiting service in New England has lately taken a spring, which may, perhaps, afford us another company, or perhaps one hundred more than as mentioned in my last. But it is my judgment, that, if we could raise another battalion of levies *to supply deficiencies*, it had better be done. If it could not be done within your *sphere*, it might be done lower down, under the immediate direction of Major General St. Clair.

I shall immediately forward about two hundred additional suits of clothing for the levies, to fort Pitt, for the above purpose of additional companies. You will judge what part of these to retain, or what to forward.

I shall also direct two thousand pairs of large shoes to be forwarded as soon as possible, which, however, must be deducted from the pay of the levies. If they should not arrive in time for the campaign, I judge there are a sufficiency on hand at fort Washington.

The colors for the levies will be forwarded next week.

The Quartermaster will inform you of the additional supplies forwarded, among which are the boots and spurs for the cavalry.

Colonel Pickering, who is at this time holding a treaty with the Six Nations at the Painted Post, has directions to aim at the same thing that you are attempting, to wit: to obtain a body of their warriors to join the army. If he shall be successful, I have directed that the route of the Indians be from the Cornplanter's town to fort Franklin, and that Lieutenant Jeffers would there join them, and proceed as you shall direct. A party of sixty Indians has been contemplated; but I have mentioned to Colonel Pickering, that, if more should offer, would not be material. But, unless they could be at fort Franklin by the 20th of July at farthest, the arrangement would be useless.

I pray you to attend to this point particularly, and to give such orders relative thereto, as to preclude a *possibility* of the Indians, in case they join us, being injured by our own citizens: for, if such an event should happen, the Six Nations must and will be our enemies.

I am satisfied that Mr. Hodgdon will answer the public expectation as quartermaster, and that, by his actual supplies, credit, and resources, there will not be a deficiency of any sort or kind.

Before you receive this letter, it is probable that you will have received ultimate orders from Major General St. Clair, relative to forwarding the troops. *His orders you will obey.* But in case you should not receive them, it will be proper that you should forward the troops down to fort Washington. The collection of them at that point, will awe the Wabash Indians, and prevent their striking the upper parts of the Ohio; and they will probably have the same effect on the Wyandots and Delawares, if they should continue refractory.

Before the troops depart, it will be highly proper that an arrangement should be made for the defensive protection of the exposed counties; you, being on the spot, will be the judge of the proportions each county ought to be permitted to have, at the expense of the United States. But the number ought to be limited to the state of things; and all those called out under the authority of the United States, must be regulated according to my letter of the 10th of March last, written by order of the President of the United States.

This matter of the defensive protection, therefore, is hereby confided to you, and you are requested to make the arrangements accordingly. For the detachments which shall be so called out, and belonging to counties not before supplied with ammunition, it would be proper to issue a reasonable quantity of powder and ball.

The contractor who carries the mail to Pittsburg agrees that the mail shall arrive there at ten o'clock in the morning, and stay until three in the afternoon, and that, upon your special request, he shall stay until five o'clock. I enclose you a copy of my last letter, dated 16th instant. I am, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 30*th June*, 1791.

SIR:

I enclose you a duplicate of my letter dated the 23d instant, and transmitted by the last post, and I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of the 23d instant.

I am satisfied at your opinion, that an additional battalion can be raised upon the frontiers. I have directed Mr. Howell, by this post, to forward Mr. Hodgdon a month's pay for the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates, and the bounties for the non-commissioned and privates of a complete battalion. This money will be paid to your order.

The two hundred powder horns, and two hundred bullet or shot pouches, which you request, shall be forwarded immediately. The four bugle horns are gone forward.

As the clothing for nearly two hundred levies is in store, it shall be completed to that number; and as it may be uncertain whether you obtain a full battalion, I shall forward no more clothing. But if you should be fortunate in raising a full battalion, you will be able to get them clothed at fort Washington, out of the clothing of the regulars, of which there are at that place several hundred spare suits.

I mention this as a resource; but, perhaps, if you succeed, it may, upon further consideration, be proper to procure here an additional quantity, which may be done in a few days.

Two thousand pair of large shoes are in hand, and will be forwarded as soon as finished.

You mention the levies have only one pair of overalls; this was indeed the original arrangement; but afterwards, an additional pair was furnished, of sheeting, to be deducted from the pay of the men. Please to inquire of Mr. Hodgdon upon this subject.

Apprehending that the levies might require some more pay, I had directed a sum, equal to a month's pay, to be forwarded by Captain Beatty to Mr. Hodgdon, to be by him issued, as Major General St. Clair may direct. This money will, therefore, be delivered at head quarters. I should apprehend some embarrassment if it should be delivered before; but if it should, in your judgment, be indispensable to advance some small sum on account, and you can arrange it with Mr. Hodgdon, so as to avoid confusion, I shall have no objection.

Arms and accoutrements for the additional battalion, are at fort Pitt. I leave the one hundred riflemen to your judgment. The arrangement you make of paying for the rifles in case of being lost, and also of their being repaired, is right; but each person ought to have something for the use of it.

I shall have no objection to your taking some shoes from the parcel you mention, belonging to Mr. Duer, if they are good, and at a reasonable price; but they must be deducted from the pay of the levies.

Brigadier General Sevier writes me on the 5th instant, that three companies of the Southern battalion were raised, and about to march. These were all riflemen.

The arrangement of your force appears highly judicious for the object; and I am persuaded, you will not suffer a moment to elapse, longer than necessary, before you make the troops descend the Ohio; but the time has arrived, which renders the collection of the force, at head quarters, necessary.

The regulars and levies are designed for active and offensive operations, and are, therefore, excepting a few guards at the posts, all to descend the Ohio to fort Washington. If the frontiers, on the upper parts of the Ohio, require defensive protection, the militia of the respective counties must perform that service. On this point, I wrote you fully on the 23d instant, the duplicate being herein enclosed, and constituted you the judge of the number to be permitted at the expense of the Union. I am persuaded the public will find sufficient security in your character, and in your intelligence, that this power will be exercised with entire discretion and judgment.

For the militia, who shall be so called out for guards, it will be proper that the county lieutenants make arrangements to furnish the rations, agreeably to my letter of the 10th of March last.

I have informed Mr. Duer, regularly, of the complaints relating to the beef. He is expected here daily, when, it is to be presumed, he will make more perfect arrangements.

About one hundred and seventy-five regulars, from New England, have probably arrived at Brunswick, and about commencing their march. I have no information from Major Butler by this post, relative to the deficiency of the Carlisle battalion of this State. There is, also, a deficiency of the Jersey battalion, of about fifty, which are recruiting slowly. I have not heard of the last part of the Maryland battalion being forwarded.

Brigadier General Scott, with a body of about eight hundred mounted volunteers, crossed the Ohio, on the 23d of last month, and was expected to strike the Ouiatanon towns, on or about the 30th of May; we may, therefore, expect to hear from him hourly.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General Richard Butler.

War Department, *July* 7, 1791.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of the 30th ultimo, and enclose a duplicate of mine of the same date.

I am happy to learn the state of the Ohio, as I am persuaded it will be improved to the utmost.

I enclose you a schedule of the troops, which you will keep to yourself. Captain Phelon, with nearly two hundred regulars, will march from Trenton this day. The deficiencies of the levies, and the one hundred regulars, will all, I hope, move forward in a few days. This schedule does not include the additionals which you are authorized to raise; but pray make it certain that you can raise the additional levies, before you incur any expense. If they cannot be raised, and Major General St. Clair should think proper, he will raise a corps of volunteers, from Kentucky, to join, or act collaterally with the main expedition; therefore, pray inform him of the certainty of the prospects, relative to the *additional levies*, as his measures will depend upon your information.

I have regularly stated to Mr. Duer, the deficiencies, and urged him to take the proper measures to remedy the defects. A Mr. Mitchell passed through here a day or two ago, and informed me, that he was charged with money, to a large amount, for the contractor's agents; and I have learned, that a Mr. Wilkie is charged with the transportation of the provisions, and that he is furnished by the contractor with the means of purchasing or hiring the pack-horses, for that purpose.

I have forwarded a copy of the contract for provisions to Mr. Hodgdon, agreeably to his request, by which it will appear, that the contractor is to furnish, at the places therein mentioned, the rations specified. If he executes it well, it will be for his interest; if he does not, he must sustain the consequences. But the public service must neither be delayed or injured, for want of provisions, and I have written to the quartermaster to this effect; but any interposition on his part, or of any of the generals, must be only in cases of extremity.

I am highly satisfied, that Mr. Hodgdon meets your approbation; I am persuaded, from long experience of him, that he will amply fulfil the expectations formed of him.

The colors are not sufficiently dry to send yet, but they will be forwarded very soon. The clothing, and all the other supplies, are forwarded.

I have received a letter from Major General St. Clair, dated the 26th May. But I have not yet heard of the issue of General Scott's expedition.

It has now become important that the troops should immediately descend the Ohio. I depend upon your executing the transportation of them as fast as possible; and that you make the arrangements for calling out the guards for the counties, as mentioned in my former letters.

In order that every part of the arrangements may harmonize, and to avoid repetitions, I transmit to Major General St. Clair copies of my letters to you.

Major Patterson is about setting out for fort Pitt. Major Butler I have ordered to go on as soon as possible.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General Richard Butler.

War Department, *July* 12, 1791.

Sir:

Yesterday morning, at eight o'clock, I received your favor of the 2d instant, by the express, James McClellan.

The information of Thomas Rhea, whose affidavit you transmitted, was, indeed, of the importance to justify a special express. It has been submitted to the President of the United States, who will take it into his most serious consideration. To quarrel, and come to an open rupture with the crown of Britain, would, in the present situation of this country, be a very serious affair, and to be avoided, if possible, consistently with national honor and dignity. There is a time for all things; and it may happen, hereafter, that the conduct of the British, in the present case, will amount to a heavy charge, which must be paid with interest. Indeed, it is hardly to be doubted, if the facts alleged by Rhea be true, but this instance of aid to the Indians, will be followed by others, which must also be minuted down: for it cannot be supposed that the aid has been dictated by the spontaneous impulse of the commanding officer.

It will be proper, that you obtain attestations of Rhea's credibility, from respectable and known characters.

It must be our duty to mind our business, and accomplish the objects of the campaign; which, if as successful as all things promise, will give a new aspect to the security of the frontiers.

Captain Phelon, with about two hundred men, mostly regulars, is at Reading, and will move on steadily to join you.

Continue to forward the troops with all possible despatch, to head-quarters. I presume you have communicated Rhea's information to Major General St. Clair, to whom, I pray you, send also a copy of this letter.

I shall write you more particularly by the post, on the 14th instant. In the meantime,

I am, sir, with great respect, yours, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *July* 14, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your two letters of the 7th instant. I am happy to learn, that all arrangements are in the promising train you state.

You will report, particularly, the arrangements you make with the county lieutenants, during the absence of the army.

The defects relative to beef, I am assured, have been remedied.

I hope the reports relative to General Scott's success may be true to the utmost extent; but I am ignorant of what they are, not having received any information upon the subject.

Captain Phelon did not march on the day I expected; he will probably halt to day at Reading, and move on to-morrow. He will take under his orders, at Carlisle, all the levies who may be there. Any deficiencies in Major Butler's battalion must be attempted to be completed by Captain Smith, who may continue recruiting until the 25th, when he must march.

I write by this post to Major Butler to repair immediately to fort Pitt.

Major Patterson having left this city some days ago, will be at fort Pitt before this letter.

About one hundred recruits of the regulars from the eastward, are directed to move on. But they cannot arrive at fort Washington much before the first of September, therefore I do not estimate them for the expedition. The deficiency must be made up by the general, from the district of Kentucky, of such species of troops as he shall judge proper.

All the Jersey levies who shall be recruited by the 25th, shall, at that time, move forward; perhaps they may amount to twenty-five or thirty.

Doctor Slough having resigned, you will appoint a successor, and inform me thereof. I really believe Dr. Brown, one of the mates, would well answer the purpose.

I presume the Maryland and Virginia battalions have mates.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *July* 21, 1791.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, and to enclose a duplicate of mine of the same day.

I have also received a letter from Major General St. Clair, of the 13th of June, at which time no troops had arrived. But, on the 14th and 15th, Major Ferguson, with Kirkwood's and Armstrong's companies, and also Montfort's, from North Carolina, arrived.

It affords me great satisfaction to learn of the detachment's descending the river, under Major Gaither, on the 13th instant.

I most earnestly request that all the troops be instantly collected and embarked for head quarters, with all possible despatch.

Captain Beatty will have reached you by this time. Captain Phelon, with about two hundred and fifty regulars and levies, will leave Carlisle to-morrow.

Captain Newman, with about sixty regulars and levies, will leave this city on or about the 25th, and about one hundred more will arrive at Brunswick in a few days. But I do not estimate that these will arrive in time for the expedition.

Major Heart will set out from this city to-morrow. The shoes and colors will also leave this to-morrow.

I have urged Mr. Duer, the contractor, to take all necessary measures relative to provisions, which I have been assured has been done. Major General St. Clair, in his letter of the 13th, writes thus:

The contractors have got forward about a thousand barrels of flour, and Elliott and Williams have likewise about a thousand at this place, which, should it be wanted, I consider as so much in the hands of the public, and the contractor's agent is gone to Kentucky to purchase beef, in which he will meet with no difficulty. How they propose to transport the flour, by and by, I know not, nor have they any person here who can inform me.

Major Heart has informed me that John Rhea's character is truly infamous, and no dependence to be placed thereon. Were one to form a judgment of the conduct of the British, by what appears to be their true interest, they cannot urge the Indians to a war with the United States, and their agent here is pretty strenuous in asserting the contrary of Rhea's information.

De Bartzchi's information, as transmitted by Captain Slough, appears probable; there cannot be any doubt, from Colonel Procter's information, but that Brandt went to the Miami towns, and probably for the object of peace; and it is not improbable but Sir John Johnson's proposed treaty is to the same effect.

Colonel Pickering informs me, that, as it would be impossible for the Indians to be at fort Franklin by the 20th instant, he shall not attempt to influence any of them to join our army, and that he has understood that any such attempt would be ill received.

The great object of Colonel Pickering's treaty was, to keep the Six Nations quiet, and to prevent their joining the opposite side, by drawing them a different way.

It was, indeed, added, that it might be an additional cement to obtain a party of sixty or seventy of their young warriors, who could with difficulty be restrained from joining one side or the other.

We have yet no official news from Scott; the reports from Kentucky are, that he has succeeded, which I sincerely hope may be the case.

I am persuaded you will descend the Ohio at the earliest moment the service will require. *Indeed, it will be proper that both you and the quartermaster should be at head-quarters as soon as possible.* Colonel Gibson or Colonel Darke may be left to superintend the remaining embarkation. But every sort of stores for the campaign, which shall be arrived at fort Pitt, must precede or accompany Captain Phelon.

The President of the United States, to whom I have submitted your letter of the 14th instant, is exceedingly anxious that Major General St. Clair should commence his operations at as early a period as possible; and he has commanded me to urge that you, and all the troops within your orders, descend the Ohio immediately.

I have heard nothing from Brigadier General Sevier since the 5th of June, when he informed me of three companies being raised, and soon to march.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *July* 21*st*, 1791.

SIR:

The bearer, Doctor Grasson, is one of the emigrants from France, and is recommended to me as a gentleman of science and professional knowledge.

I request that you would be pleased to cause him to be examined by professional characters, and if the report should be favorable, that you would appoint him a surgeon's mate to any of the vacant battalions; and if there should not be any vacancy, that you would permit him to repair to head-quarters.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August* 4, 1791.

SIR:

This morning I have been honored with the receipt of yours of the 28th ultimo. It affords great satisfaction to learn that all the troops and stores are in readiness, and will descend the Ohio immediately.

The President of the United States is extremely anxious that the troops should be immediately assembled at fort Washington. I am persuaded, from your former letter, that they have all descended the Ohio; and, therefore, I shall be very brief in this letter.

I calculate that Captain Phelon will be at fort Pitt about the 6th or 8th.

Captain Newman marched, with about eighty-three non-commissioned and privates, from this city, on the 30th ultimo; and Captain Buell will probably march from New Brunswick on the 8th or 10th instant. But neither of these are estimated for the campaign. The recruiting service for the regulars will still be continued, and the recruits forwarded by companies.

I enclose you the certified list you request. As a board of officers will adjust the rank of all the officers, I conceive it would be improper to give any opinion relative to the rank of Colonels Darke and Gibson.

I hope you have taken effectual measures to suppress the officious interference of De Bartzchi, the Frenchman, or any other person, with the Indians; such conduct is pernicious, and no good can result therefrom.

Colonel Pickering's treaty is finished satisfactorily. I have not received the particulars, but I expect him in town daily.

Colonel Pickering did not propose that any of the warriors should accompany our army; he found that such proposition would not be acceptable.

It is probable Sir John Johnson has called the Indians to a treaty at Buffalo creek. The object we shall endeavor to learn.

It is well Brandt has returned; and if it be true, he has brought some Western Indians with him, it is most probable we shall soon hear from them.

With great respect, sir, &c.

Major General BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August* 11*th*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 4th instant. It is considered by the President of the United States as an unhappy omen, that all the troops for the campaign had not descended the Ohio at the time you wrote.

No retardment of the essential objects of the campaign should be permitted under the idea of defensive protection of the frontiers, against a few straggling Indians. The counties are sufficiently strong for that purpose.

If you should, therefore, be still at fort Pitt, it is the decided orders of the President of the United States that you repair to head-quarters with all possible despatch, together with all the troops, officers, and stores, destined for the campaign.

It has been constantly intimated that Captain Phelon was the rear of the troops for the campaign; and that no dependence would be placed on those who should arrive after him.

Captain Newman will be at fort Pitt in less than fifteen days from the present time, and Captain Buell in not less than one month, as he only marched from Brunswick this day. Colonel Gibson, therefore, cannot have any object at fort Pitt, and he must instantly repair to head-quarters.

If there should be any deficiencies, the commanding general has the authority for supplying them.

Any levies raised by Captain Falkner, or any other person, after the present moment, will not be of any service, and are, therefore, to be suspended. I send a commission for Doctor Brown.

Three blank commissions shall be prepared and forwarded by the next post.

The same sort of defensive protection is to be provided for Marietta and Gallipolis, in proportion to their numbers, as the other exposed places.

I am, sir, &c.

Major General BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August* 18*th*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 11th instant, and which has been submitted to the President of the United States. I enclose a duplicate of mine to you of the same date.

You will receive, herewith, the commissions for Major Clarke's battalion, according to the list you sent, of which the enclosed is a copy; and, also, the blank commissions for the additional company which, it is presumed, has gone down the Ohio with you.

As you will probably receive this at head quarters, I shall not have any thing to add to my former communications.

The information you transmitted in your last, of the harmony among the troops, is highly pleasing, and, it is to be hoped, will pervade all the army. I most sincerely hope that the campaign will be conducted with the highest vigor and success, so as to cover all concerned, from the General, down to the private, with glory and satisfaction.

I have the honor to be, sir, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August* 25, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 18th instant, which has been submitted to the President of the United States, and I am commanded to inform you that he is by no means satisfied with the long detention of the troops on the upper parts of the Ohio, which he considers as unnecessary and improper.

And, that it is his opinion, unless the highest exertions be made by all parts of the army, to repair the loss of the season, that the expenses which have been made for the campaign, will be altogether lost, and that the measures, from which so much has been expected, will issue in disgrace.

I have the honor, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September* 1*st*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your favor of the 25th ultimo, and I now enclose you a duplicate of mine of the same date. As Captain Newman marched from Bedford, on the 20th of August, it is a little surprising that he had not arrived at fort Pitt, the time your letter was written; but it is presumed he would arrive before your departure from that place.

The several objects of your letter will be attended to, and the name of your nephew will be placed on the list, and submitted to the President of the United States, with the other candidates.

It is devoutly to be hoped, that you will have a speedy passage down the Ohio, so that the remaining part of the season may be embraced for effective operations.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Major General BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September* 9*th*, 1791.

SIR:

In the absence of the Secretary of War, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th of August; and I now transmit you a duplicate of his letter of the 1st instant.

I have the honor, &c.

JNO. STAGG, Jun. *Chief Clerk*.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September* 22*d*, 1791.

SIR:

I acknowledge to have received your letter of the 5th of September, but, as this letter will not reach you for some time, I shall not add any thing more.

I am, &c.

Major General BUTLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *October* 13*th*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your favor of the 18th ultimo. I am happy that you all have arrived safely, and I pray God that the operations of the army may be adequate to the object proposed, which is, the establishment of a peace upon the terms of moderation and justice.

The President of the United States has been exceedingly apprehensive, that the detention of the troops on the upper parts of the Ohio, might frustrate the campaign. It is hoped, however, that the army will have sufficient time to make the necessary establishments.

I am, sir, with great respect, &c.

Major General RICHARD BUTLER.

Instructions to Samuel Hodgdon, Quartermaster to the troops of the United States.

SIR:

You, having forwarded the most material articles in the quartermaster and ordnance departments, are immediately to repair to fort Pitt, in order to prosecute all further preparations in the quartermaster's line.

The first great objects which must engross your attention, are, the completion of the hundred horses for the cavalry, with an overplus of ten, making, in all, one hundred and ten cavalry horses; the boats, for the transportation of the troops, and ordnance, and military stores, down the Ohio; the pack-horses for the campaign. From all the information I have received, Kentucky will be the most proper place in which to purchase these horses. The number which I have estimated as necessary for the transportation of the baggage of the army, the artillery, and the hospital stores, may amount to about three hundred. But this number is independent of the transportation of provisions, which will be provided for by the contractor. But, if, in the opinion of the General, it should be too small, the number ought to be increased accordingly to his directions.

For all the other objects of the quartermaster, or other staff departments, the duties of which are assigned to you by the commanding officer of the troops on the Ohio, you will receive his directions.

It will, therefore, be necessary that you should descend the Ohio from fort Pitt, as soon as effective arrangements shall be made for the transportation of the troops and stores from that place.

You will keep all your accounts in a fair and clear manner, so that they may be settled after the campaign, in a manner entirely satisfactory to the public, and honorable to your own character. You will, therefore, constantly bear in your mind, that the greatest economy must be observed in all expenditures.

The important station in which you are placed, of Quartermaster to an army destined to great activity in a wilderness, will call for the exercise of your highest exertions, and all your talents for resource. The moving the army in due season, and its ultimate success, will depend materially upon your arrangements; and your reputation for ever stands pledged for the perfect performance of your duty.

The money which is placed in your hands, being the sum of twenty thousand dollars, will be sufficient, it is presumed, for the purposes of the campaign; if, however, it should be otherwise, you will be enabled to draw for such further sums as the general commanding the troops shall certify, taking care, always, to specify the objects for which all sums, so drawn for, shall be required.

Your bills on the paymaster to be drawn at ten days sight.

Given at the War Office of the United States, this thirty-first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War*.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 9*th June*, 1791.

SIR:

I received yours from Carlisle, dated the sixth instant. I pray you to revise all the preparations for the campaign, before you descend the Ohio. If there should be any deficiencies, inform me thereof, and the articles wanting shall be forwarded.

I shall order a sufficient number of knapsacks, for all the troops marched forward, to be painted and strapped. General Butler complains much upon this article.

I shall also send forward, port wine, sugar, tea and coffee, as hospital stores.

Hasten the collection of the cavalry horses, and send them to head quarters, with cavalry equipments, under a safe escort.

Consult Major General Butler upon the objects of the preparations, and as soon as possible repair to head quarters.

I am, sir, &c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster*.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 23*d June*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received yours of the sixteenth from Pittsburg. Acquainted, as you are, with the objects of the campaign, and furnished as you are with the means, I possess the highest confidence that no part of the necessary preparations will languish.

Every thing which you have written for, and which may not have been anticipated, shall be forwarded.

I enclose a list of articles, which have lately been transported, as given by your assistant. We have had made one hundred common and twenty horsemen's tents additional; and also the boots for the cavalry.

I shall send to you Captain Houdin, for employment. He is a very honest man; was a Captain in the service during the late war, and has suffered greatly. You will avail the public of his services in the ordnance, or quarter master's departments, at a moderate rate of pay. Let me know when you descend the Ohio.

I am, sir, &c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 30*th June*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letters by the post of this day, dated the seventeenth, nineteenth, and twenty third of June, for which I thank you.

You will find that the post is arranged as you desired.

All the Indian goods are to be forwarded to head quarters.

The contractor is to transport the provisions upon the expedition.

I have not calculated that you will have to furnish more than three hundred pack and artillery horses at the extent. If you do purchase more, they must be for the transportation of provisions in case of the failure of the contractors. But for this you must have the special warrant of the commander-in-chief.

The paymaster has forwarded to you a large sum of money, for the pay of the troops, to be paid to the warrants of the commanding General. General Butler requests that the levies may have some money advanced them on account. I am apprehensive of confusion in this business, unless it be issued at head quarters; but I have informed him, that, if he conceives it indispensable to advance a small sum on account, and can arrange it with you, so as to avoid confusion, I cannot have any objection.

The paymaster has also by this post forwarded two thousand two hundred and twenty-four dollars and sixty cents, being intended for the bounty of three dollars and the advanced pay of an additional battalion of levies. This money you will pay to the officers who may be appointed, to the order of Major-General Butler.

As soon as Mr. Swan shall return from Maryland, I shall direct him to repair to head quarters, as an auditor to the army accounts, and to settle the advances which have been made. He will report to the commanding officer of the troops, and you will act as paymaster, paying only on the warrants of the commanding General. This arrangement will save you trouble and avoid confusion.

I am, sir, &c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 7*th July*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the twenty-eighth of June, which is highly satisfactory. I enclose you a copy of my last, of the thirtieth, and also, agreeably to your request, a copy of the contract for provisions.

I am decisively of opinion, that the purchase of the pack-horses is greatly preferable to the hiring of them, having no doubt on this point, from having weighed the subject. I request you, with the approbation of the commander-in-chief and Major-General Butler, while you are at fort Pitt, to proceed accordingly.

The contractor is to deliver the provisions for the time which the army shall operate; of course, he must be at the expense and trouble of the transportation.

I hope, for the public interests, as well as his own, that there will be no deficiencies of his agents, from any cause whatever. But in case there should be, I rely upon it that you will administer the proper remedies. But there must not be any interposition on your part, unless in cases of extremity; you will then interfere upon the orders of the commander-in-chief; and the advances you make must be settled at the treasury, with the contractor, according to the contract.

I learn that a Mr. Wilkie is to furnish the pack-horses for the contractor, and that he is provided with the means for that purpose.

The price of rations of forage is fixed by law; on the expedition it will be furnished by the public, or not at all; in the first case, the public will pay for the forage, and in the other, the officers will be paid by the paymaster.

I am highly pleased that Major General Butler entirely approves your conduct. I am persuaded it will be the same with the commander-in-chief and the public.

I am, sir, &c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 14*th July*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the seventh instant. The information which you transmit is peculiarly satisfactory. I am confident all things will be well arranged in your department.

The clothing has gone forward, and I believe every other thing; the additional shoes and colors excepted, which will be in motion in a few days.

Mr. Swan has not yet returned from Maryland, but I expect him daily; upon his arrival, if the employment is agreeable to him, he soon will join you. Captain Houdin will set out to-day.

I hope all good reports respecting General Scott may prove true, but I am ignorant of what they are.

As you soon will descend the Ohio, if the pack-horses should be deficient, the General will direct you to furnish the number which shall be necessary.

I am, sir, &c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, 21*st July*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received yours of the fourteenth instant. The advances you have made to the contractor's agent must be repaid to you again; all payments are made for provisions at the Treasury. One Mr. Mitchell passed through here, time enough to have been at fort Pitt, when you wrote your last, with money for the contractor's agent.

The point is simply this: the contractor has entered into engagements with the Secretary of the Treasury, to furnish provisions to the troops on the frontiers. If he executes it well, he will be paid the sum stipulated; if he does not, he will be subjected to the consequences of the penalty.

But the public service must not be delayed or injured by the contractors' deficiencies. But any interference must be by the express orders of the General, to whose charge the public interests are committed.

I shall hope next post to learn, that all the troops arrived at fort Pitt, have descended to fort Washington.

I have written to Major General Butler that it will be necessary for him, and you also, to repair to head quarters, as soon as the public interest will admit.

You will make arrangements, before you leave fort Pitt, for the transportation of Captain Phelon's detachment, which may consist of about two hundred and fifty. He will leave Carlisle to-morrow. In addition to his detachment, there may be transportation to be provided for about three hundred more troops; Major Craig will, I presume, be empowered by you on the subject.

I am, sir, &c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *4th August*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the twenty-eighth ultimo, by the post, and also yours of the ninth ultimo, which has been lately received. The bills for twelve hundred dollars, which you have drawn, shall be duly paid.

It is an unfortunate circumstance, to be sure, that any additional stores should be required at this time. The shells cannot be obtained in season for the campaign, but every thing possible shall be attempted. The dependence upon Turnbull & Marmie's furnace has turned out ill.

I shall be unhappy if you receive this letter at Pittsburg. The President of the United States, the commanding general, and the public service, all unite in requiring that all the troops and stores shall have descended the Ohio.

Captain Phelon, I expect, will arrive about the eighth or tenth at fort Pitt.

I am, sir, &c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 11th*, 1791.

SIR:

I enclose you a duplicate of my letter to you of the fourth instant. I have nothing material to write. It will afford me the greatest pleasure to hear of your safe arrival at head quarters, and that the stores have descended the Ohio, to fort Washington, without any accident.

I need not repeat to you, that much is expected from your exertions and activity, and that the greatest reliance is placed upon the good dispositions to be made in your department.

I am, sir, &c

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 18th*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your two favors of the 6th and 11th instant. I have nothing material to add to my former communications, excepting that all the stores have been ordered on which have been written for, agreeably to the within schedule.(*a.*) But it is extremely doubtful whether any 5⅛ inch shells can be obtained, on this side West Point, from which place I expect some hourly, and they shall be forwarded instantly, but they cannot be in readiness for the campaign.

I am, &c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

(*a.*) *Return of stores, forwarded to Pittsburg, from August 4th to 9th*, 1791.

lbs. Powder.	lbs. Musket Balls.	lbs. Sheet Lead.	lbs. Sheet Iron.	lbs. Nail Rods.	Cannon Balls, 3 pr.	Reams M.C. paper.	Yards Bunting.	lbs. Thread.	Flints.	Canteens.	Felling Axes.
4,000	4,700	402	560	560	600	45	503	1	20,000	100	33

WILLIAM KNOX, *for*
SAMUEL HODGDON, *Q. M.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 25th*, 1791.

SIR:

I have received your letter of ———. The troops were detained on the upper parts of the Ohio too long; they arrived in readiness to descend, and would require nothing but boats and provisions.

If boats have been wanting, it will be unfortunate for you, as well as the public. I have ventured to assert, that nothing has been delayed in your department, and I hope it will prove so, but you ought personally to have been at head quarters long ago, and of which, the commander-in-chief complains.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 1st*, 1791.

SIR:

Your letter of the 25th has been received. Your bill, in favor of Major Craig, shall be paid; but, for all bills, estimates ought to be forwarded, in order that a judgment should be formed of the expenses, which seem to exceed the previous estimates. I hope in God that the troops may not have been detained at fort Pitt, for want of boats or any other thing in your department.

I am, &c.

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *September 9th*, 1791.

SIR:

In the absence of the Secretary of War, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo.

I am, &c.

JNO. STAGG, *Chief Clerk.*

SAMUEL HODGDON, *Quartermaster.*

War Department, *September 22d*, 1791.

Sir:

Your letter of the 5th instant has been received.

I am, sir, &c.

Samuel Hodgdon, Esq. *Quartermaster.*

A view of the troops authorized by the acts of Congress, for the campaign of 1791.

Regulars.—By virtue of the act of the 30th April, 1790: One battalion of artillery		304	
First regiment of infantry		912	
Act of 3d March, 1791: Second additional regiment ditto		912	
			2,128
A corps of levies, for six months, consisting of			2,000
Establishment of regulars and levies, non-commissioned and privates			4,128
Actually in service, of regulars	1,634		
Levies	1,674		
			3,308
Deficient			820
Regulars and levies			4,128
Distribution of regulars and levies, on the Ohio, 27th September	(a) 2,699		
in Georgia	219		
recruited at the respective rendezvous, and on the march to the frontiers	373		
at West Point	17		
			3,308
(a.) Of the troops on the Ohio, amounting to 2,699, deduct for sick, garrisons, artificers, and non-effectives, 699, which leaves non-commissioned and privates for the expedition		2,000	
Add Kentucky militia, taken from the musters		418	
Total non-commissioned and privates		2,418	

War Department, *December 26th*, 1791.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

Narrative of Mr. Thomas Rhea, who arrived at Pittsburg, from captivity, the 30th of June 1791.

On the 5th day of May, 1791, I was taken prisoner at a place called Cussawaga, and plundered of seven horses, by a party of five Indians, partly Delawares, partly Munsees, among whom was one called Captain Peter, a Munsee, and one called Jacob Philips, who both talk English; *Philips is well known at Detroit* as a Delaware.

They also took, at the same time, Cornelius Van Horne, and two horses, part of the above seven, and killed and scalped William Gregg. They proceeded with us to Sandusky, by the way of the mouth of Cayahoga river, and the Moravian town, which is evacuated, and the people moved beyond the Detroit river, to a spot near one Captain Elliott's, of the Indian department, where they have planted corn. We arrived at Sandusky the 12th day, which made it the 16th of May. At this town was a Captain Coon, with from one hundred and fifty to two hundred Indians, beside some war parties, who had brought in negroes, horses, and other property, also a white prisoner, who was left at a village seven miles up the Sandusky. During my stay at Sandusky, which was seven days, I was chiefly employed in planting corn; the eighth day, which was the 24th of May, an Indian came in with the news-halloo, and information that a large body of troops were discovered, moving, he said, towards the Miami towns, in three columns; on which the Indians were much alarmed, and immediately destroyed the corn which had been planted, burned their houses, and moved to the great crossing of the Miami or Ottawa river, called Roche-de-boo, where we arrived the fourth day. This made it the 28th of May. During the eight days I was at Sandusky, several war parties came in with prisoners and scalps. At this place, *the Miami*, were Colonels Brandt and McKee, with his son Thomas; and Captains Bunbury and Silvie, of the British troops. These officers, &c. were all encamped on the south side of the Miami, or Ottawa river, at the rapids above lake Erie, about eighteen miles; they had clever houses, built chiefly by the Pattawatamies and other Indians; in these they had stores of goods, with arms, ammunition, and provision, which they issued to the Indians in great abundance, viz: corn, pork, peas, &c. The Indians came to this place in parties of one, two, three, four, and five hundred at a time, from different quarters, and received from Mr. McKee, and the Indian officers, clothing, arms, ammunition, provision, &c. and set out immediately for the Upper Miami towns, where they understood the forces of the United States were bending their course, and in order to supply the Indians from other quarters collected there. Pirogues, loaded with the above mentioned articles, were sent up the Miami river, wrought by French Canadians. About the last of May, Captain Silvie purchased me from the Indians, and I staid with him at this place till the 4th of June, (the king's birth day) when I was sent to Detroit. Previous to leaving the Miami river, I saw one Mr. Dick, who, with his wife, was taken prisoner near Pittsburg, in the spring—I believe by the Wyandots. Mr. McKee was about purchasing Mr. Dick from the Indians, but found it difficult. Mrs. Dick was separated from him, and left at a village at some distance from this place. I also saw a young boy, named Brittle, who was taken in the spring, from near a mill, (Captain O'Hara's) near Pittsburg; his hair was cut, and he was dressed and armed for war; *could not get speaking to him* About the 5th June, in the Detroit river, I met from sixty to one hundred canoes, in three parties, containing a large body of Indians, who appeared to be very wild and uncivilized; they were dressed chiefly in buffalo and other skin blankets, with otter skin and other fur breech cloths, armed with bows, and arrows, and spears; they had no guns, and seemed to set no store by them, or know little of their use, nor had they any inclination to receive them, though offered to them. They said they were three moons on their way. The other Indians called them *Mannitoos*. About this time there was a field day of the troops at Detroit, which I think is from five to six hundred in number; the next day a field day of the French militia took place, and one hundred and fifty of the Canadians, with some *others*, turned out volunteers to join the Indians, and were to set off the 8th for the Miami village, with their own horses, after being plentifully supplied with arms and ammunition, clothing, and provision, &c. to fit them for the march. While I was at the Miami, or Ottawa river, as they call it, I had mentioned to Colonel McKee, and the other officers, that I had seen Colonel Procter, on his way to Fort Franklin; that I understood he was on his way to the Miami, or Sandusky, with some of the Senecas, and that he expected the Cornplanter would accompany him, in order to settle matters with the hostile nations; and that he expected to get shipping at Fort Erie, to bring him and these people to the Miami, or Sandusky, &c. That the officers, in their conversation with each other, said, if they were at fort Erie, he should get no shipping there, &c. That the Mohawks and other Indians, that could speak English, declare that if he, (meaning Colonel Procter) or any other Yankee messenger, came there, they should never carry messages

back. This was frequently expressed by the Indians; and Simon Girty, and a certain Patt Hill, declared Procter should not return, if he had a hundred Senecas with him; and many other such threats were used, and every movement, appearance, and declaration, seemed hostile to the United States. And I understood that Colonel McKee, and the other officers, intended only to stay at the Miami till they had furnished the war parties of Indians with the necessaries mentioned above, to fit them for war, and then would return to Detroit. That Elliott had returned to Detroit, and Simon Girty, and that Girty declared he would go and join the Indians, and that Captain Elliott told him he was going the next day, with a boat load of goods, for the Indians, and that Girty might have a passage with him. That, on the 7th of June, the ship Dunmore sailed for fort Erie, in which I got a passage. We arrived there in four days. About the 12th June, I saw taken into this vessel, a number of cannon, eighteen-pounders, with other military stores, and better than two companies of artillery troops, destined, as I understood, for Detroit and the upper posts; some of the artillery-men had to remain behind, for want of room in the vessel. I have just recollected that, while I was at the Ottawa river, I saw a party of warriors come in with the arms, accoutrements, clothing, &c. of a sergeant, corporal, (and they said) twelve men, whom they had killed in some of the lower posts on the Ohio; that a man of the Indian department offered me a coat, which had a number of bullet and other holes in it, and was all bloody, which I refused to take, and Colonel McKee then ordered me clothes out of the Indian store.

ALLEGHANY COUNTY, } ss.
Pittsburg, July 2d, 1791. }

Personally appeared before me, one of the justices of the court of common pleas, in and for the aforesaid county, the subscriber, Thomas Rhea, and being sworn, according to law, deposeth, that the above narrative is a true state of facts, to the best of his knowledge and recollection.

THOMAS RHEA.
JAMES BRISON.

B.

Statement relative to the Frontiers Northwest of the Ohio.

In obedience to the commands of the President of the United States, the Secretary of War respectfully submits the following statement relatively to the frontiers northwest of the Ohio; and also a plan of such further measures as the existing state of affairs, and the national interest, seem to require. That, in order to obtain a general knowledge of this subject, it would be proper to review, in a summary manner, the conduct which the United States have observed to the neighboring Indian tribes, both during the late war, and since the peace with Great Britain. This inquiry seems necessary, to enable the mind to form a judgment how far a further prosecution of hostilities against the Indians would comport with that justice and dignity, which ought to be the pride and ornament of every free government.

That it will appear by the journals of Congress, in the earliest stages of the late war, how solicitous the United States were to live upon terms of peace and friendship with all the bordering Indian tribes.

That, although the public endeavors were then unsuccessful in preventing the depredations which desolated the frontiers, from Georgia to Canada, yet, as soon as circumstances would permit, those endeavors were revived, with great ardor and better effect.

That, in the year 1784, a treaty was formed with the hostile part of the Six Nations, at fort Stanwix.

That, in the commencement of the year 1785, a treaty was formed at fort McIntosh, with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, and Chippewas; that, during the same year, treaties were formed at Hopewell, on the Keowee, with the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, to the southward: and that, in the early part of the year 1786, a treaty was formed with the Shawanese, at the mouth of the Great Miami of the Ohio.

That it appears that certain malignant and turbulent characters excited uneasiness and complaints among some of the Northern and Western Indians, against the said treaties of fort Stanwix and fort McIntosh.

That it appears that Congress, in order to accommodate all differences satisfactorily to the said Northern and Western Indians, did, in 1788, direct that another treaty should be held, to which all the said Indians should be invited.

That a new treaty was accordingly held and concluded at fort Harmar, in January, 1789, with a representation of all the Six Nations, the Mohawks excepted, and with the representatives of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pattiwatima, and Sac nations, in which nearly the same boundaries, stipulated by the prior treaties, were recognised and confirmed. That it is, however, to be understood, that, although the Miami and Wabash Indians were invited to this treaty, they did not attend. That, notwithstanding the said Wabash and Miami Indians, with certain other banditti, formed of the remnants of the Shawnese, with some outcast Cherokees, still continued their depredations, they were warned, by directions of the President of the United States, to abstain from any further violence, and invited to repair to a place appointed by the Governor of the Western territory, in order to adjust all differences, in an amicable manner. At the same time, the people of Kentucky, who, in consequence of repeated depredations, were meditating a blow against the said Indians, were prohibited from crossing the Ohio.

That the invitations of the United States, which were delivered to all the tribes residing upon the river Wabash, and the Miami towns, were treated not only with neglect, but outrages were renewed with still greater violence than ever, and, in some of their towns, the most shocking cruelties were exercised upon their prisoners. In this state of things, it became necessary to make an experiment of the effect of coercion. Accordingly, the operation under Brigadier General Harmar was directed, but without having the desired success. A larger force was raised for the year 1791, and the command thereof given to Major General St. Clair, to be employed (all other means failing) to bring the said Indians to a just sense of their situation.

That pacific measures were attempted, and strong assurances given, through the Cornplanter, an influential chief of the Six Nations; by the intended mission of Colonel Procter; and the instructions to General St. Clair; that we wanted nothing from them but peace, and were disposed to do them strict justice. But, being unable to succeed in this object, and the event of this expedition having also proved unfortunate, it may be proper to inquire into its object, the cause of its failure, and the probable consequences thereof.

It will appear, by a reference to report A, which accompanies this report, that the great object of the late campaign was to establish a strong military post at the Miami village, lying upon the river of that name, which communicates with lake Erie; and that subordinate posts were also to be erected, as well on the Wabash as on the said river Miami.

That, by an examination of the position of the said Miami village, and its contiguity to, or connexion with, the waters of the river St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan, and the river Illinois, and thereby the Mississippi; the Wabash, and, thereby, with the Ohio; the Miami, and, thereby, lake Erie; its short distance from the Miami of the Ohio, which, at times, may afford considerable facility to transportation; it will appear that the said position, with its proper communications, is greatly superior to any other, in order to serve as a barrier to protect essentially a frontier of upwards of eleven hundred miles, stretching from the upper parts of the Alleghany to the lower parts of the Ohio.

That it was intended to garrison the said post at the Miami village and its communications with one thousand or twelve hundred troops, and have it always well stored with provisions, &c. That, from the said number, a detachment generally might be spared, of sufficient magnitude to chastise any of the neighboring villages or tribes, separately, who might have dared to commit depredations; or be a place to which mounted militia might suddenly repair, draw supplies, and act in conjunction, in case of a combination of the several towns or tribes in acts of hostility.

That, by having such a force, so circumstanced, and always in readiness to fall upon the refractory tribes, it was conceived that it would awe, and mostly, if not entirely, restrain, any further depredations.

That the principal causes of the failure of the expedition appear to have been as follows: 1st. The deficient number of good troops, according to the expectation, in the early part of the year. 2d. Their want of *sufficient discipline, according to the nature of the service.* 3d. *The lateness of the season.*

That these several causes are explained in the aforesaid collateral papers accompanying the report A.

That, in addition thereto, another cause may be added, which was not originally estimated, to wit: an increased number of Indians: for information has been received, by three separate channels, that the Indian warriors who opposed our army may be estimated at a number somewhere about three thousand.

The hostile Indians were before estimated at twelve hundred, and to them it was possible might be added the Wyandots, Delawares, and Pattiwatimies, in all amounting to about one thousand more. The excess of these two numbers probably came from the waters of lakes Superior, Michigan, and Huron, and are denominated Ottawas and Chippewas.

That, in contemplating the probable consequences of the late defeat, the situation of the Southern tribes deserves consideration. The number of warriors of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees, are about fifteen thousand. The hostile Indians can easily, and will, probably, repeat their invitations to the Southern tribes during the present winter. It is true, the United States have treaties with all the Southern tribes, and that all of them appear at present tranquil, except the Creeks.

This nation has lately had disturbances excited among them by an adventurer of the name of Bowles, who has acquired a sufficient influence to prevent the boundary being marked, agreeably to the treaty.

It is at present difficult to conjecture the turn which Bowles' interference at this crisis may give to the affairs of the Southern frontier.

But, although the United States have treaties with the Southern tribes, yet, it is to be remembered, that the flames of war have been but recently extinguished with the Creeks and Cherokees.

That the new peace is irksome, not only to the young warriors, whose education and habits make them pant ardently for war, but also to a number of malignant whites, who either reside among the Indians or upon our frontiers, and who are, from some sinister motives, ever desirous of confusion.

That the emissaries of the hostile Indians will be disseminated among all the Southern tribes. Councils will be held, and the passions of the young men will be inflamed with the tales of prowess and glory acquired by the hostile Indians. If these ideas be just, it may become extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to restrain the young warriors of the south from aiding directly or collaterally with the hostile Indians of the West.

To the danger of the Southern tribes joining the hostile Indians, may be added the danger from part of the Northern, or Six Nations. The danger from the latter, however, is far less than from the former; and, besides, is under circumstances more manageable.

These circumstances are mentioned in this place as evils which will probably spring out of the late disasters, and for which a remedy will be mentioned hereafter.

Hence, it will appear that an Indian war, of considerable extent, has been excited, not only contrary to the interests and intention of the General Government, but by means altogether without its control.

That it is the public interest to terminate this disagreeable war, as speedily as possible, cannot be doubted; and it will be important to devise and execute the best means to effect that end. That, upon due deliberation, it will appear that it is by an ample conviction of our superior force only, that the Indians can be brought to listen to the dictates of peace, which have been sincerely and repeatedly offered to them. The pride of victory is too strong at present for them to receive the offers of peace on reasonable terms. They would probably insist upon a relinquishment of territory, to which they have no just claim, and which has been confirmed by the several before recited treaties.

The United States could not make this relinquishment, under present circumstances, consistently with a proper regard to national character.

But, considering the dignity and superior intelligence, as well as power of the United States, compared with the said Indian tribes; weighing the probable opinion of the disinterested, but perhaps uninformed part of mankind upon this subject, who may be apt to consider the Indians as oppressed, it is submitted, that every reasonable expedient be again taken to induce the said hostile Indians to peace, that the nature of the case, and a just regard to the national reputation, will admit. But, at the same time, it is suggested, that it would be altogether improper to expect any favorable result from such expedients.

That the United States, having a frontier of immense extent, surrounded by barbarous Indians, are bound, by all the sacred obligations of sovereignty, to protect effectually their exposed citizens against the cruel inroads of such an enemy.

That defensive measures only, in the present case, appear utterly inadequate to such protection, but that it would require a strong coercive force.

That previously, however, to any conclusion upon the policy of raising such a force, it may be necessary to examine whether the prosecution of the war with the Indians is supported by the principles of justice.

It will appear clearly, by a recurrence to the severally before-recited treaties, and the documents relatively thereto, that neither the Miami, Wabash, or banditti Indians, composed of some Shawanese and outcast Cherokees, had, or have, any just claim to the land contained within the boundaries recapitulated and confirmed by the treaty of fort Harmar, in January, 1789. Nor does it appear, by any information possessed by the subscriber, that any such claim has been urged by the said Wabash, Miami, or banditti Indians.

That, instead of a claim of boundaries, it will appear that the source of the present hostilities originated in the war with Great Britain, and that the said hostilities have continued, in different degrees, from that to the present time, and that, in no instance, have we passed the boundaries ascertained by the aforesaid treaties; that ever since the peace with Great Britain, there has been an unceasing train of depredations upon the frontiers lying along the Ohio; that these have generally been committed by the Wabash and Miami Indians and the aforesaid banditti; that the plunder and trophies acquired (generally with impunity) by the said Indians, have gradually drawn the other neighboring tribes, who had formed treaties with us, into a participation of the sweets and guilt of their incursions.

Hence it would appear, that the principles of justice as well as policy, and, it may be added, the principles of economy, all combine to dictate, that an adequate military force should be raised as soon as possible, placed *upon* the frontiers, *and disciplined according to the nature of the service*, in order to meet, with a prospect of success, the greatest probable combination of the Indian enemy.

Although the precise manner in which the force to be raised should be employed, cannot be pointed out with propriety at this time, as it will depend on the circumstances of the moment, yet it may not be improper to observe, that, upon a review of the merits of the main object of the late campaign, to wit: the establishmsnt of a strong military post at the Miami village, with the necessary posts of communication, the necessity and propriety thereof remain the same; that this necessity will probably continue until we shall be possessed of the posts upon Lake Michigan, of Detroit, and Niagara, withheld from us by Great Britain, contrary to treaty. Without remarking upon the principles of this conduct, it may be observed generally, that every arrangement in the power of the United States, for establishing the tranquillity of the frontiers, will be inferior to the possession of said posts. That it is, however, considered, that, if the said posts were in our possession, we ought also to have a strong post at the Miami village, in order to render the protection effectual, and that the posts above-mentioned will require garrisons whensoever they shall be given up.

The subscriber having deliberately contemplated the present state of affairs upon the frontiers, from the south to the north, having recurred to the past in order to estimate the probable future events, finds himself constrained, by his public duty, although with great reluctance, to state, as the result of his judgment, that the public service requires an increase of the military force, according to the following arrangement:

THE PLAN.

That the military establishment of the United States shall, during the pleasure of Congress, consist of five thousand one hundred and sixty-eight non-commissioned, privates, and musicians.

That the said non-commissioned officers and privates shall be enlisted to serve three years, unless sooner discharged.

That the pay of the said non-commissioned and privates shall be as follows, clear of all deductions, to wit:

A sergeant-major and quartermaster sergeant to each battalion,	$6	per month.
A sergeant and chief musician, each,	5	do
Corporal,	4	do
Private,	3	do
Musician,	3	do

That the said troops be organized as follows:

One squadron of cavalry, of four troops, each of 76 non-commissioned and privates, - - - - 304

It should be a stipulation in the engagements of these men, that they should serve on foot whenever the service requires the measure.

One battalion of artillery, of four companies each, to consist of 76 non-commissioned and privates, 304

Each company of artillery to have, as part of its composition, ten artificers each, including the pay of artillerists to have 10 dollars per month.

Five regiments of infantry, one of which to be riflemen entirely, each of three battalions; each battalion of four companies; each company of 76 non-commissioned and privates; amounting, for each regiment, to 912, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 4,560

5,168

The annual expense of pay, clothing, subsistence, and forage, for such an army, according to the estimate hereunto annexed:

No. 1 would be - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$782,197 42
That for the extraordinary expense of equipments, transportation, &c. for the campaign, would amount, as per estimate No. 2, to - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	244,279 63
	$1,026,477 5
That from these sums are to be deducted for appropriations to the War Department, for the year 1792, -	350,526 97
Balance, - - - -	$675,950 8

That, in addition to the foregoing arrangement, it would be proper that the President of the United States should be authorized, besides the employment of militia, to take such measures, for the defensive protection of the exposed parts of the frontiers, by calling into service expert woodsmen, as patrols or scouts, upon such terms as he may judge proper. That he be further authorized, in case he should deem the measure expedient, to engage mounted militia for defensive operations, for such time, and on such terms, as he may judge equitable. That he be further authorized, in case he should deem the measure expedient, to employ a body of Indians belonging to tribes in alliance with the United States, to act against the hostile Indians; and that he be authorized to stipulate such terms as he shall judge right.

That it does not seem essential, at this time, that there should be any special appropriations for the defensive protection, the mounted militia, or the employment of Indians, although the actual expenses for those objects may amount to considerable sums, because the estimates, before mentioned, comprehend the entire expense, for one year, of the proposed establishment as complete. But, let the exertions to complete it be ever so great, yet it is probable a deficiency will exist, which will of course occasion a less expense. The moneys, therefore, which may be appropriated to the establishment, and not expended, may be applied to the extra objects above mentioned. If, however, there should be a deficiency, it may hereafter be provided for. That the nett pay of the private soldier, at present, free of all deductions, is two dollars per month. But, as the experience of the recruiting service, of the present year, evinces that the inducement is insufficient, it seems necessary to raise the pay to three dollars per month, free of all deductions; and the non-commissioned officers in proportion. The rifle corps will require more. But whether, under present circumstances, even the additional pay, and an extension of bounty to eight dollars, would give such an impulse to the recruiting service, as to fill the battalions immediately, remains to be tried. Nothing has been said upon an increased pay to the commissioned officers, because a memorial upon that subject has been presented to Congress. But it cannot be doubted that a small increase would be highly grateful to the officers, and probably beneficial to the service. The mounted militia is suggested to be used during the preparation for the main expedition, (and afterwards, if circumstances should render it indispensable.) The effect of such desultory operations upon the Indians will, by occupying them for their own safety, and that of their families, prevent their spreading terror and destruction along the frontiers. These sort of expeditions had that precise effect during the last season, and Kentucky enjoyed more repose, and sustained less injury, than for any year since the war with Great Britain. This single effect, independent of the injury done to the force of the Indians, is worth greatly more than the actual expense of such expeditions. But, while it is acknowledged that mounted militia may be very proper for sudden enterprises, of short duration, it is conceived that militia are utterly unsuitable to carry on and terminate the war in which we are engaged, with honor and success. And besides, it would be ruinous to the purposes of husbandry, to keep them out long, if it were practicable to accomplish it. Good troops, enlisted for a considerable period, armed and well disciplined in a suitable manner, for the nature of the service, will be equal, individually, to the best militia; but, when it is considered to these qualities are added, the obedience, the patience, the promptness, the economy of discipline, and the inestimable value of good officers, possessing a proper pride of reputation, the comparison no longer holds, and disciplined troops attain in the mind, and in actual execution, that ascendancy over the militia, which is the result of a just comparative view of their relative force, and the experience of all nations and ages. The expediency of employing the Indians in alliance with us, against the hostile Indians, cannot be doubted. It has been shown before, how difficult, and even impracticable, it will probably be, to restrain the young men of the friendly tribes from action, and that, if we do not employ them, they will be employed against us. The justice of engaging them would depend upon the justice of the war. If the war be just on our part, it will certainly bear the test of examination, to use the same sort of means in our defence, as are used against us. The subscriber, therefore, submits it as his opinion, that it would be proper to employ judiciously, as to time and circumstances, as many of the friendly Indians as may be obtained, not exceeding one thousand in number.

All which is submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *December* 26, 1791.

An Estimate of the expenses of an army of five thousand one hundred and sixty-eight officers, non-commissioned and privates, organized to the following arrangement;

No. 1.

PAY.

	Per month.	Per annum.	
1 Major General,	$125	$1,500	
2 Aids-de-Camp,	40	960	
1 Adjutant Generals,	60	720	
2 Inspectors,	30	720	
2 Brigadier Generals,	94	2,256	
2 Aids-de-Camp,	40	960	
1 Quartermaster General,	60	720	
4 Assistants,	40	1,920	
2 Deputies,	30	720	
2 Chaplains,	50	1,200	
			$11,676

INFANTRY.

Five regiments, each to consist of

1 Lieutenant Colonel-commandant,	$60	$720	
3 Majors,	40	1,440	
12 Captains,	30	4,320	
12 Lieutenants,	22	3,168	
12 Ensigns,	18	2,592	
1 Paymaster,	5	60	
1 Adjutant,	10	120	
3 Quartermasters,	5	180	
1 Surgeon,	30	360	
4 Surgeon's mates,	24	1,152	
3 Sergeant-majors,	6	216	
3 Quartermaster-sergeants	6	216	
48 Sergeants,	5	2,880	
48 Corporals,	4	2,304	
3 Senior musicians,	5	180	
21 Musicians,	3	756	
792 Privates	3	28,512	
		$49,176,	
Is, for five regiments,			245,880

ONE BATTALION OF ARTILLERY.

1 Major-commandant,	$45	$540	
4 Captains,	30	1,440	
8 Lieutenants,	22	2,112	
1 Adjutant,	10	120	
1 Quartermaster,	5	60	
1 Paymaster,	5	60	
1 Surgeon's mate,	24	288	
1 Sergeant-major,	6	72	
1 Quartermaster-sergeant,	6	72	
16 Sergeants,	5	960	
16 Corporals,	4	768	
1 Senior musician,	5	60	
7 Musicians,	3	252	
224 Privates,	3	8,064	
40 Artificers,	10	480	
			15,348

CAVALRY.

1 Major-commandant,	$45	$540	
4 Captains,	30	1,440	
4 Lieutenants,	22	1,056	
4 Cornets,	18	864	
16 Sergeants,	5	960	
4 Farriers,	12	576	
4 Saddlers,	12	576	
4 Trumpeters,	3	144	
276 Privates,	3	9,936	
			16,092

HOSPITAL.

1 Director,	$60	$720	
4 Surgeons,	45	2,160	
8 Surgeon's mates,	24	2,304	
1 Purveyor,	40	480	
12 Matrons,	8	1,152	
			6,816

QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT.

1 Principal artificer,	$30	$360	
2 Second do.	22	528	
60 Artificers,	12	720	
			1,608
Total,			$297,420

SUBSISTENCE.

	Rations per day.	Per year.
1 Major General,	15	5,475
2 Aids-de-Camp,	4	2,920
1 Adjutant General,	6	2,190
2 Inspectors,	3	2,190
2 Brigadier Generals,	12	8,760
2 Aids-de-Camp,	4	2,920
1 Quartermaster General,	6	2,190
4 Assistants,	4	5,840
2 Deputies,	3	2,190
1 Lieutenant Colonel-commandant, with the emoluments of a Brig. Gen.	12	4,380
4 Lieutenant Colonels-commandant,	6	8,760
17 Majors,	4	24,820
69 Captains, including cavalry, and one principal artificer,	3	75,555
74 Lieutenants, including cavalry, and two second artificers,	2	54,020
64 Ensigns, including four cornets,	2	46,720
Hospital: 1 Director,	6	2,190
Hospital: 4 Surgeons,	4	5,840
Hospital: 8 Mates,	3	8,760
Hospital: 1 Purveyor,	4	2,920
5 Surgeons,	3	5,475
21 Surgeon's mates,	2	15,330
		289,445

Rations, or money in lieu thereof, at the option of said officers, at the contract price, at the ports, respectively, where the rations shall become due.

4,560 Infantry, non-commissioned officers and privates.
304 Artillery, do. do.
304 Cavalry, do. do.
50 Artificers and quartermasters.
12 Matrons, hospital.

5,230, one ration per day, { 2,920 / 1,907,490 } = 2,199,855

Rations, at thirteen and a half cents per ration, $296,985 42

FORAGE.

	Per month.	Per year.	
1 Major General,	$20	$240	
2 Aids-de-Camp,	10	240	
1 Adjutant General,	12	144	
2 Inspectors,	10	240	
2 Brigadier Generals,	16	384	
2 Aids-de-Camp	10	240	
1 Quartermaster General,	12	144	
2 Assistants,	10	240	
2 Deputies,	10	240	
1 Lieutenant colonel-commandant, with the emoluments of a Brigadier General,	16	192	
4 Lieutenant Colonels-commandant,	12	576	
16 Majors,	10	1,920	
Hospital: 1 Director,	12	144	
Hospital: 4 Surgeons,	10	480	
Hospital: 8 Surgeon's mates,	6	576	
Hospital: 1 Purveyor,	10	120	
5 Surgeons,	10	600	
21 Surgeon's mates,	6	1,512	
5 Adjutants,	6	360	
16 Quartermasters,	6	1,152	
6 Paymasters,	6	432	
			$10,176

FOR CAVALRY.

1 Major,	$10	120	
12 Commissioned officers,	6	864	
304 Non-commissioned and privates,	6	21,888	
			22,872
			$33,048

CLOTHING.

4,560 Infantry.
304 Artillery.
304 Cavalry.
50 Artificers, quartermasters.

5,218
432 contingencies.

5,650 suits, at twenty dollars per suit, $113,000 00

BOUNTY.

4560 Infantry.
304 Artillery.
304 Cavalry.
50 Artificers, Quartermasters, at

5218 $8 $41,744

No. 2.

HORSES FOR CAVALRY.

20	For commissioned officers,	$100	$2,000
304	For non-commissioned officers and privates,	80	24,320
			$26,320

EQUIPMENTS FOR CAVALRY.

13	Officers,	$18 25	$237 25
304	Saddles,	7 33	2,229 33
304	Bridles,	2 00	608 00
304	Cartouch boxes,	66	202 66
304	Sword belts,	60	182 40
12	Bugle horns,	8 00	96 00
304	Pairs of holsters,	3 33	1,013 33
304	Bags,	66	202 66
304	Swords,	10 00	3,040 00
304	Pairs of pistols,	6 00	1,824 00
304	Horsemen's caps,	4 00	1,216 00
304	Pairs of boots and spurs,	2 00	608 00
			$11,459 63

ORDNANCE.

1,000	Rifle guns,	$12	$12,000 00
	Equipments for 12 pieces of cannon, and stores for ditto,		2,000 00
5,000	New cartridge boxes,	1 50	7,500 00
			$21,500 00

HOSPITAL DEPARTMENT.

For medicines, instruments, furniture, and stores for the Hospital, $15,000 00

QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT.

1,000	Pack-horses,	$25 00	$25,000 00
	(Perhaps oxen, or other means, may be adopted in lieu of horses, which may lessen the expenses.)		
1,000	Common tents,	6 00	6,000 00
100	Horsemen's tents,	12 00	1,200 00
12	Marquees,	30 00	360 00
100	Boats,	50 00	5,000 00
	The transportation of the recruits, ordnance, and military stores, clothing, and all the articles in the Quartermaster's and Hospital departments, to the frontiers; the purchase of axes, camp-kettles, pack-saddles, iron, fuel, boards, nails, paint, company books, stationary, and every other article in the Quartermaster's department,		82,440 00
			$120,000 00

CONTINGENCIES OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

For the loss of stores and objects which cannot be foreseen, estimated at, $50,000 00

It is to be observed upon this article, as well as every other of this estimate, that, for every cent expended in pursuance thereof, vouchers mut be produced at the treasury, excepting, perhaps, the sums which might be expended for *secret intelligence*, whereof the names might be important to be concealed; but, for the propriety of the small sums which might be so expended, the reputation of the commanding officer is pledged to the public.

RECAPITULATION.

Pay,	$297,420 00
Subsistence,	296,985 42
Forage,	33,048 00
Clothing,	113,000 00
Bounty,	41,744 00
Horses for cavalry,	26,320 00
Equipments for cavalry,	11,459 63
Ordnance,	21,500 00
Hospital Department,	15,000 00
Quartermaster's Department,	120,000 00
Contingencies of the War Department,	50,000 00
	$1,026,477 05

TO BE DEDUCTED, INCLUDED IN THE ESTIMATE FOR 1792.

Pay of the troops,	$102,686 00	
Subsistence,	119,688 97	
Forage,	4,152 00	
Clothing,	48,000 00	
Hospital Department,	6,000 00	
Quartermaster's Department,	50,000 00	
Contingencies of the War Department,	20,000 00	
		$350,526 97
To be be provided for,		$675,950 08

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *December 26th*, 1791.

Sir, Wilkesbarre Dec. 4. 1790.

In obedience to your orders I held a Conference with the Chiefs &c. of the Seneca nation of Indians at this place in this state. About 220 of all ages attended the day of meeting proposed was the 25th of October: but they did not arrive until the 15th of November. Such delays, I am informed, are common with them but in the present instance are chiefly to be attributed to the misrepresentations of some unprincipled white men, particularly of one Cornelius Sharp or Newton, who live in their neighborhood. However, the result of the Conference was perfectly satisfactory. The Indians discovered the best disposition imaginable. They ardently wish to preserve the friendship of the U. States, that so they may more than once expressed it, that their wives children may live in quietness." They were content with the present of goods you directed me to give them. But it appearing highly expedient to make a few particular presents to the principal chiefs, I in that respect complied with their expectations, & the premission allowed me in your private orders. Upon the whole, they appeared highly pleased with the communications made to them, and with the conduct of the conference on the part of the United States. The truth is - I studied to please them in every thing within the limits of your instructions: for the object of my mission being to settle their minds, I believed a bargain. If any thing can change the good disposition with which they left me, it will be the acquittal of the murderers of their brethren. And this if such acquittal on trial is known may alarm their resentments; for multitudes of this inhabitants appear to me far more savage & revengeful than the Indians themselves. And their neighbours who perhaps not without reason or probability,

equal to the ~~occasion~~ sufficient to be themselves the murderers, yet justify those who are. — I am informed that one of the murderers of the Indians at Penn Creek has had his trial at Sunbury, & been acquitted against the clearest evidence & the most pointed application of it by the Judge. ~~I heard a report of this~~ Before I parted from the Indians, I heard a report of this acquittal; and was much chagrined: For I had professed to them the most perfect sincerity & good faith in the manner I gave them of the displeasure of the United States against those murderers; and that this would mitigate the same measure of justice as if they had been the murderers of white men. The Indians appeared to rely on my assurances: for the candour manifested in all my words and actions had evidently acquired to me their confidence. Independently of public considerations, it is a mortifying reflection that the misconduct of others should hazard the loss of that confidence and of the character of sincerity by which that confidence was acquired. It is in the highest degree mortifying to find that the bulk of the frontier inhabitants consider the killing of Indians in time of peace, to be no crime and that the only of their murders are punished, provided they escape detection. If some examples are not made of these murderers, the most favourable consequence to be expected is, that such meetings as that I have held with the Indians will frequently be necessary.

Pardon I must beg your pardon for troubling you with this long letter. The whole of my correspondence with the Indians I did not get home from Niagara till last Monday; and as county courts being held this week, I have not had a minute's time to transcribe the papers relative to the conference which it will be proper to lay before you. That I shall accomplish the ensuing week: & the week after I expect to lay them before you in Philadelphia. I have the honour to be

Sir Your most obedt. Servt.

The President of the U. States. G. P.

Letter to General
Washington President
of the U. States
Decr. 4. 1790.

original sent by
Engr. Gore.

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the great Councellor, the Thirteen fires.

The Speech of the Complanter Halftown and the Principal Warriors & Councellors of the Seneka nation.

[Printed in Amlo's Hist. of American Ind. Atlantic Traders, of Feb. 4, 1792. See M.S. Vol 61. fol. 171 (when acc. C.-D. P. 5 Aug. 6.]

The voice of the Seneka nation speaks to you the Great councellor in whose heart the wisemen of all the Thirteen fires have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your ears, and we therefore entreat you to hearken with attention For we are about to speak of things which are to us very great.

When your army entered the country of the six nations, we called you the town-destroyer and to this day when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the neck of their mothers. Our councellors and warriors are men and cannot be afraid; but their hearts are grieved with the fears of our women and children, and desire that it may be buried so deep as to be heard no more.

When you gave us peace we called you father, because you promised to secure us in the possession of our lands: Do this, and so long as the land shall remain, that beloved name will live in the heart of every Seneka.

Father

Father,

We mean to open our hearts before you, and we earnestly desire that you will let us clearly understand what you resolve to do.

When our chiefs returned from the Treaty at Fort Stanwix, and laid before our Council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give us, without your paying to us any thing for it. Every one said, that your hearts were yet swelled with resentment against us, for what had happened during the war; but that one day, you would reconsider it with more kindness. We asked each other, what have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?

Father,

When you kindled your thirteen Fires separately, the wise men that assembled at them, told us, that you were all brothers the children of one great father, who regarded also, the red people as his children: They called us brothers and invited us to his protection: They told us, that he resided beyond the great water, where the sun first rises: That he was a king of such

powers

whose powers no people could resist; and that his goodness was bright as that sun. What they said went to our hearts: We accepted the invitation, and promised to obey him. What the Seneka nation promised they faithfully performed; and when you resigned obedience to that king, he command-ed us to assist his beloved men in making you sober: In obeying him we did no more than your-selves had led us to promise. The men who claim-ed this promise told us, that you were children and had no guns; that when they had shaken you, you would submit. We hearkned to them, and were deceived until your army approached our towns: We were deceived, but your people in teaching us to confide in that king, had helped to deceive us, and we now appeal to your heart, Is the blame all ours?

Father,

When we saw that we were deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us to draw near to the fire which you kindled and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste to-ward it. You then told us, that we were in your hand and that by closing it you could crush us to nothing; and you demanded from us a great

country as the price of that peace which you had offered us; as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights. Our chiefs had felt your power, and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore, gave up that country.

What they agreed to, has bound our nation; but your anger against us must, by this time, be cooled, and altho' our strength has not encreased, nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly; were the terms dictated to us by your commissioners reasonable and just?

Father,

Your commissioners when they drew the line which separated the land then given up to you, from that which you agreed should remain to be ours did most solemnly promise, that we should be secured in the peaceable possession of the lands which we inhabitted East and North of that line: Does this promise bind you?

Hear now we entreat you, what has since happened concerning that land. On the day in which we finished the treaty at Fort Stanwix

Commissioners

commissioners from Pennsylvania told our chiefs, that they had come there to purchase from us all the lands belonging to us within the line of their State, and they told us that their line would strike the river Sasquehanna below Tioga branch. They then left us to consider of the bargain till the next day. On the next day we let them know, that we were unwilling to sell all the lands within their State, and proposed to let them have a part of it which we pointed to them in their map. They told us, that they must have the whole; that it was already ceded to them by the great King at the time of making peace with you, and was their own: but they said, that they would not take advantage of that, and were willing to pay us for it, after the manner of their ancestors. Our chiefs were unable to contend at that time; and therefore they sold the lands, up to the line which was then shewn to them as the line of that State. What the commissioners had said about the land having been ceded to them at the peace, our chiefs considered as intended only to lessen the price, and they passed it by with very little notice; but since that time we have heard so much

much from others, about the right to our lands which the king gave when you made peace with him, that it is our earnest desire, that you will tell us what it means.

Father,

Our nation empowered John Livingston to let out part of our lands on rent to be paid to us: He told us that he was sent by Congress to do this for us, and we fear he has deceived us in the writing he obtained from us. For since the time of our giving that power, a man of the name of Phelps has come among us and claimed our whole country northward of the line of Pennsylvania, under purchase from that Livingston, to whom he said, he had paid twenty thousand dollars for it. He said, also, that he had bought likewise from the council of the Thirteen Fires, and paid them twenty thousand Dollars more for the same: And he said also that it did not belong to us for that the great king had ceded the whole of it when you made peace with him. Thus he claimed the whole country North of Pennsylvania, and west of

Lic

the Lands belonging to the Cayugas: He demanded it: He insisted on his demand, and declared, that he would have it all. It was impossible for us to grant him this, and we immediately refused it. After some days he proposed to run a line at a small distance eastward of our western boundary, which we also refused to agree to: He then threatned us with immediate war, if we did not comply. Upon this threat our Chiefs held a council, and they agreed that no event of war could be worse than to be driven with their wives and children from the only country which we had any right to, and, therefore, weak as our nation was, they determined to take the chance of war rather than submit to such unjust demands, which seemed to have no bounds. Street the great trader at Niagara was then with us, having come at the request of Phelps, and as he always professed to be our great friend, we consulted him on this subject: He also told us that our Lands had been ceded to the King, and that we must give them up.

Astonished at what we heard from every quarter, with hearts akin, with compassion for

our

our women and children, we were thus com-
-pelled to give up all our country North of
the line of Pennsylvania, and east of the
Chenengo river up to the forks, and East of a
South line drawn from that fork to the Penn
-sylvania line.

For this land Phelps agreed to pay us
ten thousand dollars in hand, and one thou-
-sand dollars a year forever: He paid us two
thousand and five hundred dollars in hand
part of the ten thousand and he sent for us
to come last spring to receive our money,
but instead of paying us the remainder of
the ten thousand dollars, and the one thou
sand dollars, one for the first year, he offered
us no more than five hundred dollars, and
insisted that he had agreed with us for that
sum to be paid yearly. We debated with him
for six days, during all which time he persist
-ed in refusing to pay us our just demand, and
he insisted that we should receive the five
hundred dollars, and Street from Niagara
also, insisted that we should receive the five
hundred Dollars as it was offered to us. The

last

last reason he assigned for continuing to refuse paying us, was, that the King had ceded the lands to the Thirteen Fires, and that he had bought them from you and paid you for them Father,

We could bear this confusion no longer, and, determined to press thro' every difficulty, and lift up our voice that you might hear us, and to claim that Security in the possession of our lands which your commissioners so solemnly promised us; and we now entreat you to enquire into our complaints and redress our wrongs.

Father,

Our writings were lodged in the hands of Street of Niagara, as we supposed him to be our friend; but when we saw Phelps consulting with Street on every occasion, we doubted of his honesty towards us, and ye have since heard that he was to receive for his engagements to deceive us a piece of land ten miles in width west of the Chenesco river, to Lake Ontario, and the lines of this tract have been run accordingly, and near forty miles in length extending, altho' no part of it is within the bounds which limit his purchase: No doubt he meant to deceive us.

Father,

Father.

You have said that we are in your hand and that by closing it you could crush us to nothing: Are you determined to crush us? If you are tell us so, that those of our nation who have become your children and have determined to die so, may know what to do: In this case, one chief has said, he would ask you to put him out of pain; another who will not think of dying by the hand of his father, or of his brother, has said he will retire to the Chataughque, eat of the fatal root and sleep with his fathers in peace.

Before you determine on a measure so unjust, look up to God, who made us as well as you: We hope he will not permit you to destroy the whole of our nations.

Father,

Hear our case. Many nations inhabited this country; but they had no wisdom, and therefore they warred together: The Six nations, were powerful and compelled them to peace. The lands for a great extent were given up to them; but the nations

which

which were not destroyed, all continued on those lands, and claimed the protection of the Six nations, as the brothers of their fathers: They were men and when at peace, they had a right to live upon the earth: The french came a-mong us and built Niagara, they became our fathers and took care of us: Sir William Johnson came and took that Fort from the french; he became our father and promised to take care of us, and did so until you were too strong for his king— To him we gave four miles round Niagara as a place of trade: We have already said how we came to join against you: We saw that we were wrong: we wished for peace; you demanded a great country to be given up to you, it was surrendered to you as the price of peace, and we ought to have peace and possession of the little land which you then left us.

Father

When that great country was given up, there were but few chiefs present, and they were compelled to give it up; and it is not the Six nations only that reproach those chiefs with having given up that country, the Chippaways

and

and all the nations who live on those lands round
-ward call to us and ask us, Brothers & our Fathers,
where is the place which you have reserved for us
to lie down upon?

Father,

You have compelled us to do that which
has made us ashamed. We have nothing to an-
-swer to the children of the brothers & our fathers.
When last Spring, they called upon us to go to
war to secure them a bed to lie upon the ×
Senekas entreated them to be quiet until
we had spoken to you; but on our way down,
we heard that your army had gone toward
the country which those nations inhabit; and
if they meet together, the best blood on both
sides will stain the grounds.

Father,

We will not conceal from you, that the
Great God, and not men, has preserved the com-
-plaints from the hands of his own nation: for
they ask continually, where is the land which
our children, and their children after them
are to lie down upon? - You told us, say they
that the line drawn from Pennsylvania to

Lake

Lake Ontario would mark it forever on the East, and the line running from Beaver creek to Penn-sylvania would mark it on the West, and we see that is not so: For first one and then another come and take it away, by order of that people, which you tell us promised to secure it to us. He is silent for he has nothing to answer.

When the sun goes down, he opens his heart before God, and earlier than that sun appears again upon the hills, he gives thanks for his protection during the night: For he feels that among men become desperate by their Dan-ger, it is God only that can preserve him. He loves peace, and all he had in store he has given to those who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the innocent to repay themselves: The whole season which others have employed in providing for their families, he has spent in his endeavors to preserve peace; and at this moment his wife and children are lying on the ground, and in want of food, his heart is in pain for them, but he perceives, that the Great God will try his firmness in doing what is right.

Father,

Father,

The Game which the Great Spirit sent into our country for us to eat, is going from among us: We thought he intended, that we should till the ground with the plough, as the White people do, and we talked to one another about it. But before we speak to you concerning this, we must know from you, whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till. Speak plainly to us concerning, this Great business.

All the lands we have been speaking of belonged to the six nations: No part of it ever belonged to the King of England, and he could not give it to you. The land we live on our fathers received from god, and they transmitted it to us for our children, and we cannot part with it.

Father,

We told you, that we would open our hearts to you: Hear us once more.

At Fort Stanwix we agreed to deliver up those of our people who should do you any wrong; that you might try them and

punish

punish them according to your Law. We delivered up two men accordingly; but instead of trying them according to your Law, the lowest of your people took them from your magistrate and put them immediately to death. It is just to punish murder with death; but the Senekas will not deliver up their people to men who disregard the treaties of their own nations.

Father

Innocent men of our nation are killed one after another, and of our best families; but none of your people who have committed the murders have been punished.

We recollect, that you did not promise to punish those who killed our people, and we now ask, was it intended that your people should kill the Senekas, and not only remain unpunished by you; but be protected by you against the revenge of the next of kin?

Father,

These are, to us, very great things. We know that you are very strong; and we have heard that you are wise; and we wait to hear your answer to what we have said,

that

that we may know that you are just.

Signed at Philadelphia,

the first day of December 1790.

his
Corn + planter
mark

Present at signing

Joseph Nicholason

Interpreter

his
Half + towns
mark

his
Great + tree
mark

T Matlack

[The Reply of the President of the U.S.]

[Indian Treaties and Papers] No. Dowse - Hawkins MSS 2

The Reply of the President of the United States to the Speech of the Complanter, Half Town and great Tree, Chiefs and Councellors of the Seneka Nation of Indians -

I the President of the United States by my own mouth, and by a written Speech signed with my own hand and sealed with the seal of the United States, Speak to the Seneka Nation and desire their attention, and that they would keep this Speech in remembrance of the friendship of the United States -

I have received your Speech with Satisfaction as a proof of your confidence in the justice of the United States - and I have attentively examined the several objects -

which

made you have and agree me, whether
delivered by your Chiefs at Fort Pitt in
the last month to Colonel Pickering, or laid
before me in the present month by the Com-
plaints, and the other Seneca Chiefs now
in Philadelphia -

In the first place I observe to you, and
request it may sink deep into your minds,
that it is my desire, and the desire of the United
States that all the miseries of the late War,
should be forgotten and buried for ever. -
That in future the United States and the Six
Nations should be truly Brothers, promo-
ting each others prosperity by acts of mutual
friendship and justice -

I am not unimformed that the Six -
Nations have been led into some difficulties
with respect to the sale of their lands since
the Peace - But I must inform you that

these

these evils arose before the present govern-
ment of the United States was established,
when the Separate States and individuals
under their authority, undertook to treat
with the Indian tribes respecting the Sale
of their Lands -

But the case is now entirely alter-
ed - The general government only has the
power to treat with the Indian Nations,
and any treaty formed and held without
its authority, will not be binding -

Here then is the security for the
remainder of your lands - No State nor
Person can purchase your lands, unless
at some public treaty, held under the au-
thority of the United States - The general
Government will never consent to your
being defrauded - But it will protect you

in

in all your just rights -

Hear well, and let it be heard by every Person in your Nation, That the President of the United States declares, that that the general Government considers itself bound to protect you in all the lands secured to you by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, the 22d. of October 1784, excepting such parts as you may since have fairly sold to persons properly authorised to purchase of you -

You complain that John Livingston and Oliver Phelps, assisted by Mr. Street of Niagara, have obtained your lands and that they have not complied with their agreement -

It appears upon enquiry of the Governor of New York, that John Livingston was not legally authorized to treat with you - and that every thing he did with you has been declared null and void -; So that you

may

may rest easy on that account -

But it does not appear from any proofs yet in possession of government, that Oliver Phelps has defrauded you -

If however you should have any just cause of complaint against him, and can make satisfactory proof thereof, the federal Courts will be open to you for redress, as to all other persons -

But your great object seems to be the security of your remaining lands, and I have therefore upon this point meant to be sufficiently strong and clear -

That in future you cannot be defrauded of your lands - That you possess the right to sell and the right of refusing to sell your lands -

That therefore the sale of your lands

in

in future will depend entirely upon your-
selves -

But that when you may judge it for
your interest to sell any parts of your lands,
the United States must be present by their
Agent, and will be your security that you
shall not be defrauded in the bargain you
may make -

It will however be important, that
before you make any further sales of your
lands that you should determine among
yourselves who are the persons among you,
that shall give such conveyances thereof as
shall be binding upon your Nation, and for
ever prevent all disputes relative to the va-
lidity of the sale -

That besides the before mentioned se-
curity for your lands, you will perceive by the
law of Congress for regulating trade and

inter-

intercourse with the Indian tribes, the fatherly care the United States intend to take of the Indians - For the particular meaning of this law, I refer you to the explanations given thereof by Colonel Pickering at Tioga, which with the law are herewith delivered to you -

You have said in your Speech "that the Crane is going away from among you, and that you thought it was the design of the great Spirit that you should till the grounds - but before you speak upon this subject, you want to know whether the Union meant to leave you any land to till."

You now know that all the lands secured to you by the treaty of Fort Stanwix excepting such parts as you may since have fairly sold, are yours, and that only your own acts can convey them away -

Speak -

I make therefore your wishes on the subject of filling the ground — The United States will be happy to afford you every assistance in the only business which will add to your numbers and happiness —

The murders that have been committed upon some of your people, by the bad white men, I sincerely lament and reprobate — and that I earnestly hope the real murderers will be secured, and punished as they deserve — This business has been sufficiently explained to you here by the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, and by Colonel Pickering, on behalf of the United States, at Tioga —

The Senecas may be assured that the rewards offered for apprehending the Murderers will be continued, until they are secured for trial; and that when they shall be

be apprehended, that they will be tried and punished as if they had killed white men—

Having answered the most material parts of your Speech, I shall inform you that some bad Indians, and the Outcast of several tribes who reside at the Miami village, have long continued their murders and depredations upon the frontiers lying along the Ohio—

That they have not only refused to listen to my voice inviting them to peace, but that upon receiving it they renewed their incursions, and murders with greater violence than ever— I have therefore been obliged to strike those bad people in order to make them sensible of their madness—; I sincerely hope they will hearken to reason, and not require to be further chastised— The United States desire to be the friends of the Indians upon terms of Justice and humanity— But they will

not

not suffer the depredations of the bad Indians to go unpunished -

My desire is that you would caution all the Senekas, and six Nations, to prevent their rash young men from joining the Maumee Indians -; for the United States cannot distinguish the tribes to which bad Indians belong, and every tribe must take care of their own people -

The merits of the Complainter, and his friendship for the United States are well known to me, and shall not be forgotten - and as a mark of the esteem of the United States, I have directed the Secretary of War to make him a present of Dollars - either in money or Goods as the Complainter shall like best - and he may depend upon the future care and kindness of the United States; and I have also directed the Secretary of War to make suitable presents to the other Chiefs in Philadelphia - and also that some further tokens of friendship to be forwarded to the other Chiefs

now

now in their Nation –

Remember my words Senekeis – continue to be strong in your friendship for the United States, as the only rational ground of your future happiness – and you may rely upon their kindness and protection.

An Agent shall soon be appointed to reside in some place convenient to the Senekeis and six Nations – He will represent the United States – apply to him on all occasions –

If any Man brings you evil reports of the intentions of the United States, make that man as your enemy, for he will come to deceive you and lead you into trouble – The United States will be true and faithful to their engagements –

Given under my hand and the Seal of the United States at Philadelphia, this /

this twenty ninth day of December,
in the Year of our Lord, One thousand
seven hundred, and in the Fifteenth
Year of the Sovereignty & Independence
of the United States.

(Signed) Go. Washington

By the President

(Signed) Thos. Jefferson

By Command of
the President of the
United States of America

(Signed) H. Knox
Secy for the Department
of War

D 22.

[Second Speech — Complanter to the President of the U.S.]

In print — See Col. Doc. Vol. VII. p. 171 and Documentary History of New York Vol. IV. p. 1147.

To the President of the United States of America.

The Speech of the Complanter, Half Town, and the Great-tree Chiefs of the Seneka Nation —

Father!

Your Speech written on the great paper, is to us, like the first light of the morning to a sick man whose pulse beats too stronly in his temples and prevents him from sleep: He sees it and Rejoices, but he is not cured —

You say that you have spoken plainly on the great point: That you will protect us in the lands secured to us at Fort Stanwix, and that we have the right to sell or to refuse to sell it. This is very good. But our Nation complain, that you compelled us, at that treaty, to give up too much of our lands, we confess that our nation is bound by what was there done, and, acknowledging your power, we have now appealed to yourselves against that treaty, as made while you were too angry at us, and therefore, unreasonable and unjust. To this you have given us no answer —

Father,

Father!

That treaty was not made with a single State, it was with the thirteen States: We never would have given all that land to one State. We know it was before you had the Great Authority, and as you have more wisdom than the Commissioners, who forced us into that Treaty, we expect that you have, also, more regard to justice, and will now, at our request, reconsider that treaty and restore to us a part of that land.

Father!

The land which lies between the line running South from Lake Erie to the Boundary of Pennsylvania as mentioned at the treaty at Fort Stanwix, and the Eastern boundary of the land which you sold and the Senecas confirmed to Pennsylvania, is the land on which Half Town and all his people live, with other Chiefs, who always have been and still are dissatisfied with the Treaty at Fort Stanwix. They grew out of this land and their fathers fathers grew out of it, and they cannot be persuaded to part with it: We therefore, entreat you to restore to us this little piece.

Father!!

Father!

Look at the land which we gave to you at that treaty, and then turn your eyes upon what we now ask you to restore to us, and you will see that what we ask you to restore is a very little piece. — By giving it back again, you will satisfy the whole of our Nation; the Chiefs who signed that treaty will be in safety; and peace between your children and our children will continue so long as your land shall join to ours. Every man of our Nation will then turn his eyes away from all the other lands which we then gave up to you, and forget that our fathers ever said that they belonged to them —

Father!

We see, that you ought to have the path at the carrying place from Lake Erie to Niagara, as it was marked down at Fort Stanwix, and we are ally willing it should remain to be yours: And if you desire to reserve a passage thro' the Cuscuango, and thro' the Chataughque lake, and land for a path from that lake to Lake Erie, take it where you best like: Our Nation will rejoice to see it an open path for you and your children while the land and water remain: But let us, also, pass along the same way,

and /

and continue to take the fish of those waters in common with you.

Father!

You say, that you will appoint an Agent to take care of us: Let him come and take care of our lands, but we desire he may not have any thing to do with our lands; for the Agents which have come among us and pretended to take care of us, have always deceived us when ever we sold lands; both when the King of England, and when the States have bargained with us. They have, by this means, occasioned many wars, and we are, therefore, unwilling to trust them again.

Father!

When we return home, we will call a great Council and consider well, how lands may be hereafter sold by our Nation, and when we have agreed upon it, we will send you notice of it: But we desire that you will not depend on your Agent for information concerning lands: For after the abuses which we have suffered by such men, we will not trust them with any thing which relates to land.

Father!

Father!

We will not hear lies concerning you, and we desire that you will not hear lies concerning us, and then we shall certainly live at peace with you.

Father!

There are men who go from town to town and beget children, and leave them to perish, or, except better men take care of them, to grow up without instruction. Our nation has long looked round for a father, but they found none that would own them for children, until you now tell us, that your hearts are open to us, as to your own people.

The joy which we feel at this great news, is mixed with the sorrows that are passed; that we cannot express our gladness, nor conceal the remembrance of our afflictions: We will speak of them at another time.

Father!

We are ashamed that we have listened to the lies of Livingston, or been influenced by by threats of war by Phelps, and would hide that whole transaction from the world, and from ourselves,

by/

by quietly receiving what Phelps promised to give us for the lands they cheated us of: But, for Phelps will not pay us, even according to that fraudulent bargain, we will lay the whole proceedings before your Court. When the evidence which we can produce, is heard, we think it will appear, that the whole bargain was founded on lies which he placed one upon another, that the goods which he charges to us, as part payment, were plundered from us; that, if Phelps was not directly concerned in the theft, he knew of it, at the time, and concealed it from us; and that the persons we confided in were bribed, by him, to deceive us in the bargain: And, if these facts appear, that your Court will not say, that such bargains are just; but will set the whole aside —

Father!

We apprehend that our evidence might be called for, as Phelps was here and knew what we have said, concerning him, and as Ebenezer Allen knew something of the matter, we desired him to continue here — Nicholson, the interpreter, is very sick, and we request that Allen may remain a few days longer as he speaks our language —

Sir!

Father!

The blood which was spilled near Pine Creek is covered, and we shall never look where it lies: We know that Pennsylvania will satisfy us for that which we spake of to them before we spake to you. The Chain of friendship will now, we hope, be made strong as you desire it to be: We will hold it fast, and an end of it shall never rust in our hands -

Father!

We told you what advice we gave to the people you are now at war with, and we now tell you, that they have promised to come again to our towns next Spring - We shall not wait for their coming, but will set out very early, and shew to them what you have done for us, which must convince them, that you will do for them every thing which they ought to ask. - We think they will listen and follow our advices -

Father!

You give us leave to speak our minds concerning the tilling of the ground - We ask you to help us to plough and to grind Corn; to assist us in building

Saw-

saw mills, and supply us with Broad saws, Chains, Augurs and other tools, so as that we may make our Houses more comfortable and more durable, that you will send Smiths among us; and above all, that you will teach our children to read and to write, and our Women to Spin and to weave. —

The manner of your doing these things for us, we leave to you who understand them; but we assure you, that we will follow your advice as far as we are able —

Philadelphia, January 16th 1791.

Present at Signing { Joseph Nicholson Interpreter —
T. Mattlack

Cam his + Planter mark

Half his + Town mark

John his + Deckeant mark

Great his + Tree mark.

John his + Hudson mark

[The Reply of the President of the U.S: to Cornplanters Second Speech]

To the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Great Tree, Chiefs of the Senecka Nation of Indians –

Brothers!

I have maturely considered your second written Speech –

You say your Nation complain that at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, you were compelled to give up too much of your lands – That you confess your Nation is bound by what was there done, and acknowledging the power of the United States, that you have now appealed to ourselves against that treaty, as made while we were angry against you, and that the said treaty was therefore unreasonable and unjust.

But while you complain of the treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1784, you seem entirely to forget that you yourselves the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and Great tree, with others of your Nation confirmed by the Treaty of Fort Harmer upon the Muskingum, so late as the 9th of January 1789,

the /

the boundary marked at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix;
and that in consideration thereof you then received
Goods to a considerable amount -

Although it is my sincere desire in looking
forward to endeavours to promote your happiness
by all just and humane arrangements, yet I
cannot disavow treaties formed by the United States
before my administration, especially as the bounda-
ries mentioned therein have been twice confirmed
by yourselves -

The lines fixed at Fort Stanwix and Fort
Harmar, must therefore remain established

But Wolf Town and the others who reside
upon the lands you desire may be relinquished, -
have not been disturbed in their possessions, and I
should hope while he and they continue to demean
themselves peaceably, and to manifest their friendly
dispositions to the people of the United States, that
they will be suffered to remain where they are -

The Agent who will be appointed by the Unit-
ed States, will be your friend and Protector - He
will not be suffered to defraud you, or to assist in
defrauding you of your Lands, or of any other thing,
as all his proceedings must be reported in writing
so as to be submitted to the President of the United States.

You

You mention your design of going to the Miami Indians, to endeavour to persuade them to peace — By this humane measure you will render those mistaken people a great service, and probably prevent their being swept from off the face of the earth. — The United States require only that those people should demean themselves peaceably — But they may be assured that the United States are able, and will most certainly punish them severely for all their robberies and Murders —

You may when you return from this City to your Country, mention to your Nation my desire to promote their [see Vol. 6, p. 171] prosperity, by teaching them the use of domestic Animals, and the manner that the white people plough and raise so much Corn — and if upon consideration it would be agreeable to the nation at large to learn these valuable arts, I will find some means of teaching them, at such places within your Country, as shall be agreed upon —

I have nothing more to add, but to refer you to my former speech and to repeat my wishes

wishes for the happiness of the Cherokee Nation.

Given under my hand and the Seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, this Nineteenth day of January 1795.

(signed) G. Washington.

By the President

(signed) Th.s Jefferson

By Command of the President of the United States.

(signed) H. Knox,

Secretary for the Department of War

In print see Vol. 6 f. 571 in State Records N. Y. 49 a F'

[Third Speech — Complanter to the President of the U.S.]

To the Great Councillor of the Thirteen States

The Speech of Complanter, Half Town and the Big-tree Seneka Chiefs —

Father!

No Seneka ever goes from the fire of his Friend until he has said to him "I am going" = We therefore tell you that we are now setting out for our own Country.

Father!

We thank you from our hearts, that we now know there is a Country we may call our own, and on which we may lie down in peace. We see that there will be peace between your children and our children, and our hearts are very glad. We will persuade the Wyandats and other Western nations, to open their eyes and look toward the bed which you have made for us, and to ask of you a bed for themselves;

themselves and their Children, that will not slide from under them –

We thank you for your presents to us, and rely on your promise to instruct us in raising Corn as the white people do: The sooner you do this the better for us. But we thank you for the care you have taken to prevent bad men coming to trade among us: If any come without your license, we will turn them back; and we hope our Nation will determine to spill all the Rum which shall hereafter be brought to our towns –

Father!

We are glad to hear that you determine to appoint an Agent that will do us justice, in taking care that bad men do not come to trade among us; but we earnestly entreat you, that you will let us have an interpreter in whom we can confide to reside at Pittsburgh. To that place our people, and other Nations will long continue to resort: There we must send

what

what news we hear when we go among the Western Nations, which we are determined shall be early in the Spring. We know Joseph Nicholson and he speaks our language so that we clearly understand what you say to us, and we rely on what he says. If we were able to pay him for his services we would do it; but when we meant to pay him by giving him land, it has not been confirmed to him, and he will not serve us any longer, unless you will pay him: Let him stand between us, we entreat you.

Father!

You have not asked any security for Peace on our part, but we have agreed to send Nine Seneka Boys to be under your care for education: Tell us at what time you will receive them, and they shall be sent at the time you shall appoint. This will assure you that

that

that we are indeed at peace with you, and determined to continue so: If you can teach them to become wise and good men, we will take care that our Nation shall be willing to receive instruction from them.

Signed at Philadelphia
February 7th 1791.

Cayu his + Planter mark

Joseph Nicholson, Interpreter.

Half + Town mark

Thomas Baxter.

Big + Tree mark

T. Mattlack.

[illegible] 20 G

[The Reply of the Secretary of War to Complanter's third Speech to the President of the U.S.]

The Subscriber, the Secretary of War has submitted your Speech of yesterday to the President of the United States who has commanded him to assure you of his good wishes for your happiness, and that you may have a pleasant journey to your own Country.

The Governor of the Western territory will appoint you an interpreter whenever one shall be necessary - The President of the United States does not choose to interfere on this point.

The President of the United States thinks it will be the best mode of teaching you how to raise Corn by sending one or two Sober men to reside in your Nations, with proper implements of husbandry - it will therefore be proper

proper that you should upon consultation appoint a proper place for such persons to till the grounds. They are not to claim the land on which they shall plough.

The President of the United States also thinks it will be the best mode of teaching your children to read and write to send a School master among you, and not for you to send your children among us, he will therefore look out for a proper person for this business.

As soon as you shall learn any thing of the intentions of the Western Indians, you will inform the Governor of the Western territory thereof, or the commanding Officer at Fort Washington, in order to be communicated to the President of the United States.

Given

L.S.

Given at the Land Office of the United States, this Eighth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred & Ninety one—

(sign'd) H. Knox

Secy of War—

H.

Instructions

for Colonel Thomas Proctor.

Sir/

Having offered to you, a Mission on the part of the United States, to the Miami and Wabash Indians - and you having accepted of the same, you are to receive these instructions as the rule of your conduct -

The great object of your long journey is to impress the said Miami and Wabash Indians, with the candor, and justice of the General Government. - That the United States require only that they would demean themselves peaceably.

That if they should refuse to listen to this invitation they only, will be liable for the evil which will fall upon and crush them.

That this invitation is not made in

can/

consequence of any principles of fear, but from a desire to pluck them if possible out of the fire which is already enkindled.

The Message which is herewith delivered you, will shew you the sentiments expressed to them; and you and the Indians who may accompany you, are to say all that may be proper to enforce said sentiments.

You have been informed of the measures taken with the Complanter, Big-tree, and Half-Town, and other Senekas who were in this City lately, to go to the said Miami and Wabash Indians, with Messages from their own Nation of similar import with the one with which you are charged.

You will therefore immediately repair to the Complanter's Residence, which is upon a branch of the Allegany River, near the Creek called Oil Creek, and make known to him your intentions, and deliver him the Speech herewith

herewith delivered to you for the Senecas and others of the Six Nations –

It is possible he may not be at home, in which case it will be important to dispatch instantly Runners for him – or in case he should be consulting at Buffalo Creek with the other parts of the Nation, it may be proper for you to repair thither –

You are to endeavour by all possible means to induce the Complanter, and as many others of the Chiefs as possible, to go with you upon your mission to the Miami and Wabash Indians –, and you will remember that it is of the highest importance, that you should set off without the least delay.

Having obtained as Companions the Chiefs of the Senekas, and others, you will proceed by land or water as shall be judged best, to Sandusky upon Lake Erie, where reside the Wyandot and Delaware tribes of Indians –

These /

These tribes of Indians are our friends, and in
treaty with us, which, as far as is known, has
been well observed by them -

You have also herewith delivered to
your two messages, one to each of the said tribes,
written by General St. Clair, who made the
treaties with them at Fort Harmar in January
1789 -

You will inform them of the object of
your journey, and desire that they will appoint
some of their Chiefs to accompany you agree-
ably to the General's desire in his messages -

You will proceed from the Wyandots
and Delawares directly to the Miami Town,
where you will assemble the Indians together,
and speak to them in the style before mentioned.

If you succeed in persuading them to
accompany you to Fort Washington, you will
set out immediately with them, - sending Capt.
Hardin, and such Chiefs of all the tribes present

as

as shall be agreed upon to treat on Ouatanon Lewis on the Wabash, and to the other tribes on that River and its vicinity, in order to persuade them also to repair to already at Fort Washington —

But if after using all your arguments to induce the Miami Indians to repair to Fort Washington you should fail, you must leave them, and with the friendly Indians who accompany you, repair to Fort Washington —

Let it be impressed strongly upon your mind, that every moment after you set out upon your journey must be most industriously employed — For you must if within the limits of possibility, be at Fort Washington, by the 5th of May next, whether you succeed or not. —

This is of the highest importance as it is connected with collateral arrangements —

The great retardment to be apprehended will be at the Canoplanters residence or other

Creeks

posts of the Seneka Nation — But you will endeavour to render your stay as short as possible.

A knowledge of your character induces a confidence, you will well execute the high trust reposed in you with all due dispatch and address.

Your business requires an acquaintance with human nature, and the art of managing the hopes and fears of an uncivilized race of men — You will be careful not to promise more than is reasonable to the Indians who may accompany you, and all your promises of that sort shall be complied with —

Your business with the Miami and Wabash Indians, will be to persuade them to repair to Fort Washington, where they shall be treated kindly and justly, but you are not authorized to particularize to them any terms.

Considering the nature of the service, it is proper to be explicit as to the terms you are to receive from the Public which are as follows.

1st

1st. Your reasonable expenses shall be borne by the Publick, and upon this point you will be careful to set down your expenses daily, in order that a judgment may be formed thereon, when your accounts are to be settled -

2dly. As a reward for your services, you shall be allowed the sum of five Dollars for each day, while you are actually employed in this business -

3dly. If you succeed in bringing the real Chiefs of the Miami and the Wabash Indians to a treaty at Fort Washington, you shall receive the further sum of five hundred Dollars -

4thly. In case you should, in the course of the business be wounded, or disabled from obtaining a livelihood by your personal exertions, attempts will be made to obtain for you a pension of a Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, wounded in the service of the United States -

5thly. And in case you should unfortunately

lose

lose your life in the course of this business, the same attempts will be made to obtain the pension of seven years half pay of a lieutenant Colonel Commandant to your orphan children.

Captain Michael Gabriel Houdin, a french Officer of Reputation who served in the late War in the Massachusetts line, will accompany you in the prosecution of this business; - and in case of misfortune to you by Sickness or otherwise, he is to take these Instructions, and to pursue them as if given to himself -

Captain Houdin is to be allowed his expences, and two Dollars per Day as a reward for his services -

And in case he should be wounded or disabled, endeavours will be used to obtain him a pension of a Captain wounded in the Military Service of the United States -

I have issued my warrant upon Joseph Howell

Howell, to pay you six hundred Dollars on account of your and Captain Hawkins's expenses, and for which you are regularly to account -

Your route will be from this City to Sunbury, and thence either directly for that part of the Allegany where the Complainter lives, or to Tioga point as you may find best -

If you go through Wyoming, enquire for a Captain Bidlemin, who has agreed to keep School among the Senekas an account of the United States -

You will consider your business as a secret, and enjoin the same to Capt. Hawkins -

Provided you should bring the Indians to Fort Washington, you will stay there no longer than the treaty shall be accomplished upon which you, and Capt. Hawkins will return with all convenient speed to this City -

Yours

You will keep a journal of your daily occurrences, and deliver me a copy thereof, when you shall deliver a report of your proceedings.

Given at the War Office of the United States, in the City of Philadelphia, this 11th Day of March 1791.

Sign'd H. Knox

Secretary of War.

[Message from the Secretary of War to the Senekas &c]

To the Head-Men and Warriors of the Seneka Nation, and the others of the six Nations –

Brothers!

Upon a late visit of the Complanter, and others of your Nation to the President of the United States, the great Chief of the thirteen fires, it was agreed that some of the Chiefs of the six Nations should repair immediately to the Miami and Wabash Indians, in order to explain to them the danger of their situation –

That the United States desired of the said Indians, only a peaceable conduct, and a regard to their own welfare – That it would be well pleasing to the President of the United States, to embrace all the surrounding Indian Nations as Brothers, and to promote their happiness by acts

of

of kindness -

. That while this was the sincere desire of the President of the United States, he was determined that all future murders and invasions of the Indians should be punished severely -

. The President of the United States is persuaded that if the Indians generally could see the kindness of his heart to them, - of his intentions to do them justice - that they would come and all bury the red hatchet for ever -

. He will therefore, if obliged to chastise the disorderly Indians, feel all the pain that a kind father feels in chastising his disobedient children -

. In order therefore that the Miamis and Wabash Indians shall be without excuse, in the minds of the six Nations, and other Indian tribes, the President of the United States has determined to send them a solemn warning of their fate in case they continue their hostilities - and he has for this purpose sent

Col.

Colonel Procter the Bearer, with whom you are acquainted -

The President requests that you will immediately set out with Colonel Procter - either by land or water, as shall be judged best -

That you would call upon the Wyandots and Delawares, our friends, and take some of them along with you to the Miami and Wabash Indians -

That you would endeavour to persuade the said Miami and Wabash Indians to accompany Colonel Procter and you to General St Clair, the great Chief of the United States on the Ohio, and there settle all disputes upon terms of reciprocal justice and humanity -

That on your faithful performance of this business, you will be entitled to the approbation friendship, and rewards of the United States -

Given at the War Office of the United

United States, in the City of
Philadelphia, this 10th day of
March 1795

(signed) H. Knox
Sec'y for the Department
of War -

[The Meſsage of the Preſident of the United States to the Miami indians]

To the head men and Warriors of the tribes of Indians of the Miami Towns and neighborhood, and inhabiting the waters of the Miami River, of Lake Erie, and to the tribes inhabiting the waters of the River Wabash.

Brothers.

The President of the United States, General Washington the great chief of the thirteen fires, Speaks to you by this addreſs. — Listen attentively to him, for he Speaks of things of the highest importance to your future welfare. —

The white men and the red men inhabit the ſame country and ought to be good friends.

But the contrary has been the caſe — Injuries and hoſtilities have ſubsisted and the

the last year many lives have been facrificed on both sides.

This address to you, is the offspring of a desire to save you from ruin. It is therefore of the last consequence that you should understand and receive it aright. — It is unmixed with fear, and dictated by the pure principles of humanity.

The President of the United States is anxious that you should understand your true situation, and the consequences of your persisting any longer in the exercise of hostilities.

The United States are powerful, and able to send forth such numbers of warriors, as would drive you entirely out of the country. It is true this conduct would occasion some trouble to us, but it would be absolute destruction to you, your women and your children.

The United States require nothing

of

of you but peace; nay they are desirous of making you to understand the cultivation of the earth, and teaching you how much better it is for human kind to have comfortable houses, and to have plenty to eat and drink and to be well clothed, than to be exposed to all the calamities belonging to a savage life.

The offer of peace now made to you, is for your good, and the great Spirit above will approve of it.

Reflect that this is the last offer that can be made; That if you do not embrace it now, your doom must be sealed forever.

Receive then the bearers Colonel Proctor Captain Hordin, and our Indian allies who accompany them, with open arms.

After having pondered well upon the contents of this address, and what may be further said to the same purpose. Call in your parties, and fly with all your head men to Fort Washington at the Miamis of the Ohio.—

also

also send messengers to all the neighboring tribes to come to the same place, and there make and ratify a firm peace with General St. Clair the great officer of the United States on the Western Waters.

You will find the terms he shall dictate will be full of Justice, moderation and humanity— You are now the only tribes with whom the United States have any disputes. The powerful indian nations South of the Ohio are our allies. The six nations of northern indians, are at peace with us, and we are desirous of receiving you into the number of our friends, and to forget all the evil which has past— If you refuse all the nations will approve, and justify your punishment.

Given at the War office of the United States, this 11th day of March 1791.

(signed) H. Knox—

Sec.y of War.

3. 42

[Message – From Gov.r St. Clair to the Wyandots]

To the Half King, and the Chiefs of the Wyandots –

Brothers!

When I was last at Fort Harmar I left a message for you, and one for the Ottaways and Chipeways – I hope you have received them and found an opportunity to send them forward.

Brothers,

It would have given me great pleasure to have seen you at Fort Harmar, and to have taken you by the hand in testimony of that friendship which the United States bears to your nation –

Brothers,

I informed you, last Summer, that the continual depredations of the Shawanese and Miamies had raised the resentment of the United States; and that they would no longer bear them. You know my Brothers that evil did

be fal/

befal them; but because they were not destroyed entirely, it has had no effect upon them; and they have since done mischief, and killed a number of defenceless Women and Children.

Brothers,

The United States did not wish to destroy them - why should they? - is not the Country large enough for both of us - but they hoped a little correction would have brought them to their Senses, and that they might again have been received into friendship.

Brothers,

Notwithstanding all the mischief those foolish Nations have done, and some of the Ouabash, they do not wish to destroy them now; and upon proper Submission we might still be friends; and it is to let them know precisely the Situation in which they stand, and the disposition the United States are in towards them, that Colonel Proctor who will deliver this

to/

to you, is now sent to them. – If they will hearken to him well – If they will not, their blood be upon their own heads. – The United States will no longer suffer their depredations, and if they bring utter destruction upon them, they will be justified before the great Spirit and all the world –

Brothers,

Colonel Proctor is the Messenger of peace to all Nations, if they hearken to him, the Tree that we planted at the Muskingum will grow and flourish, and they may sit under its shade. – If they will not hearken to him, keep your selves at a distance, for him will surely overtake them.

Brothers,

I recommend Colonel Proctor to your friendship and good Offices, and request that you will send some of your discreet People with him, to interpret for him if he should be in need of an interpreter –

Farewell,

I am your assured Friend

(signed) Arthur St Clair –

Governor of the Territory of the United States North west of the Ohio –

Philadelphia
March 8. 1791.

[Message - Governor St Clair to the Delawares]

To Captain Pipe, and the other Chiefs of the Delaware Nation -

My Friends and Brothers,

Conformably to the engagement we mutually entered into at Fort Harmar, to give notice to each other of any hostile parties entering our respective Countries, I informed you last Summer, that a Force would march against the Shawanese and Miamies -

Brothers,

You very well know that these Nations had been doing us continual mischief - that we had borne them, in hopes that this your good Counsel, they would come to their senses, as long as it was possible to bear them; but those hopes were disappointed: - the longer that Revenge was delayed, the worse they became -

Brothers,

You know how they suffered last Fall, but it has not had the proper effect upon them -

They/

They still continue to do mischief and have slain killed a number of defenceless Women & Children.

Brothers,

In the last message I sent you, you were told that the United States did not yet hate the Shawanese and Miamies — that if they would return to their senses and do what was just and right they would be taken into friendship. I now tell you again that the United States are not averse to them — they do not wish to destroy them, and it is to carry that information to them, that Colonel Proctor is now going. — If they will listen to him well — the evil that awaits them may yet be avoided. If they will not listen to him their blood lie upon their own heads. — The United States will be justified before the Great Spirit, who loves all his children, red as well as white, and to all the world in bringing that destruction upon them which they have merited long ago —

Brothers,

Relying upon your friendship and good

Faith

Faith, I recommend Colonel Proctor to your good Offices. He is the Messenger of Peace if he shall be so received, and the Nations to whom he is sent are wise they will hearken to him. The United States my Brothers hold fast by the Chain they made with you, and as long as you hold it fast, neither Spirit nor Dust shall be suffered to appear upon it.

Farewell.

I am

Your assured Friend

(Signed) A. St. Clair

Governor of the Territory of the United States, North west of the Ohio

Philadelphia

March 8. 1791.

[The Complaints complaint to the President, U.S.]

Pittsburgh, March 27th 1791.

Sir!

When we raised from the great Council of the thirteen fires, we mentioned, that we meant to have a Council with the Chiefs of the bad angry Indians -

Through the whole Quaker State as we came up the land we was treated well, and they took good care of us until we came here, - one misfortune happened only, that one of our Waggons is not yet arrived here - the one we first engaged, with the Goods you presented to us. -

Father!

Your promise to me was, that you would keep all your People quiet - but since I came here I find that some of my People have been killed - the good, honest People who were here trading -

Father!

We hope you will not suffer all the good People to be killed; - but your People are killing them as fast as they can - three men and one woman have been killed at Big beaver Creek; and they were good People, and some of the white men will testify the truth of this - . When I heard

heard the news, I found one Boy had made his escape and got to the Traders House, who saved his life - I am unwil to See him -

Father!

We have been informed that Twenty Seven men came from another State, and murdered these men in the Quakes State, and took away nine Horses and all the Goods they had purchased from the Traders - Our father and Ruler are all mankind, now Speak! and tell me, did you order these men to be killed?

Father!

Our words is pledged to you that we would endeavour to make peace with all Indians Nations, If we annal do it, do not blame us, you Struck the innocent men first - we hope you will not blame us - as your people has first broke good rules, but as for our people they are as friendly and as fain as ever

Father!

We must now acquaint you with the men names who did this murder at Beaver Creek - Samuel Brady, formerly a Captain in your Army and under your command - Also a Baldwin - Stephens, was concerned in this murder -

Father!

Father!

I can inform you little more, therefore will conclude with asking you how I should have come to the knowledge of this, or how I could have informed you, had it not been for our good friend Joseph Nicholas - I therefore beg you may grant him an appointment as Interpreter, for we cannot see how we will do without him - I know of no other man who speaks your Language and runs so well as him -

Cam his mark
his Plantee mark
Neer his Canoe mark
Half his Town mark
Big his Tree mark

P.S.

The Boy who made his escape at Beaver Creek, has arrived at this place, and I have taken him under my protection - Father! your dispatches for Detroit has been unavoidably detained heretofore - but to-morrow Big Tree and one other shall set forth it, and will also take the Boy mentioned - Tree and deliver him to his Relations - We shall to day at this place - Big Tree going amongst the west Indians to see if they will make peace,

and

and I go to my own people to call them to Council.

Com Blanta

To the President of the United States.

The foregoing is a true copy from the original on the file in the War office of the United States, 28th day of March 1795

T. Hagg Junr Chief Clk

[The Reply of the Secretary of War to the Complaint]

To the Complainter and all Chiefs of the Senekas and Six Nations of Indians.

Brothers!

Your message of the Seventeenth of the present month has been received, in which you complain that a number of friendly Indians were killed at the Big Beaver by Samuel Brady and others who came from another State to commit this murder — And you ask whether the President of the United States ordered the said Men to be killed?

In answer to your message I inform you that the President of the United States has not and will not order any friendly Indians to be killed — That he did not order the Men at Big Beaver to be killed, and that he will be very angry indeed when he shall hear it —

Major General St. Clair the great War-
rior of the United States on the Ohio will en-
quire into this matter, and will comfort the
friends and relations of the persons who were
killed, and will make them compensation
for the horses and other property that was taken
at big Beaver -

Brothers!

You may be convinced that the Pre-
sident of the United States will do all in his
power to bring the Murderers to Justice - And
that he will consider the crime as bad exactly
as if it had been committed against Sanany
white people, and will use the same endeavours
to bring them to justice

Brothers!

Hold fast the Chain of Friendship be-
tween you and the President of the United
States - Do not suffer the conduct of badmen

to/

to create any coolness or disquiet — and all will be well yet —

By this time it is to be hoped Col.o Proctor will have set off for the Miami Indians — Take care of him and assist him in the good work of Peace —

Brothers farewell — May no more accidents arise from the conduct of bad People, to interrupt the friendship of the United States and the Six Nations —

Given under my hand and the Seal of the War Office, this 28th day of March 1793.

L. S.

(signd.) H. Knox
Secy of War.

[Letter — The Secretary of War to Gov.r Clinton.]

L

War department,

April 12th 1791.

Sir.

I have the honor to inform your Excellency, in confidence, that the present view of affairs upon the frontiers, indicate strongly that all the indian tribes north west of the Ohio, will, in the course of the ensuing campaign, be combined in hostilities against the United States.

The President of the United States has been exceedingly desirous of avoiding an indian war, and to establish a genial peace with all the tribes on liberal terms, and measures have been taken for that purpose, but the effect is extremely doubtful. The involved state of things arising from circumstances not under the controul of the general government have

proceeded

proceeded from one stage to another, until it seems but too probable that force only can decide the conteſt.

As it is to be apprehended that the ſix nations may be brought to act againſt us, it has been conceived important to aſſemble them together, particularly the Senekas at as early a period as poſſible, in order to brighten the chain, and to remove all cauſes of diſcontent.

Accordingly Coloneſ Timothy Pickering, who reſides at Wyoming, and who had a meeting the laſt autumn with the Senekas at Tioga Point, has been requeſted to invite the ſix Nations generally to a meeting at ſuch place as ſhall be moſt convenient to them, and at as early period as they could conveniently be aſſembled.

Mean

aware of your Excellency's influence over Captain Joseph Brandt, I have conceived the idea that you might induce him, by proper arguments, to undertake to conciliate the western indians to pacific measures, and bring them to hold a general treaty.

This measure would be abundantly more compatible with the feelings and interest of the United States, than to extirpate the indians, which seems to be the inevitable consequence of war of long continuance with them.

You are entirely able to estimate Brandts talents, and the degree of confidence which might be placed in him on such an occasion. It ought not however to be concealed from your Excellency, that Captain Abeel or the Complanter, has undertaken this object, and that most probably he is actually employed

employed at this time on the business with Colonel Procter, who was sent from this city for the purpose; and it is also proper, that you should understand, that a mortal enmity exists between Brandt and the Complanter.

In this situation of things, if your Excellency should entertain the opinion strongly, that Brandt might be used with good effect, and consistently with the Complanter's mission, and that they would not clash in the business, I earnestly request that you would take the necessary measures for the purpose, according to your own judgement.

Perhaps Colonel Willett, of whose talents in managing the minds of men, I have an high opinion, might ac-

-cept

accept of an agency on this occasion, as it might respect Brandt.

He will be on the spot; and if you should consider the idea practicable, you could give him such information, and instructions, as would tend to success - After which, the Colonel might repair to this city, in order to make further necessary arrangements. Your Excellency could dispatch an express to meet Colonel Willett, either at Colonel Pickerings place of meeting, or such other, as you should judge proper.

Your Excellency will please to hold out such inducements to Brandt, as you may judge proper, with respect to money. The arrangement for Colonel Willett's services should be made satisfactory to him. - Any sum of money which you should conceive

necessary

necessary to put this affair in motion shall be paid to your orders.

I beg your Excellency to be perswaded, that nothing but a solid conviction of your regard for the public welfare, would have constrained me to trouble you on this occasion, and I take the liberty of requesting a line from you immediately in answer to these Suggestions — For, if you should judge them practicable, not a moments time should be lost.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient and very
humble Servant.
Signed H Knox —
Secy of War.

His Excellency
Governor Clinton

M.

Extract of a letter to Governor St. Clair
dated April 7th 1791.

"It will be important to conciliate if possible
"the relations of the friendly Indians who were
"killed on the 9th of last month at big beaver, and
"it will also be important that Colonel Proctor
"should if possible be charged by You with
"conciliatory propositions relative to this Subject"

Extract of a letter to Governor St. Clair
dated 19 April 1791.

"One act of violence of the lawless inhabitants
"of the frontiers seems to succeed another against the
"friendly Indians, until all the tribes will be constrained
"from principles of self defence to Unite against us.

"I am informed by a letter from Fort Pitt of
"the 11th instant that a party of militia of Westmoreland
"County in this State has plundered a boat belonging
"to the contractor which was on his way with a
"supply of provisions to the garison at Venango and
"which boat had on board the goods which the
"United States and the State of Pennsylvania
"presented to the Complanter and his party.

"You will take instant measures to give the
"most Satisfactory assurances to the Complanter
"and his party of complete indemnification for
"every article lost, and that proper lists for
"that purpose be forwarded to me immediately"

York Decem.r 6th 1792

My Lord,

I do myself the honor of enclosing, to Your Lordship, Speeches and Papers that have passed between me and Joseph Brant, since my arrival in this Country, relative to the grant of Lands promised to the Six Nations upon the Grand River by the late Sir Frederick Haldimand.

I felt it my duty to give to the Six Nations thro' Brant the earliest Assurances that the Change of Government would make no alteration in the Kings benevolence towards them and that the granting to them their title Deeds would be among the first objects of my attention when I should arrive in Upper Canada.—

Before I left Quebec I received from Captain Brant the enclosed Answer (N.o 1) to my Letter.—

In consequence of a Council held for the purpose of publickly satisfying the grant of the Lands conceded such a Deed was offered to the Six Nations, as the Laws of England admitted of and as fully Embraced the benevolent Intentions of Sir Frederick Haldimand and Your Lordship; This deed was peremtorily refused by Captain Brant, as it did not contain within it a power for the Indians to Lease their Lands; a power which it appeared to me would be highly injurious to their Interests, and as I was advised illegal in respect to the Customs and Laws of Great Britain. — Previous to this Council, in conversation

Brant

Brant had intimated his expectations of having the Lands granted to the Indians as fully as to the Loyalists; and on my observing that if they had the power of leasing them the Object of the Kings benevolence would be ineffectual, for the Indians would lease them to Land Jobbers; He said Your Lordship had told him as much but that the Indians were not always to be Fools because they once had been such.— The Letter Enclosed /N°2/ was also written to me by Brant soon after this Conversation, and I was informed that there was a great Tumult at the Grand River, and that the Chief Women had met in Council and given it in charge to their Warriors to defend their Lands.—

The Correspondence between General Clarke and Colonel Gordon in Novr. 1791 will have informed Your Lordship that a Murder which was committed at the Grand River had given occasion to an Altercation between the Magistrates of the District and the Indian Chiefs, in the course of which Colonel Gordon thought it proper to stop their Annual presents, until the Offenders should be delivered up to justice; upon Colonel Gordons report of this Matter to General Clarke, It was his Excellency's Order that the Presents should be delivered to the Indians, upon their Chiefs becoming responsible that the Suspected Persons should be amenable to justice whenever the Situation of the Country should be such that they could be brought to Trial.—

Upon the Council being held for the purpose of delivering to the Chiefs of the Grand River their title deeds for the Lands which had been promised to them, Captain Brant

Brant made a long Speech, and delivered a Belt, which upon being interpreted to me by Colonel Butler, to my great surprize, I understood was to cover the Grave of the Person who had been murdered, according to the Ancient Indian Custom, but which has for some years been obsolete in all transactions between His Majesty's Subjects and the Shawanese, who in a Treaty held by Sir William Johnson, as I am informed, had many years ago agreed to deliver up all their People who should commit any Murders to the justice of the British Laws —
I refused this Belt — and left the Council House —
The Indians I apprehend were in great astonishment, and the Affair began to wear a serious aspect — upon the nature of it being fully explained by Colonel Butler, who at the same time added that the Murder was only committed in a "drunken frolick, That there were no "Evidences present, and that his Advice, to the Indians "concerned not to accuse themselves, as being inconsistent "with the Administration of Justice by our Laws, "however wilfully misinterpreted by Brant, was given

" from a conviction of the worthlessness of the Person who
" had fallen the Victim of a drunken Quarrel," / It has
since been understood that the supposed Murderer
was Brants near Relation / and above all seeing
in the whole of Brants conduct an inclination to
Government probably covering some sinister purpose:
It was thought most prudent that I should accept
the Belt / which was accordingly done the next day

Gen

This detail my Lord is necessary to the explanation of many parts of the Speech.—

In conversation with Captain Brant He has stated the impracticability of the Indians supporting themselves by their Hunting, that they could not provide for their Old Men and Children by their forces, and that, He conceived the leasing of them to be the only mode by which they could maintain themselves & their families —

Brant thro' the Medium of some of his friends made an Overture to me to sell part of these Lands — In the Council I had promised to refer the Question to his Majesty, provided the whole of the Six Nations united in the Request — It appeared to me that this matter should not undergo a discussion while the great business of Peace to be transacted by the Indian Confederacy was in agitation — but I took care from time to time to impress upon the Six Nations, and particularly in Conversation to O'Beal that these Lands were granted to the Six Nations and their Allies generally, and by no means to Captain Brant as seemed to be their prevalent Opinion —

In a recent conversation which I held with him I promised to refer the matter to Your Lordship — I stated to him that if it should be thought proper to permit the Indians to sell any part of their Lands, it is obvious to me that it should be a small part of them at the present, that the Township on the Banks of the Lake and one that communicated between the Thames & Burlington Bay the La Tranche and the Head of the Lake, I would be

the most useful to us and the most profitable to them, That the sale ought to be made in London, and the product vested in the British funds the Annual Interest of which should be paid to the uses of their Old People and Children ——

I must observe that Brants remarks in the letter No 2 on Sir John Johnson's wishing to obtain part of the Lands which I have just described, are very improper; as it is fully understood here, that Brant was very willing to give those Lands to Sir John Johnson for his private use, and refused them only, when he understood they were asked for for the benefit of the Crown and the People at large. ——

From Brants conversation I apprehend the Senecas are seriously turning their thoughts in case of accidents to repair to the Grand River ——

Brant has said that the offer of Congress to him were a Township for himself, as much Land as he chose for the Indians, & a Guinea a day for his Life ——

Captain John of the Mohawks and his Village settled in the Bay of Quinté received their title deed with great expressions of thankfulness, and not without observations on the improper Conduct of Brant. —

My Opinion of Brant is that He is true to the Indian Interest and honorable in his Attachment where that is not concerned, to the British Nation, but that He sees the calamities which on all probability

When in my Speech I mention the liberal construction the Government had placed on Sir Frederick Haldimand's promise, I refer to the extention of the Grant of Six Miles on each side of the Grand River, as far as it ran and the Arrangeing with the Mississagues the limits of our Purchase ——

Until I saw this promise of Sir Frederick Haldimand in Plain possession from the proceedings of the Land Board of the District, and the Plans I had received at Quebec I had of course supposed that the Boundary of the Six Nations had not extended so far to the Northward ——

I think it may be agreeable to your Lordship to see the observations of Mr. Hamilton on the Lands on the Grand River — He is a very respectable Person in this Province, and they were communicated to me on my being desirous of obtaining every possible Light on this important Subject — I therefore inclose them for your Lordships perusal. —

I have the honor to be

&c &c &c

Signed

Hy. Ja. Dundas

Right Hon.ble Lord Sydney

Grand River Decemb^{r} 9th 1790

Sir Thayendanegea — the Indian

I take the Liberty to acquaint your Excellency that agreeable to promise I have wrote you three Letters since I had the pleasure saw you Last, and had no answer as yett, However I hope I shall have the satisfaction soon now to recive a Letter from your Excellencys. Plase to remember me kindly to Col^{o} Varick and the Long Island Gentleman, it has been long dune me the tribute which he is to acknowledge, for if nothing has prevented me I determine to be at Fort Stanwix at the first of June next and my way to N^{y} york, I have

So — the honour to be your most
Obed^{t} & Humble Servt,
His Excellency Governor Clinton — Jos Brant

1790-1791
9 Dec 1790-17 Mar 1791

Speeches of Cornplanter to the President of the United States. SEE 30 MAR 1788-27 JAN 1792.

General Statement of the amount of the Expences of the Journey of the Seneca Chiefs to Philadelphia, of the Amount of their Expences already incurred in this City, and of the probable amount of the Expences of their return, together with a statement of presents made to them by the State of Pennsylvania

No 1

To the Amount of the Expences as by an account and Vouchers exhibited by Joseph Nicholson for the Journey to the City of Philadelphia	£	55. 18. 4
the Amount of Cash advanced by the Treasurer of Cumberland County on the said Journey		4. 15. —
the amount of the Tavern Keepers Bill at the Sorrell Horse on the said Journey		4. 15. —
	£	65. 8. 4

No. 2

To the Amount of necessary cloathing during the Stay of the Indians in this City	£ 135.5.2		
the Amount of Expences for board and lodging during the stay of the Indians in this City	233.19.2		
Amount of Expences for keeping the Horses of the Indians during that period as p. Thompsons Bedwells and Trotters Accounts	40.0.6		
Amount of sundry contingent expences during the same period for Medical and other services rendered to and attendance upon the Indians	23.10.-		
	£ 432.14.10		
A moiety to be assumed & paid by the U States	216.7.5	216.	7.5
Errors carried over & Continued	£	249.	1.7

To Amount brought over and Continued		£ 249. 1. 7	
No. 3			
To the Amount of Expences in transporting certain property chiefly consisting of presents from the United States to the Indian Country already incurred	£ 37. 13. 9		
the Amount of the Expences of the Journey back to be estimated by the Amount of the expences hither	£ 65. 8. 4		
£	103. 2. 1		
& moiety to be assumed and paid by the United States	£ 51. 11. 0½	51. 11. 0½	
No 4			
To Amount of the Reward offered by the State for apprehending a certain Samuel Doyle suspected to be concerned in the Murder of two Indians	£	50. —	
The Amount to be assumed and paid by the United States		£ 350. 12. 11½	
The Amount chargeable to the Commonwealth	£		

No 5.

To amount of Sundry necessary presents to the Indian Chiefs during their stay in Philad[a]	£	23. 6.	323.	18.	7½
			£ 674.	11.	3

Deduct the Amount of Orders drawn by Council towards defraying the above expences Viz[t]

1790 Octo[r] 6	Warrant in favr of Hebburn & Cowden for apprehending Sam[l] Doyle agreeably to Proclamation				
	£50 Specie Warr drawn for papers	£	56. 5.		
26	do in favr of Mr Biddle for		100.		
Nov[r] 1	do do Mr Nicholson for		15.		
Dec[r] 9	do do do for		15.		
21	do do Will[m] Hasell for		50.		
	Papers	£	236. 5.		

115

NB It is to be observed that in the above account, no charge is included for the Expences of the Indians which will probably arise before they leave this City, but this may be estimated at the rate of four pounds ten shillings ₱ day

The charge for compensation and maintainance of the Interpreter is likewise, omitted, in the above statement.

The Warrants are payable in paper Money, and, therefore, the discount should be taken into consideration when provision is made for the general settlement of the Account.

Estimate Indian expenses

General Statement of the Expences of the Seneca Chiefs &c.

Read in Senate Jan 21. 1791

Sir, Philadelphia Dec.r 23.d 1790.

In obedience to your order of the 4th of September last, I took the necessary steps for holding a conference with the Sachems Chiefs & Warriors of the Seneca Nation of Indians; residing in Pennsylvania relative to the murders of two of their people at Pine Creek. I wrote a letter to them by the express who at the same time carried a letter from the President of Pennsylvania. In my letter I informed them, "that all business between them & the citizens of these states was, in future, to be conducted by the authority of the United States, through their President, or Great Chief: that I was appointed by him to wash off the blood of their murdered brothers, & wipe away the tears from the eyes of their friends: that for those purposes I would meet the relations of the deceased at Tioga, on Monday the 25th of October, then next: that the President desired the Chiefs of the Turtle tribe (to which the deceased belonged) and other great men of their nation would on that day come to Tioga, with the relations of the deceased, to be witnesses to the above transaction, to receive the assurances of his good will towards them, and of the friendship of the United States: and that then also the chain of friendship between us should be brightened."

Letter to the President Dec.r 23. 1790.

At the same time I wrote to Mr Pickens, & to Joseph Smith, Indian Interpreters whom I engaged to employ as an interpreter, requesting them to use their endeavours to prevent the assembling of a multitude; & informing them that you deemed it unnecessary to assemble more than the relations of the deceased & a few of their chief men. On the 27th of September, I was by the return of the express, I received an answer from Mr Pickens, informing me that he had set out on his way to New England: but had advised Mr Smith to use his influence to prevent the coming of the Indians

Indians in great numbers. He at the same time ~~expressed his~~ intimated that their number might amount to 500.

On the 17th of October I sent off for Tioga, to make the ~~necessary~~ provision for the Indians against their arrival ~~engaged there~~ ~~to be supplied~~ supplies. By the 23d the necessary supplies were in readiness. But it was the 29th in the evening, before an Indian arrived. The next morning the Wise Chief Little Billy, accompanied by four other runners, came to my quarters & delivered a message from their Chiefs. They informed me that the Indians ~~were coming~~ would meet me at Tioga, agreeably to my request; & that great numbers would ~~attend~~ come to see me; and requested me to help them on their way by having provisions prepared for them at the Painted Post & Newtown Point. I agreed to their request, telling them I did it to enable the Indians to travel ~~faster~~ with more speed & convenience: but that no more would be furnished at those places than would be absolutely necessary to bring them forward to Tioga.

Two runners were then sent back to meet the Indians, to inform them of the provision which ~~should be made~~ would be ready for them at the Painted Post & Newtown Point; and to hasten them on.

It was the 9th of November before the Runners returned. In the afternoon Little Billy came with them to deliver me an answer from the body of Indians, who were now advancing. "Where the causes of delay, the hard & many stories had been told among the Indians which occasioned their holding councils; and so they were delayed." — I have now reason to believe that that was the principal, if not the sole cause of their delay.

The main body of the Indians arrived ~~on~~ the 14th of November; a few straggling fell in afterward, which made the whole number, ~~amount~~ amount to about 220.

The subsequent proceedings appear in the ~~inclosed~~ transcripts presented.

In the papers, some circumstances which I have noted ~~mentioned~~ ~~It~~ with the novelty of the scene ~~matter~~ which led me to mention them; may seem too minute; but so far as they ~~seem to discover~~ discover ~~the~~ marks of peculiar traits in the Indian character, ~~they~~ I trust they will be forgiven: and if ~~herewith~~ communicated to any other agent to whom the scene should be equally novel, the detail may be ~~of~~ useful. With very great respect

Sir
Your most obed. Servt
T. Pickering

The President of U.S.

Dear Brother, Philadelphia Dec. 23. 1790.

I arrived here the night before last. My business is to make my report to the President of the United States of the result of a conference I have lately held with the Indians of the Six nations, the event of which has been perfectly successful. The occasion, was the barbarous murder of two Indians on the frontiers of this state. To prevent retaliation on innocent inhabitants, the President appointed me to hold the Conference with them. This day I have made my report, which I flatter myself will be approved.

I left home last Sunday morning, when my family were all in perfect health. Here I have the pleasure of meeting Mr Wingate (I am now at his lodging) whom I had not seen in fourteen years. Mr Goodhue lodges at the same house. - They inform me of the general health of the family, & that you are remarkably well. Mr Williams, I am happy to hear, is recovering. - Please to

Please to tell him that I received his kind favour of Sept.r or Oct. Last. I found it at my house on my return from the Indian Conference the last of November. I shall be exceedingly glad if he should fulfil his intention of making me a visit next summer.

Mr. Wingate gives me a flattering account of my Son John: I wish he could be persuaded to write to me: but perhaps he has almost forgotten me: or ceases to remember me with affection. His brother Tim would be very much gratified by a letter from him. His other brothers scarcely recollect him, & others never knew him. We think they are all fine boys, whom our eastern friends would see with pleasure.

I will again write you before I leave town. In the mean time I remain

very affectionately your

T. Pickering

John Pickering Esq.

T Pickering Dec.r 1790

A further report of the proceedings with the Indians, at the Conference held at Tioga in November 1790.

~~Having~~ sufficient reason to believe that the Indians invited to that conference, had been kept back by the arts & lies of some white men living at Genesco, [~~particularly of Horatio Jones and William Ewing~~,] I thought it of consequence to exhibit their true characters to the principal Indian Chiefs, in order to destroy the confidence they had been accustomed to place in them, ~~particularly~~ ^ especially in one of them. Horatio Jones. ~~for Ewing was but a new acquaintance~~. Jones is an interpreter (a better one, it ~~was~~ ^ is said, than Smith whom I had employed) and ~~possessed~~ ^ a man who possessed great influence over the Indians: but an unprincipled fellow. At the same time it was said that Smith (an honester man) was entirely under Jones's influence. I wished therefore, by exposing Jones's duplicity toward Smith, effectually to seperate them. For these purposes, on the 24th of November, I convened the four principal chiefs (the Farmer's Brother, Red-Jacket, Little Beard and Big-Tree) ^ "sympathizers" four other Seneca chiefs and one Onondaga chief were also present, together with

with General Chapin, Mr Street, and the two interpreters Joseph Smith & Jasper Parrish.

The runners who delivered me a message from the Seneca Chiefs, brought me an open letter, signed Horatio Jones, and expressed to be written at the request of the Sachems & Chief Warriors of the Seneca nation. In this letter he says, "the Indians hope I will send back a runner to set the kettles a boiling; & that they wish to have a part of their provisions at Genesco — a part at the Painted Post — and a part at Newtown Point." — As this differed from the verbal message delivered by the runners, I particularly asked these, whether the chiefs desired me to supply them with provisions only at the Painted Post & Newtown Point. They answered that nothing more was requested. "They did not, then, wish me to hang on the kettles at Genesco"? They answered, "They did not — because it was too far off." — This fact was confirmed by the Chiefs at this private conference. — Besides this open letter, the runners delivered me two that were sealed; one signed Horatio Jones, speaking contemptuously of Smith, and claiming exclusively, that ever compensation should be allowed for interpreting the letters from the council of Pennsylvania, last July & September, as well as mine inviting the Indians to the

conference

conference; and for all the trouble attending the business. The other sealed letter was signed William Ewing — mentioning that the Indians desired provisions to be furnished to them at Genesee, and offering to supply them. Ewing also wrote a letter to Colo Wilson, on the same subject. The original open letter, & copies of the sealed letters are inclosed.* Jones, it is said, is a shrewd fellow, but illiterate: Ewing wrote all the letters.

The villainy of these two men now became apparent. They fabricated a lie, hoping I should send back a runner with orders for them to furnish provisions to the Indians; which they would supply at extravagant prices, for so long a time as they should think fit to detain them: for while well fed the Indians would have no desire to move. The Indians did not in fact reach Tioga till three weeks after the time appointed: being detained the greater part of that time by the lies and artifices of those two men. — I had also satisfactory information that the Indians were even made to fear that they would be ill used at the conference, and they actually came forward not without apprehensions of danger. It was this which induced them to urge General Chapin to come with them: and indeed they would take no denial. — The lies, the avarice, the

baseness

* Colo Wilson & Ewing were ordered with them in case the Indians should accept the provisions offered them, to supply them; and in this case to draw on the Commissary for the amount. Ewing wrote all the letters. In one of the letters written to me he says "the Indians were made to fear that they would be ill used at the conference, and that they actually came forward not without apprehensions of danger. It was this which induced them to urge General Chapin to come with them: and indeed they would take no denial. — The lies, the avarice, the baseness of Jones & Ewing, and the villainy of the Interpreters, with the ignorance of the Indians, were the causes of the delay. Jones & Ewing wrote all the letters. Jones, it is said, is a shrewd fellow, but illiterate. Ewing wrote to me that he had no regard to truth. Jones & Ewing were ordered with them in case the Indians should accept the provisions offered them, to supply them; and in this case to draw on the Commissary for the amount. Ewing wrote all the letters. In one of the letters written to me he says "the Indians were made to fear that they would be ill used at the conference, and that they actually came forward not without apprehensions of danger. It was this which induced them to urge General Chapin to come with them: and indeed they would take no denial. — The lies, the avarice, the baseness of Jones & Ewing, and the villainy of the Interpreters, with the ignorance of the Indians, were the causes of the delay. Jones & Ewing wrote all the letters. Jones, it is said, is a shrewd fellow, but illiterate. Ewing wrote to me that he had no regard to truth. Jones & Ewing

Jones Young
baseness of ~~the two men~~ I exposed them
pointed terms; ~~and with all the marks~~
~~of indignation which their villainy excit-~~
~~ed.~~ I have reason to hope that it will
not be in their power to do like mischief
in future.

When this matter was finished, the
~~Cornp~~ Red Jacket addressed me
as follows.

Brother,

You have now begun to settle the af-
fairs of the nation, & brighten the chain of friendship.
— This has been the case, since so many small
council-fires were kindled, that there were
different Ears [Interpreters,] and they did not
know at one council what had been done at
another. — Now we have brightened the chain
of friendship, and the business is begun upon
a large scale; it is the mind of the Six Nations
here, that they should have the same interpreters
[pointing to Joseph Smith & Jasper Parish] at
another treaty (if another should be held) as at
this: for these know what has now been done
here. It is our mind (and such was always the
mind of our forefathers) when we find men
who have faithful ears, & know the ways of
Indians, that they should attend to all our bu-
siness in treaties with the United States and their
citizens. ~~thereof~~

As

As the business done at the present treaty has been publicly done, we wish the account thereof may be spread far and near: for everything has been done openly. We meant not to do any thing in the dark; but in the light, that every one might see. — We wish that Mr Street [pointing to him] may attend future treaties; as he has been present, and knows what has been done at this time.

These are the few words we had to say, that the President of the United States, after he has heard what is our mind, may soon let us hear from him.

[To this speech I answered —]

Brothers,

I will report your present speech, with all your other speeches, to the President of the United States, who will do what is proper: but of that he must judge.

They discovered a degree of solicitude that the superintendancy of Indian affairs might be soon ~~immediately~~ appointed, agreeably to the law which I had explained to them.

During the conference, (who I am told is now in this city) Allen, who lives at Genesee, informed me that the chiefs of the Seneca nation had given him a deed of a tract of land, six miles square, on Genesee river, for the use of his two children by an Indian woman; and desired me to take & certify the acknowledgement of

of it by the Chiefs in Public Council: But I declined doing it, for two reasons, one (which I gave him) - that I did not consider the present to be such a public treaty as was within the meaning of the late law of the United States for regulating Intercourse with the Indians; - the other was, that I felt no disposition to sanction a conveyance of a whole township of the most valuable land, which I suspected had been craftily obtained, without a reasonable consideration. Mr Allen's conduct during the late war (contrary to his own pretensions) and his private character, are pretty well known to many people conversant with that country; and their concurrent information shows that he deserves no favour from the United States, or any of them.

William Gloum

An inhabitant of Wyoming requested me to give an order to the interpreter Smith, to demand of the Indians the surrender of his sister, who, at about six years of age, had been taken prisoner by them, during the late war. The demand itself would be so just & so humane, I felt myself constrained to make it, tho' by the assumption of an authority to which, was beside the object my commission did not extend. A copy of the order is herewith presented.

The Chief called Red Jacket (who is a man of great ambition) requested me to give him a certificate relative to his character and conduct

conduct. I found the thing would please him. I was also informed that it had been the custom of the British, in that manner to gratify the principal chiefs. ~~I therefore wrote four such certificates, the copies of three of which are herewith presented. The fourth was delivered to the Cayuga Chief, of which, in my hurry I find I took no copy. These three interpreted and delivered separately to the Chiefs, who were highly pleased.~~ I gave certificates to four of them; with which they were well pleased.

~~There is~~ One thing more ~~which~~ it may be proper to mention. — The Chiefs at Tioga knew that Obeil (the Cornplanter) & some other Indians were gone to Philadelphia, to talk with the Executive of this state: But ~~those~~ Chiefs appeared to me to consider Obeil & his companions not at all as representing the nation on this occasion: but, on the contrary, that they had gone down of their own heads, to serve their own views. I had not, indeed, as I remember, any direct communication from ~~a direct discourse with~~ the Chiefs on the subject: but from some how or other ~~transient conversation~~, the impression of the fact, as above mentioned, was made, and rests on my mind. — I do not know what are Obeil's pretensions: but I thought ~~it was my duty to have taken the liberty~~ to drop this ~~only as a~~ cautionary intimation.

Timothy Pickering.

Philadelphia Dec.r 24th 1790.

Report of a
Private Conference,
&c. with Indian Chiefs,
at Tioga, Nov. 24th
1790.

[Copy]

The Secretary of War, to whom the President of the United States was pleased to refer the papers containing the proceedings of Colonel Timothy Pickering with the Seneka Indians at Tioga Point in November 1790,

Respectfully reports,

That he has attentively examined the said papers transmitted by Colonel Pickering the fourth and twenty third of the present Month of December, and containing an account of his proceedings with the Seneka Indians pursuant to his instructions and Commission from the President of the United States.

That

That he is of opinion, that the said proceedings of Colonel Timothy Pickering were conducted with abilities and judgement, and consistently with the Constitution and Laws of the United States — and also with the candor and humanity which ought to characterize all the treaties of the General Government with the unenlightened Natives of the Country

All which is humbly submitted

Signed H. Knox
Secretary of War.

War Department
27 December 1790.

The Cornplanter Halftown and the Great tree Chiefs of the Seneca Nation

To the Governor of Pennsylvania

What remains in our hearts to say to you is That at the Treaty at Fort Stanwix we Sold to you the Lands South West of a West line Beginning below the Forks of Tioga branch of the Susquehanna and extending to western Boundary of your state and we appointed one of our nation to see the Line run according to that bargain But your People run that line without sending for that man and set out several miles above the Tioga Fork — This was not right. ———

We understand that it is your desire to have this Land and may be it was a mistake in your Surveyor (and we are willing to think it was) that they run it wrong — We now see that the line is very plain and can be remembered — And as you have now treated us very kindly we are willing you should have the Land up to the line as it is now run but we desire that you will pay us for what lies between where the line was agreed to run and the line as it is now marked We desire you to pay us a reasonable price for it ———

At Philad^{a} December 30th 1790

Joseph Nicholason Interpriter

Complanter his X mark

Half Town his X mark

Big Tree his X mark

(Copy)

From Seneca Chiefs to the Governor

1790 Jan. 30 Letter from Cornplanter Half Town and Great Tree Chiefs of the Seneca Nation of Indians — To the Governor of Pennsylvania

Read in Senate Jan. 13. 1790 Ordered to lie on the Table

Th. S.

1790, Dec. 31 SC 16

To the great Council of the 13 Fires

The speech of the complainters, Half Town, & the Great Tree, Chiefs and Counsellors of the Seneca Nation. —

Father,

The Voice of the Seneca Nation, speaks to You the great Counsellor, in whose heart the wise men of all the 13 fires have placed their wisdom; it may be very small in Your ears, am. We therefore intreat You to hearken with attention, for we are about to speak of things which are to us very great: —

When your Army entered the County of the Six Nations, we called you the Town Destroyer, and to this Day when that name is heard our women look behind them and turn pale, and our Children cling close to the rock of their Mothers.

Our Counsellors and warriors are men and cannot be afraid but their hearts are touched at the fears of our women and Children, and desire that it may be buried so deep as to be heard no more. —

When You gave us peace, we called you Father, because you promised to secure us in the possession of our Lands: Do this and so long as the Sun shall remain, that beloved name will live in the heart of every Seneca. —

Father, We mean to open our hearts before You and we earnestly desire that You will let us clearly Understand what you resolve to Do. — When our Chiefs returned from the Treaty at Fort Stanwix and laid before our Council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear, how great a bounty you had compelled them to give up to You without your paying, or any thing for it, every one said that

that your heards were yet Swelled with resentment against us for what had happened During the war, but that one day you would reconsider it with more kindness; we asked each other: what have we Done to deserve such Severe chastisement. —

Father When you kindled your 13 fires seperately the wise men who assembled at them, told us that you were all Brothers, the Children of one great Father, who regarded also the Red people as his Children: — They called us Brothers and invited us to his protection; they told us that he resided beyond the great waters where the Sun first rises; that he was a King whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was bright as that Sun.

What they said went to our hearts, we accepted the invitation and promised to obey him: — What the Seneca nation promise they faithfully performs: and when you refused obedience to that King he commanded us to assist his beloved men, in making you sober: in obeying him we did no more than Yourselves had led us to promise: — The man who claimed this promise told us that when they had Shaken you, you would submit: — we hearkened to them, and were received, until your army approached our towns: — we were deceived but your people teaching us to confide in that King, had helped to deceive us; and now appeals to your hearts: — Doll the blame ours. —

Father. When we saw that we had been deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us, to draw near to the fire, which you had kindled and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste towards it, you then told us, you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded from us a great Country, as the price of that peace you had offered us; as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights: — our Chiefs had felt your power, and were unable to contend with you, and they therefore gave up that Country: — What they agreed to has bound our Nation; but your anger against us must at this time be cooled, and altho our strength has not Increased, nor your power become less: we ask you to —

their lands." STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, WIS., SC-18.

to consider calmly, wether the terms dictated to us by your Commissioners reasonable and just. —

Fathers, your Commissioners when they drew the line which Sepuated the Land then given upto you, from that which you agreed should remain to be ours, did most solemnly promise, that we should be secured in the peaceable Possession of the lands which we inhabited East and North of that line; does the promise bind you: Hear now we intreat you, what has since happened concerning that Land:— On the day in which we finished the treaty at Fort Stanwix, Commissioners from Pensylvania told our Chiefs, that they had come there to purchase from us all the lands belonging to us, within the lines of their State; and they told us their line would Strike the River Susquehanna below the Tioga Branch; they then left us to consider of the bargain till the next day:— On the next day we let them know that we were unwilling to sell all the land within their State, and proposed to let them have a part of it which we thought to them on their Map;— They told us they must have the whole that it was already ceded to them by the great King at the time of making peace with you, and was then their own; but they said they would not take advantage of that and were willing to pay us for it after the manner of their ancestors: our Chiefs were unable to contend at that time and therefore they sold the Land up to the line which was then shewn them, as the lines of that State; what the Commissioners had said about the Land having been ceded to them at the peace our Chiefs considered as intended only to lessen the price; and they passed it by with very little notice:— but since that time we have heard so much from others about the right to our lands which the King gave when you made peace with him, that it is our earnest desire that you would tell us what it means;—

Fathers, our Nation impowered John Livingston to talk out a part of our lands:— he told us that he was sent by Congress to do this for us; and we fear he has deceived us in the quantity he has obtained from us:— for since the time of our giving that

that house a man named Phelps, , has come and Claimed our whole Country, northward of the line of Pensylvania under a purcha from that Livingston, to whom he said he had paid twenty Thou sand Dollars for it: — he said also that he had bought likewise, from the Canadá Indians, and paid them 20 Thousand Dollars more for the same: — and he said also that it did not belong to us, for that the great King had ceded the whole of it when you made peace with him: — Thus he Claimed the whole Country north of Pensylvania, and west of the lands belonging to the Cayugas He demanded, he insisted on his Demand, and declared to us, that he would have it all. It was impossible for us to grant him this, and we Immediately refused it: — after some Days he proposed to run a line a small distance eastward of our western boundary, which we also refused to agree to: He then threatened us with immedi=ate war if we did not comply; — upon this threat our Chiefs held a Council, and they agreed, that no event of war could be worse than to be driven with their Wives and Children, from the only Country which we had any right to and therefore weak as our Nation was they determined to take the chances of war, rather than submit to such unjust demands, which seemed to have no bounds: — Just the great Indian at Niagara was then with us having come at the request of Phelps, and as he had always professed to be our great friend, we consulted him on this subject, he also told us that our lands had been ceded by the King, and that we must give them up. —

Astonished at what ~~he had said~~ we heard from every Quarter, with hearts aching with compassion, for our women and children we were thus compelled to give up all our Country, north of the line of Pensylvania: — ~~In this land Phelps agree to pay us~~ and east of the Chenesio River, up to the great forks, and east of a south line drawn from the fork to the line of Pensylvania = For this land Phelps agreed to pay us Ten Thousand Dollars in hand and one Thousand Dollars a year for ever: — He paid us two

two thousand five hundred Dollars, and he sent for us to come last Spring, and receive our money but instead of paying us the remainder, of the ten thousand Dollars, and the one thousand Dollars due, for the first year, he offered us only five hundred Dollars, and insisted that he had agreed with us, for that sum to be paid yearly; — we debated with him for Six Days, during all which time, he persisted in refusing to pay us our just Demand; and he insisted that we should receive the five hundred Dollars; and Street from Niagara, also insisted on our receiving the money as it was offered to us; the last reason which he assigned for continuing to refuse paying us, was, that the King had ceded the Lands to the 13 Fires, and that he had bought them from you, and paid you for them. —

Father, We could bear this confusion no longer, and Determined to push through every Difficulty, and lift up our voice, so that you might hear us; and to claim that Security in the possession of our lands, which your Commissioners so solemnly promised us, and we now intreat you, to enquire into our complaints and redress our wrongs. —

Father, Our Interpreters were Employed in the Lands of Street at Niagara, as we suppose him to be our friend; but when we saw Phelps consulting with Street on every occasion, we doubted of his honesty towards us; and we have since heard, that he was to receive for his endeavours to deceive us, a piece of land ten miles in width west of the Chenesco River, and near forty miles in length extending to Lake Ontario; and the lines of this tract, have been run accordingly, altho no part of it is within the bounds, which limit his purchase. —

Father, you have said that we are in your hands, and that by closing it, you could crush us to nothing; are you Determined to crush us; if you are, tell us so, that those of our Nation, who have become your Children, and have Determined to die so, may know what to do, in this case, one Chief has said he would ask you to put him out of his pain, another who will not think of Dying by the hand of his Father, or of his Brother, has said, he will retire to the Chalaughque, eat of the fatal root, and Sleep with his Fathers in peace. —
Before you Determine on a measure so unjust look up to God who made us as well as you; we hope he will not permit you to Destroy the whole of our Nation. —

Father

Hear our case, many Nations inhabited this Country, but they had no wisdom, and therefore they waned together The Six Nations (Seneca's) were powerful and compelled them to peace; — The lands for a great extent were given up to them but the Nations which were not Destroyed all continued on those lands, and claimed the protection of the Six Nations, as the Brothers of their Fathers; they were Men and when at peace they had a right to live upon the Earth. ——

The French came among us, and built Niagara, they became our Fathers, and took care of us; — Sr. William Johnson came and took that Fort from the French; he became our Father, and promised to take care of us; and he did so untill You were too Strong for his King: — To him we gave, four Miles round Nigara, as a place of trade — we have already said how we came to join against you; — we saw that we were wrong, we wished for peace, you demanded a great County to be given up to you: — It was surrendered to You as the price of peace, and we ought to have peace and possession of the title lands which you then left us — .

Father, When that great County was given up to you, there were but few Chiefs present, and they were compelled to give it up: — and it is not the six nations only that reproach those Chiefs, with having given up that County; — The Chippaways, and all the Nations who lived on those Lands Westward call to us and ask us, Brothers of our Fathers where is the place, which you have reserved for us to lie down upon

Father, you have compelled us to do that which has made us ashamed: — We have nothing to answer to the Children of the Brothers of our Fathers: — When last Spring they called upon us to go to war to secure them a bed to lie down upon The Senecas intreated them to be Quiet, untill we had Spoken to You, but on our way down, we heard that Your army had gone toward the Country which those Nations Inhabit: and if they meet together the best blood on both sides, will fall to the ground. ——

Father, We will not conceal from you, that the

their lands." STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN; MADISON; WIS.;
SC-18.

great God, and not Man, has insured the Complanter from the hands of his own Nation, for they ask continually where is the Land on which our Children, and their Children after them, are to lie down upon: — You told us (say they) that the line drawn from Pensylvania to Lake Ontario, would mark it forever on the east, and the line running from Beve Creek to Pensylvania, would mark it on the west; and we see that it is not so; for just one and then another come and take it away by order of that people which you tell us, promised to secure it to us; He (the Complantee) is silent for he has nothing to — answer: — When the Sun goes Down, he opens his heart before God and earlier than the Sun appears again upon the Hills he gives thanks for his protection during the Night; for he feels that among Men become Desperate by the Injuries they sustain, it is God only that can preserve him: — he loves peace, and all he had in Store, he has given to those who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the Innocent to repay themselves: — The whole season which others have employed in providing for their Families, he has spent in endeavouring to preserve peace: — and this moment his wife and Children are lying on the ground and in want of food: — His heart is no stone for them, but he perceives that the great [illegible] will try his firmness in doing Right. —

Father — The game which the great Spirit sent into our Country, for us to eat, is gone from among us: we thought he intended that we should till the ground with the plough, as the white people do; and we talked to one another about it, but before we speak to you concerning this, we must know from you whether you mean to leave us, and our Children, any land to till; Speak plainly to us — concerning this great business. —

All the Lands we have been speaking of belonged to the Six Nations: — no part of it belonged to the King of England and he could not give it to you: — The land we live on our Fathers received from God, and they transmitted it to us, for our Children, and we cannot part with it.

Father

Father, We told you that we would open our hearts to you; hear us once more; - at Fort Harmar we agreed to deliver up those of our people, who should do You any wrong, and that You might try them, and punish them according to your Law; we delivered up two Men accordingly but instead of trying them according to your Laws, the lowest of your people, took them from your Magistrates, and put them Immediately to Death. - It is Just to punish the murder with Death; but the Senecas will not Deliver up their people to Men who disregard the treaties of their own Nation. -

Father, Innocent Men of our Nation, are killed one after another, and of our best Families, but none of your people, who have committed those murders have been punished. We recollect that you did not promise to punish those who killed our people; and we now ask wasit intended that your people Should kill the Senecas, and not be punished, but be protected from them

Father, These are to us, that you are very strong, are wise, and we shall be we may know that you [illegible] the last day of Dec. [illegible] his mark, Half Town mark, in the presence of and sundry others. —

ny great things, we know d we have heard that you ear your answer, that just. Signed at Philadel 1790 by the Conplanter his mark Big Tree (D his Nicholson Interpreter

[In Sparks's Writings of Washington, Vol. 4, p. 358.]

Sir, Philadelphia Dec.r 31. 1790. Evening.

Evening. Recd. & I have this moment read your very obliging letter of this date, expressing your entire approbation of my conduct in the Conference which, by your orders, I have lately held with the Senaka Indians. This explicit and pointed approbation of my proceedings is the more grateful, because they were my first essay; having been, till then, a stranger to the manners of Indians, & to the proper mode of treating with them. But, Sir, I have found that they are not difficult to please. A man must be destitute of humanity, of honesty, or of common sense who should send them away disgusted: he must be void of sensibility if he did not sympathize with them on the recital of the injuries they have experienced from white men. The manner, in which you have manifested your approbation of my conduct in this business is more than I expected; though, next to the approbation of my own mind, nothing could have given me more satisfaction.

With sincere respect

I am Sir,

The President of the U States. your obliged & most obed.t Servant

P.P.

United States December 31st 1790

Sir,

I have the pleasure to enclose for you the Report of the Secretary at War upon the papers which were referred to him, relative your transactions with the Seneka Indians in November last.

To this satisfactory Report I am happy to add my entire Approbation of your conduct in this business — and am,

With very great esteem & regard,

Sir,

Your most Obed.t Serv.t

G. Washington

Colonel Timothy Pickering —

To the Honorable the Governor and the
Legislature of the State New York in Senate
and Assembly Convened

The Petition of John Harris and James Bennett
Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioners have lived on the
Cayuga at the Ferry on the Road Leading from the
Seneca River into the Seneca Country for this four
Years past and have laid out Considrable Sum of
money in Building of Boats and other Improvements
for the Accommodation of Travellers going into the
western part of this State and Now Live at the Mercy
of the Cayuga Nation of Indians Liable to be Removed
Off at any time which Makes Our Situation very Disa-
greeable at Present

Therefore your Petitioners pray that Your Honorable
Body will take our Situation into Consideration and Grant
us Liberty of Making Our Contract with the said Cayuga
Indians for a small piece of Land on Each Side of the Lake
Ferry that we may accommodate Travellers and your Humble
Petitioners in duty bound will ever pray

John Harris

James Bennett

I have settled with Robert King for his services relative to the late Conference held by me with the Indians at Tioga, from the third of October to the twentieth of December last, the day I supposed he would reach home. —

Philadelphia January 4th. 1791

Timothy Pickering

To whom it may Concern —

True Copy

A. J. Dallas,

Secretary

Certificate of Timothy Pickerings
settlement with Robert King while
in the service of the United States.

(A.)

Read in Senate Feb 7. 1791

INDIAN CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 10*th January*, 1791.

The speech of the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Great-Tree, Chiefs of the Seneca Nation, to the President of the United States of America.

FATHER:—Your speech written on the great paper is to us like the first light of the morning to a sick man, whose pulse beats too strongly in his temples and prevents him from sleep. He sees it, and rejoices, but he is not cured. You say that you have spoken plainly on the great point. That you will protect us in the lands secured to us at Fort Stanwix, and that we have the right to sell or to refuse to sell it. This very good, but our nation complain that you compelled us at that treaty to give up too much of our lands. We confess that our nation is bound by what was then done, and acknowledging your power, we have now appealed to yourselves against that treaty as made while you were too angry to us, and, therefore, unreasonable and unjust. To this you have given us no answer.

Father: That treaty was not made with a single State, it was with the thirteen States. We would never have given all that land to one State. We know it was before you had the great authority, and as you have more wisdom than the commissioners who forced us into that treaty, we expect that you have also more regard to justice, and will now, at our request reconsider that treaty and restore to us a part of that land.

Father: The land which lies between the line running south from lake Erie to the boundary of Pennsylvania as mentioned

at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the eastern boundary of the land which you sold, and the Senecas confirmed to Pennsylvania, is the land on which Half Town and all his people live with other chiefs, who always have been, and still are, dissatisfied with the treaty at Fort Stanwix. They grew out of this land, and their fathers' fathers grew out of it, and they can not be persuaded to part with it. We therefore entreat you to restore to us this little piece.

Father: Look at the land which we gave to you at that treaty, and then turn your eyes upon what we now ask you to restore to us, and you will see that what we now ask you to return is a very little piece. By giving it back again, you will satisfy the whole of our nation. The chiefs who signed that treaty will be in safety, and peace between your children and our children will continue so long as your land shall join to ours. Every man of our nation will then turn his eyes away from all the other lands which we then gave up to you, and forget that our fathers ever said that they belonged to them.

Father: We see that you ought to have the path at the carrying place from lake Erie to Niagara, as it was marked down at Fort Stanwix, and we are all willing it should remain to be yours. And if you desire to reserve a passage through the Conewango, and through the Chatauque lake and land, for a path from that lake to lake Erie, take it where you best like. Our nation will rejoice to see it an open path for you and your children, while the land and water remain. But let us also pass along the same way, and continue to take the fish of those waters in common with you.

Father: You say that you will appoint an agent to take care of us. Let him come and take care of our trade; but we desire he may not have anything to do with our lands; for the agents which have come amongst us, and pretended to take care of us, have always deceived us whenever we sold lands; both when the King of England and when the States have bargained with us. They have by this means occasioned many wars, and we are therefore unwilling to trust them again.

Father: When we return home, we will call a great council and consider well how lands may be hereafter sold by our nation. And when we have agreed upon it, we will send you no-

tice of it. But we desire that you will not depend on your agent for information concerning land; for, after the abuses which we have suffered by such men, we will not trust them with anything which relates to land.

Father: We will not hear lies concerning you, and we desire that you will not hear lies concerning us, and then we shall certainly live at peace with you.

Father: There are men who go from town to town and beget children, and leave them to perish, or, except better men take care of them, to grow up without instruction. Our nation has long looked around for a father, but they found none that would own them for children, until you now tell us that your courts are open to us as to your own people. The joy which we feel at this great news, so mixes with the sorrows that are passed, that we cannot express our gladness, nor conceal the remembrance of our afflictions. We will speak of them at another time.

Father: We are ashamed that we have listened to the lies of Livingston, or been influenced by threats of war by Phelps, and would hide that whole transaction from the world, and from ourselves, by quietly receiving what Phelps promised to give us for the lands they cheated us of. But as Phelps will not even pay us according to that fraudulent bargain, we will lay the whole proceedings before your court. When the evidence which we can produce is heard, we think it will appear that the whole bargain was founded on lies, which he placed one upon another; that the goods which he charges to us as part payment were plundered from us; that if Phelps was not directly concerned in the theft, he knew of it at the time, and concealed it from us; and that the persons we confided in were bribed by him to deceive us in the bargain. And if these facts appear, that your court will not say that such bargains are just, but will set the whole aside.

Father: We apprehend that our evidence might be called for, as Phelps was here and knew what we have said concerning him; and as Ebenezer Allen knew something of the matter, we desired him to continue here. Nicholson, the interpreter, is very sick, and we request that Allen may remain a few days longer, as he speaks our language.

Father: The blood which was spilled near Pine Creek is covered, and we shall never look where it lies. We know that Pennsylvania will satisfy us for that which we spoke of to them before we spoke to you. The claim of friendship, will now, we hope, be made strong as you desire it to be. We will hold it fast, and our end of it shall never rust in our hands.

Father: We told you what advice we gave to the people you are now at war with, and we now tell you that they have promised to come again to our towns next spring. We shall not wait for their coming, but will set out very early and shew to them what you have done for us, which must convince them that you will do for them everything which they ought to ask. We think they will hear and follow our advice.

Father: You give us leave to speak our minds concerning the tilling of the ground. We ask you to teach us to plough and to grind corn; to assist us in building saw mills, and supply us with broad axes, saws, augers, and other tools, so as that we may make our houses more comfortable and more durable; that you will send smiths among us, and above all, that you will teach our children to read and write, and our women to spin and to weave. The manner of your doing these things for us we leave to you, who understand them; but we assure you that we will follow your advice as far as we are able.

CORNPLANTER, his × mark.
HALF-TOWN, his × mark.
GREAT-TREE, his × mark.

Present at signing:

JOSEPH NICHOLSON, Interpreter.
T. MATLACK.
JOHN DECKART, his × mark.
JEM. HUDSON, his × mark.

About the middle of last July I received a letter from the President and Council inclosing a letter to the Chiefs Warriors and Sachems of the Six Nations of Indians together with a number of proclamations offering a reward of eight hundred dollars for the apprehending Benjamin Walker Henry Walker Joseph Walker and Samuel Doyle for the Murder of two Indians on pine creek in Northumberland County ——

Council in their letter urged the necessity of sending out some trusty person to inform the Indians of this unhappy Event and to carry the dispatches from Council

I immediately went up to the Great Island twelve miles above where the Murder was committed to consult Robert Fleming Esquire who he thought would undertake the Journey —— he told me in his opinion Robert King was as trusty a person as I could employ — I went to Robert King and found him in the field beginning to reap and told him my business —— he readily agreed to go provided I would allow him a person to accompany him to the Indians Country — we collected some of the Inhabitants . ——

At this time a number had fled from their —— farms through fear of the Indians retaliating on them I told the persons collected I wanted some of them to go to the Indian Country with Robert King at the request

of

of Council
to inform the Indians of the Murder and to carry the dis-
patches — they told me it was too hazardous for any person
to undertake, for the Indians would certainly retaliate on
the person who went out. After some time Robert King agree
to go, and the nineteenth of July they set out, and returned with
an answer some time in August — they performed the busines
to the entire satisfaction of Council. ——

I have found Robert King faithful — and he performed all
he undertook with firmnes — from every information I can
collect he is in danger of his life from the Walkers and their
freinds provided he returns to live with his family at Pine Creek
his situation in my opinion is truly distressing. ——

In consequence of the Walkers and their freinds threatning
his life I requested Colonel Pickering to employ him during the
Conference at Tioga with the Indians. ——

From his being in public employ he was deprived of puttin
in a fall crop to maintain a small family the ensuing year
his general bharacter is that of an honest sober and industri-
ous Man ——

William Wilson

True Copy
A. J. Dallas
Secretary

Northumberland Town
January 12th 1791

Certificate of William Wilson respecting the services of Robert King

No. 2.

Read in Senate Feby 7. 1791

Our Fathers The Great Council in the Quaker State of Pennsylvania, Now Sitting Round the Great Fire in Philadelphia

We thank the Great God above us that we this day have an opportunity of writing and sending this to you by one of your own body a String

The tears which we caused to come into the Eyes of the Quaker State during the War We at the treaty of Fort Stanwix cleared off as also buried the Tamekawk the same time and never lifted it since ——

The last treaty at Muskingum you adopted us your Children we since that time continue looking up to you as our Fathers, and endeavour to behave as duty full Children to our brethern the White People who live our neighbours, and amongst us, But we are often disturbed by bad people ——

We must hunt very hard for Skins to keep our Wives and Children alive, when we get them we have no place in the

Quaker State that we can go to trade but Pittsburgh, when we come there, our Camps are plundered, our horses and canoes stolen, as also some of our people killed by bad People — When we come to Pittsburgh for redress, no man can understand us, neither can we find any persons appointed by the great Fire of the Quaker State, to hear, to Judge, or interpret for us, that the wrongs done us may be redressed. O our Fathers it is not good to retaliate, neither do we wish it. Therefore we pray our good fathers of the Quaker State may consider our situation, and appoint some persons In Pittsburgh to Judge, and Interpret for us, that if our bad people do Mischief, we may deliver them up to your Law and that if your bad people do us harm, they may also be found and delivered up to your Law - a String.

It is a great many moons since we wrote to our Fathers the great Council, praying that Cornplanter Halftown and the

New Arrow

New Arrow Chiefs of the Seneca Nation might be permitted to go down to the great fire of the Quaker State, as also for to appoint some man to go with them to interpret for them, In order to adopt some mode of brightening the chain between the Fathers and their Children — We have ever since sat quietly round our little Fires with our young Men waiting for an answer, but no answer is come, we now begin to think our Fathers has forgot us — our hearts are sorry The nations round us who are at War with our Fathers say they will take us by the hair, when we come amongst our Brethern (the white People) with our Families and Skins our Lives and property are in danger ———

We now make your Bed clear, according to the agreement we made with you at the last Treaty, and as the Road is open, we pray you will send your people to settle on the Lands we ~~have~~ sold you As we are one people we will all assist in protecting them from your enemies and Bad men ———

A Long White String ———

We also Pray that the Great Councils our Fathers will Permit brother planter Halftown and the New Arrow to go to their great fire, that we through them may Face to Face speak the Sentiments of our Hearts, we then can explain our Grievances and assist our good Fathers in adopt-

ing a mode of Settling the Lands we sold them, for we now wish that farmers tradesmen and Schoolmasters may come amongst us, that we may learn to work and live like the white people for the deer and bear is now so gone from us that we cannot live by hunting — A number of our people died last year for want of Provisions —

We Likewise pray that our Fathers will appoint some fit person to go with us as an Ear to take care and Interpret for us and as Erewasu-senee (Joseph Nicholson) has always been our great friend and we can put our trust and confidence in him we wish and request he may be appointed to attend us — a String

The Great Grand fathers of the Quaker State knew that these nations never told Lies, and also that they lived like brothers — We now request our Fathers may believe that we will say nothing but the truth, and if our good Fathers will permit us to go to them and keep this Wampum and Letter until we come face to face we will then

declare

declare by your wampum that we wrote and sighed this pa-
-per or ordered to be done. ——

But if our Fathers will not be so good as to permit us
to go to their great Councils fire we sincerely request that
some person may be appointed in Pittsburgh to take charge
of us, and be empowered to assist us when any misfortune hap-
pens between us and our brethern the white People also that
an ear or Interpreter may be appointed that we may through
him explain ourselves And our last and greatest request is, that
these persons may not be appointed without our approbation
for we well know that some people has been appointed infor-
mertimes that was not our friends but cheated us very —
much — We know the honest Men at Pittsburgh therefore
wish to name them If our fathers will permit us ——

All the Chiefs of the Six Nations and the Delawares
who signed this paper present their Compliments to the Great
Council fire of the Quaker State, and pray that their Ears
may be open to these prayers and send a speedy answer with

out sending to the thirteen fires ——

Guyasutta an old Indian chief rises in his turn and Says it is true the six Nations has made peace with the Quaker State, and sold them their Lands, but that is no reason why the Council fire should die, It ought to be kept alive, so that if bad Men should begin to kick the Coals we may be ready to rise, and assist our Fathers, Attend to the prayers of your Children and in duty bound shall ever pray

March 2nd 1790

Kyentwoughko or Cornplanter X

Guyoughshoto alias the great Bros X

Hachurwoot or halftown X

Kyendo —— +

Chiefs Counsellors and Warriors of the Seneca Nation of Indians

Skendeshowa +

Wadungeda +

Hagungush X

Huchwagwough
alias the Dog Barker } X

Oewhagawyo
alias the old new } +

Candagowa
alias the Large tree } X

Tehewanias
alias the Brokentwig } +

Chief Councillors and warriors
of the Six Nations

A true Copy from the Original
examined by James Trimble
January 18th 1791

Complaints + Chiefs of S.E. Council

1790
March

Petition of the Cornplanter and other Chief Councillors and Warriors of the Six Nations of Indians

Read in Council Jan.y 19. 1791

By Order

Sir

Upon the receipt of your letter, respecting the documents and papers on which the claims of the Indians, now in this City are founded, I directed Mr James Trimble, in whose custody the records of the late Executive Council have hitherto, remained, to deliver to the Clerk of the Senate for the information of that House,-

1st The Treaty with the Indians held by the State Commissioners at Fort Stanwix in October 1784: and

2 The Treaty of Mr Intosh in January 1785:

In addition to those treaties, I transmit copies of the Letter on which the visit of the Seneca Chiefs to this City was founded, and of the Invitation from the late Executive Council to Corn Planter, Half Town, and the New Onon; which

in-

contain all the information that it is in my power to furnish, in compliance with your request.

I have the Honor to be with great respect

Sir

Philadelphia 18th January 1791

Your mo: obed: hble Servt

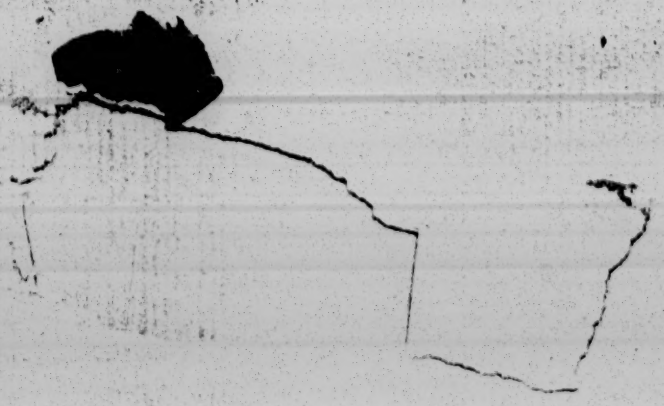
Tho Mifflin

To the Speaker of the Senate
of the Commonwealth
of Pennsylvania

To the Speaker of the Senate

and the Commonwealth of

Pennsylvania



Messrs O. Phelps
& N. Gorham

Philada. July 20th 1791

Gentn

This Letter will I hope in a short time be delivered by Samel Ogden Esqr who is about setting out upon his journey to Boston in Conformity with the Agreement made with him by Mr Phelps & myself to which it refers him and it was expected that Mr Gorham will become a party, and on this expectation I have entrusted to Mr Ogden, care & custody the Articles of agreement for Mr Gorham to sign after which he is to return those Deeds appertain to me. It is my earnest and anxious desire to have all these Agreements carried into full Effect and in order that I think it will be necessary in the first place that you in Conjunction with Mr Ogden should fix the Utmost prices that you will agree to give the State of Massachusetts for the Preemptive Right to that part of the Tract of Country ceded by the State of New York to the State of Massachusetts, which is now Bounded on the East by your former purchase on the South by the Northern Boundary line of the State of Pennsylvania on

the West by Lake Erie & the Straights of Niagara and on the North by the Lake Ontario containing by Estimation about four Millions of Acres — and also that you fix the shortest periods for payment of the sum which you shall agree to give.

I will say nothing as to the sum because it is best that you should upon that point determine absolutely for yourselves and if you fix a sum not exceeding One that I have mentioned in a private letter to Mr Ogden He will agree to it with respect to the periods of payment, I presume that if this right is not obtained under these Agreements which you have heretofore made with the Legislature, that it must be obtained by a purchase or Agreement now to be made, and in that case I suppose that an actual payment of 4000, or 5000 Dollars may be required immediately, and a further sum of 25000 to 35000 Dollars to be made in three or six Months & the remainder being divided into four Sums, One fifth to be paid annually until the whole is discharged, no interest to be allowed if you can possibly avoid it but this with the rest is submitted to your decision and if you can obtain longer time so much the better

These points being fixed between you & Mr Ogden

it will then remain that with him you Concert the best mode of proceeding so as to Secure the object upon the best possible terms, If it can be so managed as that ~~their Purs~~ your existing agreements with the State shall take Effect, I think that is the most desirable but should the interference of others or any other Circumstances render that impracticable you will consider of determining whether Mr Ogden or you shall come forward Ostensibly to make the purchase, & whether in his own, your Names or Mine, I should suppose that it may be best that he should appear in his own name declaring that he has Associates Capable & ready to fulfill the bargain He shall make, and in this case you will at Proper Moment throw all your Influence into his Scale letting your Friends know that there is an Understanding between you & him that ~~confirm~~ determines your Voice in his favour & Consequently you will pursue every honorable Mode of Contributing to his Success. If he and If he does Succeed it will be necessary that the Title should be made Effectually by a Legislative Act but probably this cannot be obtained to him or you without Security for the payments being first given, to obviate this difficulty I would suggest that the Legislature might pass an Act

Vesting the Title in Mr Russell or any other Person they please, giving instructions to that Person to Execute a proper Deed of Conveyance to Mr Ogden so as to Vest in him a Compleat Legal Title the said Deed to be Deposited in the Bank of Boston as an Escrow Redeemable or Obtainable by Mr Ogden or his Assigns only by paying or giving Satisfactory Security for the payment of the Consideration Money after which we will Concert together the ways & means of enabling payment or giving the required Security so as to obtain the Title Compleat. I have authorized Mr Ogden to draw upon me at Short sight for the one half of the sum which must be paid down to give his Obligations for the half of the other payments which I pledge myself to Comply with & upon the plan of an Escrow other Security having not been required by the State, as they will still have the Land until We Lyt shall withdraw the Deeds his Consequence of fulfilling the Conditions.

I am informed that you will have two Competitors for Competitors, One Associated with Mr Lestwinge Stone the other with Doctor Gragie, these two Gentlemen will I suppose appear on the Turf, but who are their Associates I do not know, Consequently I am ignorant

How far they may be formidable opponents or not
Mr Livingston you know better than I do —
but I am taught to believe that it is not in his
Power to do ~~any thing~~ anything ~~better~~ than talk, as it is said he
has neither Money nor Support.
Doctr Craigie will be very busy in his operations
& probably may be more dangerous than the other
altho if his associates consist only of those who
have been named to me, I think there is no
great danger there. Mr Gorham in his letter
has said that Mr Livingston must be guarded &
turned to think that a Coalition with the other
Company would be necessary, but I am of a different
opinion & think the best Mode is to let them make
their respective offers, you will have the opportunity
of knowing timely enough what they do offer
and if they go beyond our Ideas we can at once think
if they do not our offers will take Effect
I would not for my part choose to encrease
the Number of Persons to be concerned in the purchase
for it will be attended with great Hazard and
Trouble of which I expect to take my share and
shall be sufficiently Rewarded by holding a large
Share or have nothing to do with it.
You must be sensible that whoever makes
this purchase will have an arduous task to perform
The Indians not only Capt Beale or Com Painter

but all the Chiefs of the Seneca Nation complain loudly of Mr Phelps's Treaty with & purchase of them, nay they make serious charges in the Treaty lately held with Col Pickering at Tioga, and there being deputed here by Corn Planter & his companions who have demanded Restitution of their Lands, the whole affair has made disagreeable Impressions. The Indians will be indisposed to sell the remainder of the Lands, the British are encouraging & will encourage them not to part with them, and probably the Government of the United States may refuse to authorize the holding of a Treaty for further purchases untill the Indians shall be satisfied as to their Complaints respecting Mr Livingston & Mr Phelps, all this will create delay & expence whilst the time of payment to your State will be coming on, Mr Ogden with these Papers that will confirm all what I have said respecting the Indians and you will plainly see that no purchaser can expect to get easily & speedily through his business, Neither will Mr Phelps be able to treat with them again In my Opinion the only Eligible thing is to keep the State interested in the Event as they

as will be the case if it comes into our hands in Virtue of your existing agreements with the State and if Our Competitors for the purchase are made sensible of the difficulties & Hazard they may probably quit the pursuit — If they do not I should become the purchasers they will probably soon become sick of their bargain for I am now pretty well convinced that nobody can circumvent the obstacles which will occur in this business, so well as Wecan, this Sentiment is the result of a full Consideration of the subject and I deem my own assistance as essentially necessary. Whenever the purchase is made & the Title obtained if it falls to our share it will be necessary that we should have an interview with each other as soon as possible but the time & for that purpose can be fixed by letter — I have desired Mr Ogden & Applet Mr Phelps for Seventy Dollars which I advanced him here & to Mr Gotham for One hundred & Seventy Dollrs formerly advanced him. These sums will of course pay my part of Mr Ogdens Expenses and his receipts shall be good for the same —

I do not at present recollect any thing further necessary to be added to this letter but remain with the best Wishes for your success Gentn

Your Obt Hble Servt
Tho

Messrs Nath Gotham
& Oliver Phelps Esqrs

Philad.a Jan.y 22.d 1791

Inclosed is a Letter to the Secr.y

Walt.r Gordon

Oliver Pollock

Copied in Letter Book No

Page 165 - 66

It is understood and agreed, that a moiety of the actual disbursements for the Travelling expences and maintenance of the Seneca Chiefs, and necessary clothing, independent of all gratuitous donations by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, on their present visit to Philadelphia, shall be charged to the United States.

(Signed) Knox Lec.t of War. —

Philadelphia 25th Jan.y 1791 —

True Copy

A. J. Dallas

Secretary.

5.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen:

The great charge of maintaining the Indians who are now in this City, and a desire to expedite their departure, have induced me to state, as accurately as I can, the amount of the Expences already incurred for their Journey and entertainment, and the probable expences of their return to their nation. This statement I have directed the Secretary to lay before you; and, although it will be necessary for the Legislature to make provision for the whole sum, you will be pleased to observe, that, agreably to an explanation upon the subject with the Secretary at War, a moiety of the actual disbursements for the travelling expences and maintenance of the Seneca Chiefs, and necessary clothing, will be credited to the State in account with the United States.

It is with considerable regret that I have beheld the accumulation of the expences of this Indian visit; but the policy of conciliating the good-will of the Chiefs, the expediency, particularly, of preventing any resentment, on account of the recent murders on Pine Creek, the sudden dissolution of the late Legislative Body of the Commonwealth, and other circumstances, have rendered it unavoidable. I trust, however, that their treatment upon the present occasion will make a lasting impression; and that the bounty of the State will ultimately be repaid by the peace and security of its Frontiers.

Thos Mifflin

Philadelphia 22d. January 1791.

To the Speaker of the Senate

of the Commonwealth of

Pennsylvania

A Message by Mr Dallas the Secretary
Friday January 31. 1794

Mr. Speaker.

I am directed by the Governor to deliver a message from him to the House of Representatives, and to lay before you,

1st. A general statement of the amount of the Expences of the Journey of the Seneca Chiefs to Philadelphia, of the amount of their expences already incurred in this City; and of the probable amount of the expences of their return; together with a statement of presents made to them. And

2d. A copy of an Agreement, on the part of the United States, to pay a moiety of the actual disbursements for the Travelling expences and maintenance of the Seneca Chiefs, and necessary clothing.

Agreemt. U.S. to pay half Indian exp.

(Copy)

Agreement that the United States shall be charged with a moiety of the Expences of the Seneca Indians.

Read in Senate Jan.y 26. 791

Tr. C.

Mysaguby 11 dallas Sur
Jan 21. 1731.

Ens. Dn C. S.

General Assembly

In the House of Representatives

Wednesday January 26. 1791 - A. M.

The Amendments proposed by the Senate to the Bill entitled "An Act for granting eight hundred dollars to Cornplanter Half Town, Big Tree and other Chiefs in Trust for the Seneca nation and for defraying their expences to and at the city of Philadelphia and on their return to their own country," having been considered

~~determined~~

Resolved That this House do agree to the said amendments except the following "After the word nation print with a period.

Extract from the Journal

Peter B. Loyd

Clerk of the

House of Representatives -

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen.

I have this day approved and signed an Act of the General Assembly entitled "An Act for granting Eight Hundred Dollars to Cornplanter, Half Town and Big Tree, Seneca Chiefs, in trust for the Seneca Nation; and for other purposes therein mentioned": and I have returned the same to the House of Representatives in which it originated.

Thos Mifflin

Philadelphia 1st. February 1791.

Mr Speaker

I am directed to present to you a Bill entitled "an act for granting 800 Dollars to Corn-planter Half-Town & Big-Tree, Seneca Chiefs, in trust for the Seneca Nation, and for other purposes therein mentioned", which bill has been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to request that you will sign the same: also, that the Senate will appoint a committee to join the Committee of the House of Representatives, to present the said Bill to the Governor for his concurrence.

(Message by Mr Burson

February 1. 1791.

To Thomas Mifflin Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsyl
-vania

The petition of Robert King

Most respectfully Sheweth

That your petitioner, at the instance of the late Executive Council, carried the public dispatches to the Seneca Nation respecting the Murders of two Indians on Pine Creek; that your petitioner performed that Service with fidelity and success; but that in consequence of his exertions to prevent the Murders, to bring the Offenders to Justice, and to ap-
-pease the Indians, your petitioner ~~has~~ (besides the loss of his crop and other injuries done to his family) has been obliged to abandon his place of Residence through the fear of being

of his crops and other injuries done to his family) has been obliged to abandon his place of Residence through the fear of being assassinated by the Supposed Murderers, who have repeatedly menaced his life

In consideration of the premises your petitioner prays you to lay his case before the Legislature, in order that he may obtain a compensation for his services; and likewise a grant of the Tract of Land specified in the inclosed sketch to which Tract your petitioner and his family may in safety retire

And as in duty bound your petitioner shall ever pray

Robert King

Philad.a February 5th 1791

True Copy
A. J. Dallas
Secretary

Copy of Robert Kings
petition to the Governor

№ 1.

Read in Senate Feb 7. 1791.

THIRD INDIAN CONFERENCE AT PHILADELPHIA.

The speech of Cornplanter, Half-Town and the Big-Tree, Seneca Chiefs, to the Great Councillor of the Thirteen Fires.

FATHER:

No Seneca ever goes from the fire of his friend, until he has said to him, "I am going." We therefore tell you, that we are now setting out for our own country.

Father: We thank you, from our hearts, that we now know there is a country we may call our own, and on which we may lie down in peace. We see that there will be peace between your children and our children, and our hearts are very glad. We will persuade the Wyandots and other Western nations, to open their eyes, and look toward the bed which you have made for us, and to ask of you a bed for themselves and their children, that will not slide from under them. We thank you for your presents to us, and rely on your promise to instruct us in raising corn, as the white people do; the sooner you do this, the better for us. And we thank you for the care you have taken to prevent bad men coming to trade among us; if any come without your license, we will turn them back; and we hope our nation will determine to spill all the rum which shall, hereafter, be brought to our towns.

Father: We are glad to hear that you determine to appoint an agent that will do us justice, in taking care that bad men do not come to trade amongst us; but we earnestly intreat you that you will let us have an interpreter in whom we can confide, to reside at Pittsburgh. To that place our people, and other nations, will long continue to resort; there we must send what news we hear, When we go among the Western nations, which, we are determined, shall be early in the spring. We know Joseph Nicholson, and he speaks our language so that we clearly understand what you say to us, and we rely on what he says. If we were able to pay him for his services, we would do it; but, when we meant to pay him, by giving him land, it has not been confirmed to him, and he will not

serve us any longer unless you will pay him. Let him stand between us, we intreat you.

Father: You have not asked any security for peace on our part, but we have agreed to send nine Seneca boys, to be under your care for education. Tell us at what time you will receive them, and they shall be sent at the time you shall appoint. This will assure you, that we are, indeed, at peace with you, and determined to continue so. If you can teach them to become wise and good men, we will take care that our nation shall be willing to receive instruction from them.

CORNPLANTER, his × mark.
HALF-TOWN, his × mark.
BIG-TREE, his × mark.

Signed at Philadelphia, 7th February, 1791, in presence of

JOSEPH NICHOLSON, Interpreter.
THOMAS PROCTOR,
T. MATLACK.

To the Honorable the Legislature of the State of New York
in Senate & Assembly convened

The Petition of Peter Pregueete of the Wolf Tribe of the
Oneida Nation humbly sheweth that your Petitioner
was created according to the manners of his Nation
until he was sixteen years old. That from the peculiar
situation of his Nation he formed about that period
an acquaintance with the White People and thereby
acquired an attachment to their Manners - That in
the year 1787 his father contracted an acquaintance
with the Marquis De la fayette then a Major General
in the American Army who honored your
Petitioner with his patronage and took him to
France where he resided near three years, during
which time he acquired the Habits of civilization
and a considerable stock of knowledge. Impressed
with an ardent love for his country he then
returned full desirous of communicating to his
Nation the advantages he received by a superior
education: he accordingly has exerted his best
abilities to improve their welfare but is unhappy
to experience that their Habits and Manners are not
calculated to agree with the Education received
by him in a Civilized Nation, frequently
producing him to encounter difficulties which
impair his Constitution of Body shock his
feelings and render him unhappy - Your
Petitioner therefore is induced to make his application
to your Honorable Body and to pray that you will
be pleased to take his case into consideration and

56

grant from a small tract of land at
Oneida Reservation whereby he may support
~~family~~ himself and family. He is sensible of
Difficulties attending his situation and is therefore
willing to be precluded from the power of alienating
the Property upon may be pleased to present him
and that the Disposition thereof should be vested
in Trustees appointed for that purpose. He trusts
I only beg leave to add that he can with great
confidence appeal to his Excellency the Governor
and the Commissioners of Indian affairs for the
Rectitude of his moral Conduct, his attachment
to the State of which he considers himself a
Member and the services he has rendered

And your Petitioner as in duty bound
shall ever pray

New York February 16. 1791. Peter Tsiquallo

Tribe of Mississaugua Nation of Indians —

Inferred 6th Feby 1790
Wm Hamilton from Mr Grenville at
Mr Van Rensselaer

To the Honorable the Legislature of the State of Newyork in Senate and Assembly convened

The Petition of Benjamin Barton

Humbly sheweth

That whereas in a Treaty held at Albany in the 25th Day of February one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine Between the Commissioners appointed to treat Jointly with the Six Nations of Indians and the Cayuga Nations of Indians it was Covenanted and Concluded Amongst other things That the People of the State of Newyork should grant three hundred and twenty Acres of Land, to each married Man of the Cayuga Nation Inhabiting on, and Settlement of the said Seneca River to the Eastward of the said Lake — And whereas your Petitioner for a Valuable Consideration purchased the Interest from the said Indian Owner and received a Power of Attorney from the said Indian and Lake out the said Land for the same — In pursuance of the Power of Attorney the Honorable

Commissioners of the said State that

that the above recited Treaty generally, nor the

reservation of three hundred and seventy Acres

has not been confirmed by the honorable Legisla-

ture until that is done do not conceive themselves

authorised to issue the Letters Patent of

the said three hundred and seventy Acres

Your Petitioner therefore humbly Prays the

the honorable Legislature will pass a Law to

Confirmation of the said Treaty so far that the

Honorable Commissioners may be authorised

to issue the Letters Patent for the said three hundred

and seventy acres - and your Petitioner as

in duty bound shall ever pray

New York. February 10th 1791 Wm Barton

particularly

Insinuate 18th Febr. 1791

Postponed Agreed

Copy. 1

v 117

Grand River, 25th. February 1791.

Sir,

The Law passed by Congress the 22d. July last, to regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Nations, shews a desire in them, to have justice done the Indians; that, with the assurances I have had of the good disposition of the President of the United States towards us, induces me to address you on the Subject —

Collecting all your Council fires and uniting them in one, I hope will answer the good purposes to which they seem to aim, and establish that friendship which we long wish'd to effect upon principles of mutual justice — . The number of Council fires which has since the year 1784 been kindled in our Country, has kept our heads in a state of intoxication, all none of which have we had a full representation — and although your present mode of treating with us, may prevent such abuses as have been practised, from being exercised in future by your Citizens, yet if partial representations are still received from our People, I am afraid it will fail of effecting that happy end

which/

which our mutual interest requires. It is difficult for us to prevent individuals from addressing you, with assumed powers, which they have no right to; if such meet encouragement, harmony cannot be established with permanency.

Obeil (or the Complainter) or Seneca Chief, I understand has lately imposed himself on the President of the United States, as a Representative of the five Nations, he not being empowered by them, or any one of them, I am ignorant of his business, but it has been suggested to me, that amongst other things, he has complained of a deception upon the Nations in the purchase of the Genesee Country, in which I feel myself particularly called upon to contradict in vindication of my own character, as well as in justification of the Purchasers.

Influenced by bribes and other selfish views, in the fall 1787, he prevailed on the Chiefs (who were sent to Canadasego to convene the Council fire kindled there by Mr. John Livingston) to Lease the whole of the five Nation Country, for a Consideration of Twenty thousand dollars, subject to an annual rent of Two thousand Dollars, and it was with this

utmost

ultimate difficulty that the united efforts of the Five Nations were able to remove that Possession of one half the Country in Spring 1787, at which time Mr Phelps came with authority from the State of Massachusetts, and agreed with the Chiefs in a very full Council for a Tract of Land on the Genesee River, the price of which the Chiefs requested the Revd Mr Kirkland, Colonel Butler and myself would determine, which was done, — Our Principles Viz: That the whole Country in place of Twenty was worth Thirty thousand dollars, consequently Colonel Livingston, should pay Fifteen thousand Dollars, and One thousand annually — Mr Phelps having about one third of the remainder it followed of course that he should pay Five thousand and we fixed the annual Rent at Five hundred dollars, the writings were then drawn and explained by Mr Kirkland in full Council, and agreed to without a dissenting voice, they were afterwards lodged with Colonel Butler at Niagara, where they remained till the time of Payment, the years following, and no dissatisfaction appeared amongst our People, until they assembled at Canadaigua, to receive the money, when

Chiefs

Neil, demanded Ten thousand dollars; he was
however opposed by all the Chiefs, except the Se-
necas to whom he belonged, and finally gave up
the point, and received the Money.

I presume it must from these circum-
stances appear as extraordinary to every man of
sense, as it does absurd to me that the man who
was the sole instigator of the County being first
Sold, or Leased for Twenty thousand Dollars, in a
clandestine manner, should afterwards object to
the same sum, which agreed upon openly and fair-
ly in full Council for two thirds of it, it clearly
carries that self interest was too predominant
with him, and his not being fulfilled in this, as he
was formerly by the Lessees, must be the cause
of this extraordinary conduct in him — Should
individuals, or Parties, without the concurrence
of the whole, meet encouragement, the Five
Nations cannot be happy amongst themselves,
nor can that harmony subsist between them
and their neighbours, as might be produced by
a general Representation of the causes of uneasiness,

which

where there is any, which has long been the united
wish of the Nation. -

I have the honour to be
Your most Obed.t
Humble Servant. -
(signed) Jas: Barrett

To the Superintendant
of Judicial affairs for the
Northern District of the
United States

8th March 1751

Bishop of Oxford's Visitation
Articles.

and after Answering of the
Articles.

Mr Kenrick Rec'd
1 7

To the Great Council of the State of New-York, called the Legislature —

Brothers.

Open your Ears, the Sachems & Chief Warriors of the Cayuga Nation address you, and hope the great Spirit will Strengthen your understanding and incline your hearts to Justice —

We have sold you all our lands, and signed such Papers as vests the right fully in you, reserving to ourselves only a small piece where we formerly Lived - but too small for our whole Nation to live on according to our way of living - and contrary to our expectation we find it so circumstanced that no benefit can arrise from it, to any of our nation but such as live thereon, it therefore not only becomes useless to us, but tends to a division in our Nation, and makes our minds uneasy.

The Governor and Commissioners at Fort Stanwix last summer assur'd us the State was at all times inclined to do us Justice, and give us every favorable assistance in their power. we therefore now ask you to take our case into consideration, and make such alteration in our favor, as will enable us to manage those lands so as to derive a benefit from them, without injuring the State. ——

Grand River 8th. March 1791.

We are Brothers
Your Friends the Sachems and
Chief warriors of the Cayuga Nation

Witness Present.

Ogh ka ra ho gen, or Hendrick
Yo ne ren Jon Myon
or John Peters
two Mohawk Chiefs —

Oga geigh degh + his Mark
Sa go yegh wagh tha × his mark
Go de qua ra son × his Mark
Kayaenroghd + his Mark
On now se songh + his Mark
So denha ris × his Mark
Oserra go + his Mark -

Montreal March 10. 1791.

To the Chiefs and Warriors, Deputed by the Confederated Indian Nations of the Ottawas, Chippeways, Potowatamies, Hurons, Shawanese, Delawares, Senecas, and the Six Nations.

The Speech of His Excellency Lord Dorchester, in answer to their Address of the preceding day.

Brothers — When I heard your Speech yesterday in behalf of your Nations, I told you, that your words were of great moment, that I should weigh them and give you my answer this day.

Brothers. — I am now ready.

Brothers — You mentioned two speeches yesterday, which you said had passed at a meeting with Mr. McTee at the foot of the Miamis Rapids, and which you supposed I had received.

Brothers. — These speeches have not yet reached me, I therefore called together some of your Chiefs last evening, and found that I had, had some information of their general purport before by a Letter from Mr. McTee, in which he mentions, that the meeting had taken place, which was called at my desire for the purpose of informing you, that I should be glad to be instrumental in restoring peace between you and the United States if it should be in my power and that therefore I wished to know the terms, upon which you were disposed to make peace.

Brothers. Although in general I know your mind on that subject, I wish to be accurate, and therefore shall order your meaning to be taken down at a convenient time, that there may be no mistake in my representation of your wishes to the King your father, to whom I shall give an exact Account of your situation, on my arrival in England.

Brothers. You tell me, that when you were assembled at the foot of the Miamis Rapids to treat of peace, the people of the States came in Arms into your country, intending to destroy you; that they heard you were strong and prepared, and then they turned off on a sudden to the Wabash; ransacked your unprotected Villages, massacred your old Men, and carried off your Women and Children.

Brothers. This was unfortunate, and I was very sorry to hear it. But I cannot tell whether those people knew, that you were then assembled to deliberate upon the means of peace.

Brothers. — You have told me, there were people who say, that the King your Father when he made peace with the United States, gave away your Lands to them. —

Brothers I cannot think, the Government of the United States would hold that Language; it must come from ill informed individuals

Brothers

You well know, that no man can give, what is not his own.

When the King made peace and gave undependance to the United States, he made a Treaty in which he marked out a line between them and him; this implies no more than that beyond this line he would not extend his interference.

Brothers

The posts would have been given up long since according to the Treaty, had the terms of it been complied with on the part of the States, but they were not; the King therefore remains in possession of the Posts, and will continue to hold them, until all differences between him and the states shall be settled. But Brothers, this line, which the King then marked out between him and the States even supposing the Treaty had taken effect, could never have prejudiced your rights. —

Brothers

The Kings rights with respect to your territory were against the Nations of Europe; these he resigned to the States. But the King never had any rights against you. but to such parts of the Country as had been fairly ceded by yourselves with your own free consent by Public convention and sale. How then can it be said that he give away your Lands?

So careful was the King of your interests, so fully sensible of your rights, that he would not suffer even his own people to

buy your Lands, without being sure of your free consent, and of ample justice to be done you. He therefore ordered his Superintendent General, Sir William Johnson, the father of your friend, to be present at all treaties between you and his colonial Government to see that you were fairly dealt with, Bargains with private individuals were forbid, and considered as void. —

Brothers. When the King your father discovered that notwithstanding his care there had been encroachments upon your Lands by some of his people, that you were made uneasy, and that you had reason to complain, what did he do?

He called the leading people of those Colonies between whom and you the difference had arisen, together, to meet your nations at Fort Stanwix to settle the dispute, and to fix a final boundary.

Now Brothers say, is it possible, that so good a father could ever mean to give away your Lands, which he had no right to do. Certainly he never did it. nor never meant it. —

Brothers. You remind me of your friendship and attachment to the King your father. —

Brothers. The King has not forgot your friendship, he never forgets his friends. —

Brothers You desire the Kings protection, you desire his power and influence may be exerted to procure you peace and to secure

Brothers

You expect my afsistance and that you will be relieved in your distress. —

Brothers

When the Western people of the Water had made an inroad into your Country and burnt the Shawanese towns, of which I was informed not long after my last arrival in this country, I made known your father's sentiments with respect to you, and pointed out the line of conduct to be observed by me and all under my command towards you. —

Brothers.

I cannot better explain myself now than by the words of the Letter I wrote at that time to Sir. John Johnson which is nearly five years ago. —

Letters to the same effect were by him sent to the Officers of his Department and by me to the Commandants of the Kings posts in the Upper Country. —

The Letter was to the following purport. —

"If the Indians require afsistance in their "War, you will take proper means to make them "clearly understand, that this Country is a small "part of the Kings Dominions; that with us "in Canada no power is lodged to begin a "War, nor ought we to have such a power, "which might involve half the Globe, with "all the Seas in blood and destruction: "That at present the King is at peace with "the whole world and desires to remain "besides, according to our manners that "peace cannot be broken, without —

injury and wrong received and redress
"refused; but tho' we have no power to
"begin a War, the Indians have our
"friendship and good wishes, and if
"we could be useful in procuring them
"a solid peace with the thirteen States
"our best endeavours should be employed
"for that good purpose".

Brothers - These Sentiments have no doubt been often explained to you, and if they had not, you must have perceived them from our conduct, you now know them from my own mouth - -

Brothers - - You see it is not in our power here to begin a War, If we are attacked, then we must defend ourselves and may return hostilities. -

Brothers - - You see, that though we have no power to begin a War, you have our friendship and good wishes, and if we can be useful in procuring you a Solid peace with the United States our best endeavours shall be employed for that good purpose. -

You see, that the King has not forgot you, that he is sollicitous of your comfort, and that he has ordered his servants to take care of you, and to give you some mark of his bounty and friendship

consistant with the general laws of the
European Nations. —

Brothers — In a few days I purpose to sail for England. I am very glad I have had an opportunity to see you before my departure. I have told you before that I shall fully represent your wishes to the King your father.

Brothers. I leave the command of this Country in the hands of Major General Clarke, who will take the same care of you, that I have done, for that is the will of the King our Master, His benevolence and friendship for you are always the same and whoever is the instrument of the Kings power in this country. will always fulfill his intentions.

Brothers — Here is Prince Edward, son of our King, who is just arrived with a chosen band of his Warriors, to protect this Country, I leave him Second in Command of all the Kings Warriors in Canada and he will also take care of you. —

Brothers. — It would give me great pleasure while I am in England, to hear that peace is established in your country upon a just and solid foundation and that you live in comfort and security with your families sowing your fields, and following your hunts, to our mutual advantage. —

Brothers. — I recommend it to you not to lose sight of this desirable object. —

Brothers. — Could I be instrumental in bringi this good work about, my pleasure would be still greater. —

Brothers. — I wish health, wisdom, and happines to you and all your Nations, whom you will assure of the friendship of the King your father, and of the affection of his servants and his people, in general as well as my own in particular. —

Farewell and may the Supreme Being protect you. —

Delivered at Quebec the fifteenth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and Ninety one.

(signed) Dorchester

By His Excellency's command

(signed) Henry Motz

Speech of His Excellency Lord Dorchester to a Deputation of Indians in answer to their Address of the proceeding day.

Quebec 15 August. 1791

NARRATIVE OF THE JOURNEY

OF

COL. THOMAS PROCTOR,

TO

THE INDIANS OF THE NORTH-WEST.

1791.

COL. PROCTOR'S JOURNAL.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
June 25, 1791.

SIR:—I have the pleasure herewith to forward you a copy of the narrative of Col. Proctor, in his journey to the Indians of the North-west, for your Information.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Your Excellency's Obed't Serv't,
H. KNOX,
Secretary of War.

His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.

NARRATIVE OF COLONEL THOMAS PROCTOR.

To the Hon. Major General H. Knox, Secretary of War:

SIR:—The following Diary is respectfully submitted for his inspection, being transacted under his commission, granted to THOMAS PROCTOR, Esq., of the city of Philadelphia, bearing date March 10th, 1791, accompanied with messages from him to the several Indian nations inhabiting the waters near Lake Erie, the Miamies and the Wabash, the same being intended to the establishment of peace and friendly intercourse between the said nations and the United States of America.

March 11th.

Received a draft from the Secretary of War, on Joseph Howell, Esq., paymaster, for the sum of 600 dollars. Purchased a horse from Richard Hunt, for the use of Captain

552 + 553

Houdin, sent as my companion into that country—price £25. 4s. Purchased saddlery from I. Polk, the equipment of two horses as per bill rendered—£16. 11s. Money advanced Captain Houdin, to be accounted for by him, £16. 17s. 6d. M'Fadden's draught of North America, &c., 12s. 6d.; pocket compass, best kind, 16s. 8d.; tin box and oil case, 11s. 3d.; as also two small books and one quire of paper, 9s. 4½d.

March 12th.

Left the city of Philadelphia accompanied by Captain M. G. Houdin under a heavy rain, fully evidencing our intention to stop at no difficulties until we should gain the settlement of Cornplanter, alias Capt. O'Beel, one of the chiefs of the Seneca nation residing on the head-waters of the Allegheny river. Our first setting out was big with difficulties, and foreboded some extraordinary events; for, on crossing the Perkiomen, Captain Houdin's horse, after tasting of the water, (which is customary with him,) laid down in the same, and were both nearly covered. On the horse's rising immediately afterwards, the Captain's foot being fast in the stirrup, the horse made several lashes at him with his hind feet before he could disengage himself, but happily received no other injury. Dined this day at Norrington, paid 9s. 9d.; other contingent expenses, 12s. Staid this night with Major Swaine.

March 13th.

Laying on double soles on a pair of boots, 4s. 9d.; shoeing a horse, 4s.; horse feed, wine and bitters, 4s. 6d.; dinners, &c., at Pottsgrove, 9s. 4½d. Halted for the night at Cimleses' tavern, 13s. 10d.

March 14th.

Breakfasts, &c., at Reading, 9s. 4d.; purchase of a tomahawk, 3s. 9d.; straps of a saddle. Proceeded from thence to Caraher's town, in company with Mr. Potts and Mr. Baird, the latter of which gentlemen informed me, that he was engaged to attend General St. Clair to Fort Washington, whither the General was immediately to proceed, in order to prepare for a campaign against the Miami and other Indians, who are daily committing of murders on the defenceless inhabitants on the frontier settlements. Expenses this night, 15s. 10d.

March 15th.

Set forward this morning on our journey by daylight; breakfasted at Orwick's tavern, 6s. 9d.; Hallers, do; refreshment, 5s. 7½d. Halted for the night at Tresher's tavern, expense, 13s. 6d. The roads from Philadelphia hither, nearly impassable, occasioned by the heavy rains that had fallen for several days past, and with some danger we forded the little Schuylkill; and, on this day's journey, we crossed the Blue mountain.

March 16th.

Dined at Leidenburgh's tavern, and was informed that 1,200 acre tract of land that I had purchased of Daniel Rees, in Northumberland, was situated three miles from his house, watered by the Cattawissey, and joining lands of Captain Mason, of Philadelphia. Dinners, and for horses, 11s. 3d. Lay this night at Hughsburgh, at the house of George Knefferbergher. By him, I was informed of twenty-five tracts of land I have on Big Fishing creek, which empties into the east branch of the Susquehannah, about two miles above Hughsburgh. Expenses this night, 18s. 10½d.

March 17th.

Crossed the east branch of the Susquehanna; fed our horses, &c., at Miller's tavern, and paid including ferriages over Fishing creek and shoeing a horse, 17s. 3d. Lay this night at Berwick, a small town, situated on the west side of the Susquehannah. Expenses of the night, 17s. 10d.

March 18th.

Proceeded on our journey up the west side of the Susquehannah, above twelve miles; and in endeavoring to go through the narrows, the river being exceeding high and rapid, had a narrow escape of drowning myself and horse, as was the case with Captain Houdin. With great difficulty we mounted the summit of a steep precipiece, being unable to return by the same defile we had attempted to pass through. From this I endeavored to go around the mountain, which lay along the river; and, after having travelled one hour and a half, over the most rugged ground and seeing no end to the ridge of mountains, we shaped our course through the woods, to the place from whence we de-

parted in the morning; and, by the entreaty of our host, the ferryman on the opposite shore of the Susquehannah was prevailed upon to venture over the river with his flat, which he did, with the assistance of four other men, and conducted us across, for which I paid him 15s. Dinners and putting one new shoe on a horse, with other repairs, 13s. 1d. From thence we procceded on the road for Wilksburg by the way of the mountain path, as dangerous for man and horse as was possible to encounter with; and at 9 o'clock in the night we reached the first house in the settlement of Wyoming; but, there being no feed for our horses, I hired a guide to conduct us to a place to lodge in. Paid for a night's fare, 13s. 6d.

March 19th.

Arrived at Wilksburg about eleven o'clock; halted here for the night, in order to rest our horses, which were much fatigued and jaded. I should have mentioned in its place, that I did not open the instructions I had received from the Secretary of War, before my arrival at Reading, owing to an intention with me, that no person, not even any of my family, should know what errand I was sent upon. This threw me exceedingly out of my road and by the worst way; for, had I known that Wilksburg was my route to Cornplanter's I should have went through Bethlehem, which would have been fifty miles nearer than the way I went; spent the afternoon at our lodgings with Colonel Butler and Captain Grubb. The former was an officer in the Connecticut line and stationed here during the late war, for the protection of the frontier inhabitants against the British and Indians, in which station he proved to be a vigilant and brave officer. The latter part of the evening I accompanied Colonel Pickering, prothonotary of the county and late adjutant general of the armies of the United States. Here we equipped ourselves with a tinderbox, flints, steel, &c., paid 4s. 6d; and for helving a tomahawk and leather sling for same, 4s 9d. Expenses at Mr. Fell's, part of two days, 41s. 8d. and for powder and horn 5s. 7½d. Much snow fell while we remained at this place. Weather extremely cold.

March 20th.

This day we set forward for Captain Waterman Baldwin's; arrived there in the evening; halted for him part of two days

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as I had orders to take him with me to the residence of the Cornplanter, at which place he was intended to act as instructor of the Indian youth, as also a director in the mode and management of agriculture for the use and benefit of the Indians. This gentleman was made prisoner by Cornplanter during the late war, and was treated by him with remarkable tenderness until legally exchanged. Paid for two bushels of oats and two bags, 13s. 1½d.; washing, 2s. 6d.; expense at Baldwin's, 30s.

March 22d.

Ferriage to Captain Jenkins passing the first narrows of Susquehannah, 7s. 6d. Paid for gammon, bread and Spirits, 32s. 6d. to John Davis. Encamped this evening in the woods thirteen miles from Lahawanock, on the water of Buttermilk falls. This cataract has a beautiful appearance from the river. It falls upward of eighty feet; and the place it issues through on the top of the mountain is about six in width, and its torrent is so strong that it is sufficient to serve many mills at one time.

This place I had the opportunity of examining minutely when going on the expedition with General Sullivan against the savages in the year 1779, at which time I had the command of 214 vessels on the Susquehanna, taking with me the provisions and stores of 6,000 men. We anchored off this cataract in the afternoon of the 1st August, and I landed and passed to the top of the mountain to review so great a curiosity.

March 23d.

The Susquehannah being so extremely high and all the waters leading thereto, compelled us to quit the river road and go by that lately cut (though not cleared) by John Nicholson, Esq., comptroller general of the State of Pennsylvania. We reached the settlement called the Hawbottom, which consisted of about fourteen families, the land exceeding rich, inferior to none about the city of Philadelphia; but the lands between this place and our last encampment were chiefly covered with hemlock timber, cold soil and unfit for culture, and one continued rise for nearly thirteen miles with little intermission. Took dinner at the house of Ebenezer Stephens, and purchased from him two bushels of oats which he had for seed; and having

brought it afar off, charged for the same 3s. 9d. per bushel. Paid for three persons eating and feed for the horses, 12s. 6d.; one horse bells, 4s. 6d.; three cakes sugar, 4s. 6d. Encamped this evening with some sugar boilers in a hut not finished. The promoter of this manufactory, which appeared to be very extensive from the number of kettles and apparatus belonging thereto, is the comptroller of the State of Pennsylvania; and the conductor of the works, Mr. John Jones, of Northumberland county. They were unfortunate enough two days before to lose most of their provision by the oversetting of a canoe in the main branch of the Lahawanock; but, of the provisions we had, we gave to them what we could spare, preserving what we thought would take us to Tioga Point, supposed 86 miles. The taking of this road which is cut about 20 feet in width, the trees lying across the same and in every direction, was not a matter of choice but necessity; for the river road was impassable. By the taking of this we escaped some deep waters.

March 24th.

We arrived at the cabin of Richard McNemara, fed our horses with the corn that we brought with us, for we had none but about two quarts for his own use; they, however, provided us with a dish of rye coffee, made fine with the pole of an axe on a smooth stone, and maple sugar as bright and as well tasted as the best 8d sugar in Philadelphia; and, as they deemed it would be charity to us, they gave of the juice of the maple, which appeared as clear as the limpid stream and pleasant to the taste and deemed very wholesome; paid for eating, 3s. 9d. We were obliged to encamp early this afternoon under a very heavy storm of rain, thunder and lightning, and what is very remarkable, the snow was in general fifteen inches deep on the ground.

March 25th.

We still traveled by the way of Nicholson's road, till we reached the one cut by Mr. Ellicott, geographer to the United States, which leads to the great bend on the east branch of the Susquehannah, and to describe the same it is hardly possible, but to say the least of them, there is none can equal them for height of mountains, and swampy valleys. Encamped this

night ten miles from Tioga Point; heavy rain as usual, our horses worn down and ourselves more than commonly fatigued; had naught to eat ourselves or for our horses; and I may say with propriety, that until we arrived at Tioga, to save our horses, we travelled on foot more than half of the way from the town of Reading.

March 26th.

We arrived at the Ferry at Tioga Point, crossed to the flats, paid ferriage, 3s. 9d.; repair of horse shoes, 5s. From thence we proceeded on our way to Newtown Point, and lodged at the house of Mr. William Wynkoop. At Tioga Point, I was compelled to purchase a pack horse, as the route we had to take from the Painted Post to the Genesee, was not inhabited, which, by computation, was 99 miles. Captain Baldwin also purchased another horse, the better to enable him to carry on the farming business for the Cornplanter, and for which I advanced him 75s., to be accounted for by him in his settlement with the Secretary of War. From hence, I also took a guide named Peter, in his own language Cayautha, there being nothing but a blind path to the Genesee river; so that my retinue, at this time, amounted to three white men, one Indian and five horses. The horse designed as a pack horse, I received on the order of Colonel Hollinback, on Mr. Guy Maxwell, his partner in trade at Tioga, for which I drew in favor of them, on my daughter in Philadelphia, £15, for the horse, and for a saddle and bridle, value £3; took up our quarters this night in company with Mr. Jabez Colloor, a dissenting minister, at the aforesaid Wynkoop's, with whom we spent a most agreeable evening, and, during our conversation together, he enjoined me, in a very becoming manner, should I at any time see the honorable Major General Sullivan, late the commander-in-chief against the Indians, in the year 1779, to tender to him the grateful thanks of himself and his parishioners, inhabitants of the district of Tioga, for opening a way into the wilderness, under the guidance of Providence, to the well doing of hundreds of poor families for life.

Sunday, *March 27th.*

Dined at Mr. Isaac Baldwin's, and halted for the night, and reviewed the ground on which the British and Indians were

entrenched for better than a mile, against the forces under the command of Major General Sullivan. I also saw many traces made by our round and grape shot against them, and a large collection of pieces of 5½ Inch shells, which I had the pleasure of formerly causing to be exploded amongst them. Expenses at Mr. Baldwin's for present diet, provisions and forage, 53s. 10d.

March 28th.

Took breakfast at William Dunn's; for four persons, 6s.; oats and spirits, 4s. 7½d; also one chain halter for a horse, 20s. From thence we proceeded to the Painted Post, or Cohocton, in the Indian language; dined and refreshed our horses, it being the last house we should meet with ere we should reach the Genesee river. Addition of stores for ourselves and horses, 36s. 11d.; present dining, 14s. 3d.; four new horse shoes, &c., 6s. 9d.; spirits, 1s. 10½d. Here I was joined company by a Mr. George Slocum, who followed us from Wyoming, to place himself under our protection and assistance, until we should reach the Cornplanter's settlement, on the head waters of the Allegheny, to the redeeming of his sister from an unpleasing captivity of twelve years, to which end he begged our immediate interposition. On the leaving the Painted Post, we entered the Warrior's path, lying on the north-east side of the Tioga river. We had not gone above five miles up the same before we fixed our encampment, having completed thirty-five miles this day, which was more than we had done any one day, within seventeen days, since we left the city, it having rained or snowed every day since, and the worst of roads to encounter with, for, as we passed over mountains and valleys, the frosts were just mellowed enough to admit our falling through in some places, knee depth to the horses; rained this night as usual.

March 29th.

Continued our route by the aforesaid path this day through level land, covered chiefly with hemlock timber, and interspersed with sugar tree bottoms and through which we frequently encountered, with deep sloughs and morasses. In one of them which had the appearance of a long pond, variegated with shrubberry, Captain Baldwin, while leading our forage horse,

was by a sudden check, brought backwards from the horse he was riding and immersed in the water, so as to be entirely covered. The same fate had nearly happened to myself, my war horse's feet fastening between two trees which lay on the bottom, of which he fell. All this night we had rain, and with much difficulty could light a fire, at the same time piercing cold.

March 30th.

We began our journey before sunrise, the usual time of our moving, and on the way we discovered in many places fine land; the timber chiefly sugar tree maple and beech, and on this day we passed three principal mountains, the last of which, the Allegheny, that divides the Tioga river from the Coshequa. The latter river runs through a fine flat, resembling much the flats below Tioga; here Captain John resides, and one white family only. I did not see the chief, he being from home a hunting; I should have premised that the course of the Warrior's path gives a traveller a sight of the river Tioga, upwards of sixty miles, and by such a way I would never desire to travel again. The next principal water we crossed, is called, in the Indian language, Connesserago, from whence it is called twelve miles to the Genesee river, where we were conducted by our Indian guide to the house of Captain Ebenezer Allen, about ten o'clock at night, having rode hard and constant to reach it, both our horses and ourselves much fatigued. I purchased from an Indian squaw one and a half bushels corn, at the rate of one dollar and a half per bushel and refused to let me have any more at a less price; adding that the white people had made them pay more the last year, when a scarcity of corn was among them; and that at this place there was neither hay nor grass for our horses to exist upon.

March 31st.

This morning I found myself in a settlement of Indians, called the Squawkey tribe, but a branch of the Seneca nation; having no interpreter with me, I wrote a letter directed to Captain Allen, or Horatio Jones, and sent it by a runner by the way of Connewago, or at such a place where he could meet with either of them, requesting that whosoever received it should repair to Squawkey Hill to meet me; and should they

meet any Indian chiefs or warriors, to invite them to meet me also, having business of importance from General Washington, the President of the United States, to lay before their nation. I at the same time despatched two other runners, one to go to the several sugar camps adjacent to give them the like information, and the other to repair to the habitations of Captain Big Tree and Little Beard, who resided about seven miles from hence and deemed to be principal chiefs. To each I paid one dollar for their services. By the middle of the afternoon and in the evening, several Indian warriors and chiefs arrived at Mr. Allen's habitation; amongst the latter, Captain Little Beard, Stump Foot, and the Black Chief; said Stump Foot being the leader of the Squawkey settlement, residing on the high lands above the Genesee river, and from which bluff commands a beautiful landscape of the great flats on the Genesee, being in width about four miles, and the length from Carahaderra about forty-seven miles towards lake Ontario, where the said river empties into it; the soil exceedingly rich, the land as level as a bowling green, beautifully interspersed with groves of trees, some of three acres and not more than five.

April 1st.

Mr. Horatio Jones, Indian interpreter, arrived this morning, and about eleven o'clock there were thirty odd Indians collected agreeable to my invitation. And shortly afterwards, I convened them into council, and introduced my message by some prefatory sentiments, touching on the candor and justice of the United States and of the unexampled conduct of his Excellency the President, in the late interview he had with the Cornplanter and others, who appeared as representatives in behalf of the Six nations, by restoring unto them all their lands, which they feared were held from them by the power of the United States, by which act of his goodness, their situations in life were made comfortable, and as lasting as they should demean themselves as faithful friends to the United States, and by such a becoming deportment, it would entail lasting happiness to their children's children. This simple introduction being ended, I read the message to them from the honorable Secretary of War; having ended the same, they signified their full approbation, in their accustomed manner. For the particu-

lars of their answer, which was delivered by Captain Little Beard, their principal speaker, see a subsequent page.

Captain Little Beard in the close of his speech, acquainted me that their great warrior, Captain O'Beel, or Gyantawanka in the Indian language, had arrived at Pittsburg from Philadelphia, and sent out runners from thence to summon the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations at Buffalo, where he desired that the great council fire might be kindled, and where he should lay before them all the business that had been done by him at Philadelphia, and the public papers and documents which he had received for the Six Nations from the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, and from the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania. This information induced me to prepare myself for going to Buffalo in the morning instead of continuing my route to O'Beel's town, and urged it upon them in a very pressing manner that they would accompany me on this deserving errand to Buffalo, as its design was big with advantages to every Indian on the continent. Five of them immediately offered to attend Captain Houdin and myself and chiefs of the first notoriety in this settlement, and accordingly appointed a sugar camp eight miles distant the place of meeting in the morning, where they must go and acquaint their people of this hasty departure.

I now made the necessary inquiry whether it was easy to obtain a good interpreter at Buffalo or otherwise; and being informed that there were no interpreter there but those under British pay and establishment, I conceived it a duty incumbent on me to engage Mr. Jones as being a proper person for my business from the reputation he bore from inquiries I had made, and I accordingly agreed with him in the behalf of the United States, to pay him the customary wages so long as I should find occasion for his services.

Having for the best part of two days caused provisions to be provided for myself and people and for several Indians who lived at a considerable distance from here, and at a considerable expense to Mr. Allen and much trouble to his family, I proposed to make him restitution by payment which he modestly refused, adding, that I was going into a country where I would have occasion for my money; I therefore treated his

politeness in that manner which I thought would least offend him, by saying he must receive at my hand in Philadelphia a best beaver hat and four dollars' worth in any thing Mrs. Allen should chuse to send for, estimating the whole at eleven dollars, for which I hold myself in honor bound to perform. Paid for 2½ bushels corn to Mr. Forrest, 12s. 1d.; amount of Jno. Jones' bill, flour, spirits and stores laid in for O'Beel's town, 35s. 7d.

April 2d.

Departed from the council fire at Squawkey Hill to proceed by the way of Tanawandy, to Buffalo, presumed distance between 90 and 100 miles; but, agreeable to my promise to the chiefs yesterday, I had to call for them at their sugar encampment. On my way thither, I stopped at the hut of Stump Foot, with the Black Chief, who accompained me, just at the instant that a runner had arrived there from Buffalo creek, who brought the information that the council fire at that place had been quenched by the direction of the chiefs who had lighted the same, at the instance of O'Beel's message to them, and the same fire was to be covered for one moon, in the words following which he received from the great council, directed to the chiefs and warriors in this settlement, viz:

"Brothers: We know from our former intimation to you to meet us here, that you are just now rising from your seats, with your backs bent bearing your loaded hoppas; but on hearing us speak, you must sit down again on your seats and remain there for one moon, until you shall hear that our great warrior, O'Beel, (alias Gyantawanka in the Indian,) shall arrive at Buffalo and light it again."

Upon this sudden information to me, and their determination to continue as above directed, I concluded to change my route from this place, and go for the Oil Springs near which the Cornplanter has his residence, and of which intention of mine, I immediately informed them and added, that should I be so happy as to meet him at home, I would use ever possible endeavor to bring forward to Buffalo, Captain O'Beel and his chiefs in order to rekindle the council fire, as my intended interview with the chiefs of the Six Nations would have the most happy effect by being instrumental in preserving the lives

of many hundreds of our fellow men, when staying one moon longer might prove forever too late. On these remarks we parted, and I proceeded with my people to a village eight miles distant, called Nondas, and halted for the night at the hut of a white woman who had been with the savages from her infancy, and had borne to one of them nine children, all of whom were living. Two of her daughters I have seen, possessing fair features, bearing the bloom upon their cheeks and inclining to the side of beauty; and her second son had lately been adopted a sachem and styled the promoter of peace. Paid for two cakes, sugar and Indian bread, 7s. 6d. Snow this day and excessive cold.

SUNDAY, *April 3d.*

Arrived this day at an Indian village called Canaseder, situated on a high bluff of land, over-looking the Genesee river. It consisted of about 30 houses, and some of them done in a way that showed some taste in the workmen. The town was vacated by its inhabitants principally, save only one squaw and a young girl, who were left as guards to the interests of others, who were out providing sugar for their general stock. In this place was erected a wooden statue, (or deity,) fashioned like a fierce looking sage. This form they worship by dancing before it on certain festive occasions or new moons, looking on it as through a veil or assistant, whereby they pay adoration to the Supreme Spirit, as knowing it hath a form, but not a substance. This day we were compelled to swim our horses three times over the Genesee river, and at one of the crossings, Captain Houdin's horse took down the current with him and could not steer him to the intended shore, having crossed the reins of his bridle at mounting, and were it not that he had left the horse to his own management, (by our entreaties,) and our Indian guide rushing into the water to his assistance, and the horse turning for him, the Captain must have certainly drowned in the current, which was excessively rapid a little lower down.

April 4th.

This morning we again swam our horses over the same river, and had the assistance of a canoe, for which I paid 3s. 9d and crossed it again 10 miles higher up, near the emptying of a small lake. Here, likewise, we had the assistance of a canoe

to carry over our saddles, &c. Paid for the same, 3s. 9d. At this village resides a Mr. James Latta, a trader, from whom I purchased bread and sugar, the latter to answer the end of meat, as likewise some spirits, for which I paid him 16s. 11d. From this place we had scarcely the trace of a path, and took up our encampment for the night at an old Indian encampment, where the covering of their wigwams served to shelter us from the inclemency of the weather.

April 5th.

We gained an Indian settlement called Obhishew situate on the waters of Oil creek, the emptying of which into the Allegheny about two hundred yards below the hut; in crossing the Oil creek at a very steep shelving place, my horse fell backward into the water; I happily disengaged myself from falling under him, but got wet through all my clothes. We then entered the cabin of an old Seneca chief who called himself Captain Joseph Hays; I knew him well thirty-two years before at Fort Pitt, and he professed having some small recollection of me, spoke English well, and finding him conversant I gave him to understand the business I was on to the Six Nations, and of the assistance I expected to receive from them as friends to the Thirteen Fires. He seemed very cheerful upon the occasion, and assured me that I should see him at Buffalo as soon as the council fire should be lighted by O'Beel. From him I bought two hams of fresh venison and Indian bread without any salt, for we had none in our possession, not dreaming of it being so scarce and precious an article in this country. We encamped this night at the great bend of the Allegheny, (so called,) on a tract of fine level land covered with plum trees in abundance. At this place we discovered the ruins of a number of Indian huts forming regularly with each other like a streetway. This place was formerly called by the Indians Dunewangua.

April 6th.

This morning having advanced about 4 miles, we met two Indian runners going with belts and speeches from the Cornplanter, alias O'Beel, to the Indians resident in the upper towns, at the head water of the Allegheny, to inform them that several of the Delaware Indians were killed by the white peo-

ple, said to be a recruiting party of Virginians, near Fort Pitt. The said Indians informed us, That the Indians who had escaped the catastrophe that their brothers had fallen into, turned their resentment for the injury their nation had received, on the white inhabitants who resided on the Allegheny, some miles above Pittsburgh, and killed and scalped 17 in number; that several of the bodies were partly destroyed by fire; that at the same time this mischief happened, Captain O'Beel, the New Arrow chief, and several other chiefs of the Senecas, as also the commanding officer of Venango coming up in the garrison boat and in canoes from Pittsburgh, were overtaken by a party of militia who threatened them with instant death, which was happily prevented, but forcibly carried back the garrison boat and canoes, with all the property purchased by Cornplanter for his nation.

Having at this time no path to go by, and having to keep by the meanders of the Allegheny, made the way lengthy and disagreeable. I therefore desired my interpreter to request that one of them would return with me to O'Beel's town, and as they would by that means be separated, I would give to each, one dollar as a consideration for their trouble. They having acceded to my desires, I paid them 15s., and our guide conducted us in safety, at about 10 o'clock at night, to O'Beel's town, called, in the Indian language, Tenachshegouchtongee, or the burnt house. This town is pleasantly situated on the north side of the river, and contains about 28 tolerable well built houses; and the one which they had selected for me and my followers to reside in, was commodiously fitted up, with births to sleep in, and uncommonly clean; and provided us for the night with plenty of provisions, such as boiled venison and dumplings.

Matters were no sooner arranged thanI desired my interpreter to have the chiefs collected where I could speak to them; upon which we found that all the chiefs and warriors of the town had gone on to Venango, hearing that their head warrior O'Beel, and their sachem, the New Arrow, were forced to take sanctuary in Fort Franklin, (one of our garrisons,) for the protection of their lives; that none remained in the town on this account, but three very old men, the wo-

men and children. That such was their fears as we were approaching this town, of which they had information, that they all assembled at their place of worship, believing it was near the hour of their dissolution, and they had called on their God to help them; but being happily informed by our guide of the good intentions we were come upon, they came to make us welcome. I then desired that they would furnish me with a canoe and a guide, to conduct me to the place where I could meet with O'Beel and his people, being desirous of going forward immediately, and that I should, without doubt, be the instrument of bringing their chiefs and warriors to them in a few days. Upon which, they sent five miles to procure me a canoe, and by day light, two young Indians attended me, with whom my interpreter and Captain Baldwin went for French creek, distant about one hundred and thirty miles, and arrived on the 8th day of April, about four in the afternoon, as we worked our canoe by turns all night Cash paid at New Arrow town, corn for horses, fifteen shillings; hire of a canoe and Indians to carry me to French creek, thirty-seven shillings and six pence; provisions, &c., thirteen shillings and one penny.

I no sooner arrived at the garrison on French creek, than I received a visit from Cornplanter, and those Indians who accompanied him at Philadelphia, who professed the greatest happiness to see me, being under the greatest anxiety of mind for the safety of the New Arrow, who was carried in the garrison boat to Pittsburgh, in the forcible manner before related; saying, at the same time, that the whole of their goods were taken from them, which they never expected to recover; that, in this distressed situation, they had not a second shirt to put on. I hereupon used every argument I was master of, to appease the fears they entertained on account of the absence of the New Arrow, as I could not believe that the inhabitants of Pittsburg would offend, or suffer him to be ill treated; and should any, or the whole of their goods be squandered, by the unwarranted conduct of the militia, that I should make it my duty to present the same to the Secretary of War, who would cause most ample justice to be done them; that on the morrow, I would write to the commanding officer at Pittsburgh to have their sachem, the New Arrow, con-

ducted in safety to this place, as, also, their goods, as I could not possess a belief that any waste would be committed upon them. I therefore desired him, without loss of time, to bring with him into the garrison all the head-men of the nations then present, so that I might inform them of the message I was charged with, from his Excellency, the Secretary of War to the Six Nations, by which means they would be the better able to understand what I had to say to them, before my meeting them in general council to-morrow. Upon this Captain O'Beel left me, and soon after summoned the chiefs presents, eleven in number, who met me in the garrison, by permission of Lieutenant Jeffers, and in the fullest manner, I gave them the necessary information. After some time spent on this business, I adjourned and proposed meeting them again in their encampment over French creek, early in the forenoon, and of which I desired that they might inform their people, so that none might be absent.

April 9th.

I Crossed French creek to their encampment about eleven o'clock, where I found them prepared to receive me, about seventy-five in number, exclusive of woman, children and youth; in the whole one hundred and eighty. I read first the message to the Seneca nation, from the Secretary of War; and after explaining the principles upon which it was founded, I read to them the message from Governor St. Clair to the Wyandot and Delaware tribes, who were deemed and observed to be friends to the United States. Here I thought it my duty to explain to them the force of my message to the Indians, who were carrying on their wanton depredations and cruelties on the defenceless inhabitants resident near the Ohio; assuring them that it was the last solemn warning, should they refuse to accept the terms of peace now proffered to them that they could lay hold of, until done by a decisive stroke of a superior army just ready to go forward to conquest and be routed out of a country which they might otherwise possess and enjoy in undisturbed tranquillity.

That, with this present council it rests to save those misguided people on the Miamies and Wabash from the destruction that is just ready to fall upon and crush them; and the

better to effect so laudable an undertaking, let there be selected from amongst you any number of your chiefs and warriors, not more than fifteen, nor less than five, to guide and accompany me to the Miamies; as by our going from hence, we shall save the distance of four hundred miles, if not compelled to go to Buffalo creek, and, by this act, you will fully complete the end of my message to the Seneca nations, and for your services you shall receive ample rewards from the United States and do honor to your nation.

Hereupon they requested of me to retire from them, and those white persons who attended me, so that what I had said might be the more fully digested by them. We left them for about one hour and a-half, when a chief came to inform me that they were desirous of seeing me again at their fire. I accordingly attended, and Captain O'Beel was appointed to acquaint me with the determination of their council, which briefly was, that they could not agree to my request of going directly to the Miamies, as they must determine on that business in full council of the Six Nations at Buffalo creek. Seeing, therefore, that I had no other alternative but by going to Buffalo, I requested, then, that they would prepare themselves to leave this place and proceed for Buffalo on to-morrow, which they readily complied with; and for Cornplanter's address to me, upon this occasion, see subsequent page.

I immediately from hence retired to the garrison to prepare a letter for his Excellency, Governor St. Clair, through which I gave, in detail, a circumspect account of every material transaction since my arrival in the Indian country; enclosed to him the speeches of Little Beard and Cornplanter, thereby to enable him to judge of the obstructions that had fallen in my way, which, with others that I might probably have to encounter, would be a means of exceeding the time limited by the Secretary of War for my meeting him at Fort Washington, on the Ohio, after passing through the country of the Miamies and Wabash Indians, to which nations my mission was principally intended to the restoration of peace between them and the United States.

During the time I remained at Fort Franklin, I received every mark of attention and respect from the Commandant, Lieuten-

ant John Jeffers of the Connecticut line; and I think it but proper to name it in this place. A few days previous to my arrival at this Fort, the inhabitants resident at Conneyat and on French creek, were driven into the garrison, as also those at Cassawaga and obliged to leave behind them their habitations and effects possessed of every requisite for the comforts of life. David Mead, Esq., formerly of Wyoming settlement, with three of his brothers and their families, were of the number of these unfortunate people. At Venango, I was called upon by a white prisoner, named Nicholas Deanhoat, to give him a blanket, as he wanted one much; I did so, and paid for the same, 18s. 9d. He was dressed in the Indian garb, and what I was grieved to see, his ears were cut around and each hung with a considerable weight of lead, designed to stretch them to a proper length, He acquainted me that his friends lived in Schenectady; his father lately dying, left him a considerable sum of money, I urged him to go around with me on my tour, and on our arrival at Philadelphia, I would give him decent apparel, and subsistance while going to his relatives, but he declined it, saying that he could not live so agreeable with the white people as with the Indians. Contingent expenses, mending my sword, two pair moccasons, washing bill, &c., 34s. 4d.; hire of two Indians, from hence to O'Beel's Town, 45s.

April 10th.

Agreeably to the arrangement made by me at the general council yesterday, we set out from French creek, to go up the Allegheny river with thirty canoes, leaving at the same time, with Lieutenant Jeffers, for the defence of the garrison, fifteen Indians, to act as scouts for the garrison, as occasion should require—the garrison being very weakly manned at this time, only for the addition made to it by the inhabitants; neither had they any flour, on account of the detention of the garrison boat, before spoken of, but what was supplied by David Mead, Esq., who had brought from his mills at Conneyat, a sufficient quantity, as, likewise, some hundred gallons of whiskey, which he dealt out to the garrison and inhabitants as they required it.

Halted this night at Oil creek, about eight miles from the garrison. Lieutenant Jeffers came to us at this

place, about twelve o'clock at night, and brought with him certain letters that he had received from Pittsburgh that evening, with verbal messages he had received through the express, by which means the Indians were informed, that some of their canoes were plundered of what they contained, but that the garrison boat was returning with their chief, the New Arrow, &c., under the escort of Major Hart, with a proper guard. The news of the canoes being plundered, gave rise to apparent disgust in most of the countenances of the Indians, saving that of Cornplanter's, who received it with that composure that he was usually wont to do. Upon the whole it gave me to fear, that this rude piece of conduct of our militia had damped the zeal of those whom I yesterday conceived were engaged to serve agreeable to my desires. I, however, undertook to give them assurances, that, even should their goods have been plundered, as verbal report gave it, I would use every possible means to have every article replaced; and that, therefore, I earnestly entreated them to dispel those fears for a few days, having in their presence, enjoined Lieutenant Jeffers to forward an express to me, at the castle of O'Beel, and to write me fully, every matter that took place; and to obtain another letter from Major Hart, with whom they were well acquainted, to authenticate the same; and that whatsoever the result should prove, I would faithfully communicate the contents to them. Upon this promise, about ten o'clock in the forenoon of Monday, the 11th of April, we silently began to load our canoes, and shortly after, took up the line of march, O'Beel taking the lead. I held it proper to take my place next to his canoe, to stimulate him to press forward on his journey, ere we could reach Buffalo creek. We arrived this evening at an old Indian settlement called Hog's town; we had much rain this night, and very cold.

April 12th.

I was invited this morning to breakfast with Captain O'Beel, his squaw, &c. Our repast, boiled chesnuts, parched meal sweetened; his daughter made us some tea also, which she put into an open kettle when the water was cold and being boiled in that manner without any cover to the kettle it became very dirty and disagreeable to the taste; but, of the chest-

nuts, I partook sufficiently. Finding this morning by an Indian who had lately left the garrison, that several canoes loaded had deserted our little fleet, the Indians, being under much intoxication, had returned there again; in consequence thereof I wrote the commanding officer by an express, requesting him to cause the Indians, who were designed to go forward with O'Beel, to quit the garrison and proceed. To express, 11s. 3d.

This day, about one o'clock, we arrived at the Munsee settlement where all the canoes came to at, in order to rest and prepare our dinners. Immediately after we had landed, and what appeared very strange to me, several Indian women came forward with kettles full of boiled corn and bear's meat, and placed it before Captain O'Beel, whom they had heard was approached with his people. This being done, each family of a canoe, (as in each were women and children,) approached with their kettles without any signal being made to receive their stipend; and, to do which, an old squaw was appointed to act as an issuing commissary, who dealt it out in proportions so justly, that each went away fully satisfied. Captain O'Beel requested of my interpreter to inform me, it was expected that I would partake of what was prepared; I did so accordingly to prevent displeasure, but with the weakest appetite. Expenses at this place for eatables, 22s. 6d.; one gallon of whiskey for O'Beel and his people who accompanied me, 15s. After the whole had refreshed themselves, O'Beel informing the Delawares the business I was on, I was invited to their council fire, of which council Captain Snake was the principal; about thirty of the Delawares were present. I spoke a few words to them introductory to my reading Governor St. Clair's message to their nations residing on the waters near Lake Erie; the same message being directed to Captain Pipe as the principle chief of that tribe. Shortly after this discourse was ended, Captain Snake spoke through his interpreter to mine, as the person I had could not speak the Delaware tongue, and its contents are as follows:

"Brother:—We are thankful to God for the safe arrival of our brother amongst us, and we are glad to see him with such good intentions, and of the good news he brings. It makes us feel warm in our hearts and easy in our minds, that such

confidence is placed in our nation. But the request he makes of us, to go with him to Buffalo, we cannot give an immediate answer to, as all our head men are not present; moreover, we want to talk with him and them together, and now we give him the kind invitation of your staying with us all night, and it is likely we shall then help him to the council fire, where he now asks us to go to, and our chiefs shall be sent for."

Here O'Beel spoke, and aided my proposition; and, as I was fully sensible of his friendship, I took his counsel, before I should determine on staying in this town. And, finally, judging of it to be a sure means of securing them to go to Buffalo with us, I consented; and of which they being informed, they sent off runners for their chiefs and warriors, while we still remained in the council-house.

April 12th.

At 9 o'clock at night, Capt. O'Beel, the Delaware chiefs, and Senecas, called me into council, when Captain Snake's interpreter gave his speech as follows: "Uncle, (for that is the term given by the Delawares to the Senecas,) God has been good to us this day, for we have each heard the good talk sent from the great Chief of the Thirteen fires; and we have ever said, that we would advise each other of every thing that we heard, that was bad or that was like to befall either of our nations. Now, uncle, we have determined to go with you and your brother, who brings to us these good tidings, to Buffalo, and there meet our nations at the great council fire. Blood may fall upon us while we are going, but now we give you our hands as we promised, and we will lie down and will rise together." [Here a belt of wampum was given, consisting of five strings, which Capt. O'Beel viewed in his hand a short time, and then presented it to me.] Captain Snake again repeated: "Uncle, in three days we move our women and children, and all that we have, to your towns; they are to remain with your women until our return." In the course of his speech, he also mentioned that their people expected to receive a stroke from the Messasagoes, a part of that nation who were led to war by their brothers.

April 13th.

Our fleet set out from Hickory town and reached Log-trap creek, 10 miles distant, and encamped. Rained the whole night, and not a dry thread of clothes on myself or companions.

14th April.

Proceeded up the river this day, took up our encampment near the mouth of Casyonding creek, it being the place where Colonel Broadhead, in the year 1779, had fought against the savages; and in which action, Joseph Nicholson, his interpreter, was wounded.

April 15th.

Being very unwell this morning and overtaken with rheumatism pains, and to such a degree that I was obliged to have assistance to convey me from my canoe to the fire, same time being cold and rainy, I informed Cornplanter that I should leave his fleet and proceed to his lower town to procure some assistance; and I arrived there some time in the night, after a very laborious day's work to the Indians; the current of the river being so very much against us at this place. I applied to an Indian doctor, who prepared poultices of roots and herbage, and applied it to my foot, the power of which over the parts affected, threw it into my knee, which produced the most exquisite pain; and I perceptibly felt that it shortened the sinews under my ham, upon which I applied it no more; fearing the consequences might be fatal to me for life. About eight miles about the encampment, where I left O'Beel, I came to a large river called the Conawango; and, at its empyting into the Allegheny, is said to contain as much water as flows in the other river, above it. At the confluence of these two rivers, the Government of Pennsylvania have laid out a manor of 3,000 acres, and up the said river (Conawango) to an Indian town called Cayantha, or the corn fields, are extraordinary rich lands, of which survey was made by David Rittenhouse, Esq., of the city of Philadelphia, some time since. The Indians whom I hired at Venango, to bring me to O'Beel's town, (there being two called by his name,) drew so nice a distinction, that they chose the first or lower town, and insisted that this was the town they intended to come to, and not the other, and should I require their assistance to go to the upper town, I must pay

to each one dollar, (fifteen shillings.) The terms being agreed upon, we proceeded to the upper town aforesaid, by some called the New Arrow's town, being the name of the head sachem of that place. At this town I left Captain Houdin, Indian Peter, the guide which I brought from near Tioga Point, also our horses, when I departed from thence to Venango, on the 7th of April, and found the Captain in an enfeebled state of health, owing entirely to the hardships he underwent before his arrival at this place.

April 16th.

At this town I meet in company with Captain Houdin, a French gentleman from Montreal, by the name of Dominick de Barge, who had followed the Indian trade in this country for six years past, and who lost by the same a considerable fortune by the credits he had given to some of the Indians, &c.; with them I found also, a Mr. Culbertson, a trader from Genesee; and it gave me pleasure to find that the Captain was not altogether alone, he seeming to have an aversion in general, to the company of Indians.

April 17th.

This day the canoes, which I left on the 15th, arrived here, and brought news which they had received from an Indian runner, that, on Wednesday last, the 13th, the New Arrow and his associates, with the garrison boat, arrived at Fort Franklin, having suffered no damage in their persons, nor loss of their merchandise, as was reported, which belonged to Cornplanter and other Indians, but two or more cases of gin, taken by the militia, for which Squire Wilkins, of Pittsburgh, caused restitution to be made them. Settled with Mr. James Culbertson, for supplies for my people and horses, during my absence, 44 shillings York, Pennsylvania, 41¾.

April 18th.

An express arrived here from the New Arrow, advising that they must send down to him, at Fort Franklin, a certain number of canoes, sufficient to carry the goods brought forward by Cornplanter, from Philadelphia. Finding, from experience, that the Indians were exceeding slow in putting matters in motion, which I held to be important, and slothful to the last degree, I wrote immediately by the return of the canoes to

Franklin, to request that the commanding officer would lend them every assistance necessary to their being forwarded to this place, as I was well informed by a person that I employed upon the occasion, to know the general intention of the chiefs, that not one of them would go for Buffalo, with me, until they should see his safe return. This afternoon the canoes, which had loitered on the way, arrived, and by which I was informed that the Delaware and Munsee Indians, at Hickory town, were moving with their stock, &c., to Catteraugus.

April 19th.

O'Beel and chiefs arrived here from the lower town, and ordered their conch shell to be sounded through the village, to summon their head-men into council. After some time spent therein, the whole of them adjourned to my hut, being confined, to pay me and my friend Capt. Houdin, their compliments, as having come to visit them in their settlements under such friendly intentions. Nothing more material this day. But dancing was carried on the major part of the night, assisted by drumming, songs, &c.

April 20th.

An express arrived from Buffalo creek, informing that the fire of the Six Nations had been lighted by a number of chiefs and warriors, and that they had been stirring it long, to keep it alive, waiting for the sachems of the Senecas, and their brothers who were sent by the Great Chief of their Thirteen Fires, whom we want to hear speak with us. It is likewise our desire, that all writings received at Philadelphia, from the great chief, Honondaganius, (General Washington,) may be brought forward with them so that the great council may hear the contents. On receiving this public message, I was requested by O'Beel and the other chiefs to write an answer to this message, on their behalf, as hearing that Colonels Butler and Brandt were at Buffalo, waiting our coming. I complied, agreeable to their request, and directed the same to the Farmers Brother, Kuyasutta and Red Jacket, chiefs of the Six Nations, at Buffalo creek.

April 21st.

This morning the whole of the town were preparing to have a grand feast, to return thanks to the Great Keeper of all men, for their being spared to meet once more together; several of the chiefs called upon us to give us the invitation to be present, while they should perform divine worship in their way, adding, that Indians worshipped one Supreme head, the Preserver of all, both white and red men. Their speaker advised us, also, to be prudent while they worshipped, and not to be guilty of laughing or gestures, though the manner of it might differ widely from our own mode of worship; he likewise told us, that we must bring with us our ear, (the interpreter) to testify that they taught the true principles, by moral precept, and that their teachers both men and women, admonished their hearers against thieving, lying and speaking lightly of one another.

The manner of their preparing for worship is, that, in every house, they provide large quantities of such provisions as they think proper to bring with them, and the more varied the better, so that they may have a little of every sort, and none of the same returns to that house again; their method being to exchange their victuals on the ground, eating that which was brought by their neighbor; thus prepared, they proceed to the statue, which was erected in the centre of the village, bearing some proportion to a man, and justly painted as the Indians are in coming, but having no weapon of war about him, intimating that he was the maintainer of peace. This figure is about nine feet in height, and stood on a pedestal of about twelve feet, having on breech clout leggings and a sash over its shoulders, and a very terrible appearance. Under this statue were placed two chiefs termed the women's speakers, each of these held in their hands the shell of a large tortoise, the belly part covered with a thin skin stretched very tight, having, in the inside, several small stones, which shells being struck upon a deer skin which is stretched between them, beating time together, accompanying the same with their voices, they made such melody that the whole of the assembly were delighted. The old and the young women dance round in a circle, the image in the centre, the men following them, using

gestures that would have made a saint laugh had he forgotten that he was in a place of worship; but the women looked meek and humble while they moved in concert in the dance, sliding their feet sideways, and folding their hands before them in a half circle, looking at the same time steadfastly on the ground inclining their heads to the left. The last of worship was performed to what they call a brag dance; the young warriors retire to a house adjacent where are paints, feathers and red clay; with the two former they ornament their heads with feathers and their faces with paint, and their bodies with reddish clay that give their skins all the same cast; some with one-half their faces black and the other red, in order to look the more terrible; for in this manner they go to war. When all matters are thus adjusted and ready to sally from their show-box, their leader gives a long yell such as when a scalp is taken; and on the third being given, it is re-echoed by the whole rushing forward at the same time to the place of worship, while they dance round the statue, throwing their bodies and heads in every curious attitude, and brag, alternately, of all the cruelties they had exercised in war, of prisoners taken and of thefts committed on their enemies, and of many other exploits never performed. In the evening of the day, Captain O'Beel and other chiefs told me that they would be ready to go with me to Buffalo Creek in the morning if I thought proper; the information gave me the most heartfelt satisfaction, and I acquainted him that I was ready to depart at any hour they should agree to go, as much precious time had been wasted since my arrival at this place from the Genesee country.

April 22d.

I closed my letters this day for his Excellency the Secretary of War, and a second letter for Governor St. Clair, (having wrote him the first from Venango,) and forwarded the same by a white prisoner, named Nicholas Deamhout, and for which I drew on the commandant at Fort Franklin to pay him to the value of 37s. 6d. in such articles as could be spared from the garrison; paid Indian Peter for services from Newtown Point to O'Beel's town, 22s. 6d; to mess expense from the 16th to the 23d, including horse feed, £6 18s. 3d.; to cash paid Francis Slocum, a white prisoner, 7s. 6d.; do. a white prisoner at Cat-

taragus, 11s. 3d.; she informs me that she is a sister to Henry Kepple, in Market street, born in Germany; her husband, a Lieutenant Groves of the Royal Americans, was killed at Venango in the year 1761; had been prisoner ever since, but too old and enfeebled to leave them; she informed me that she was truly poor; which I had apparent reason to believe, and I mean to inform her friends of the same, which in the cause of my making this minute, as knowing her brother was under wealthy circumstances. Hire of a horse for my servant to Buffalo, and loss of a bell, 15s.; to house and fire wood expense, at New Arrow's town, 15s.; Indian doctor's bill, 11s. 3d.; one pair of old shoes and buckles, 11s. 3d.; cash for an Indian kettle taken away by some of the Indians, 7s. 6d.

April 23d.

We left O'Beel's town about 12 o'clock and proceeded with a few chiefs and warriors, (the whole not being ready to depart with us,) taking the route for Buffalo, through a village called Cattaragus, which we did not reach before the 25th, in the eveping; and on a our way thither, passed through a settlement of the Delaware or Munsee Indians, in which was about twenty houses. In this place I saw a number of active young men; they being playing the game of bandy wicket, gave me the fairer opportunity of judging; the town of Cattaragus, contains in or near about fifty tolerable houses, bordering on a beautiful river and about two and a half miles from Lake Erie, surrounded by a most beautiful country and excellent land; but the water they have to drink, taken from a pond, is very indifferent. We had arrived but a short time when I caused the chiefs to be summoned into council, and, as thereto, a sentimental speech was delivered by Thyogachee. (see subsequent page.) While we remained in this town, they were preparing to bury the daughter of a great chief, and in the house that I was placed, there was a number of the mourners, who appeared under the greatest distress by their cries; during which time, all their heads were covered with their shrouds, but when they had uncovered themselves I did not discover that they had shed one tear. This brought to my recollection the manner of attending wakes in the old country, with the native Irish, where the rich hire old women to lament the loss

of the deceased, and to recount all the valuable actions of their past life.

April 26th.

We took up our journey towards Buffalo, and in about five miles going from thence, we came in upon the verge of Lake Erie, which had a beautiful appearance, it being a pleasant morning, and the waters were very serene; and looking over the lake we could just perceive the land at the other side. We traveled along the sandy beach for some miles, but were obliged, at three or four different places, to leave the shore and take to the woods, the rocks having come bluff up to the deep water; from small springs that appeared upon the face of the rocks, it showed that it passed over bodies of mineral, from the hue that it gave; but the greatest curiosity that I had seen was alum lying on the surface of the rocks, of which we might have gathered a pound in a quarter of an hour.

April 27th.

We arrived at Buffalo creek, having traveled through a country of exceeding rich land, from our last encampment, the extent of which I had not been able to ascertain. The preemptive right to this valuable country was vested in the State of Massachusetts, but at present, the property of the Hon. Robert Morris, of the city of Philadelphia, by a late purchase. The principal village of Buffalo belongs to the Seneca nation, and in it the young King, the Farmer's Brother, resides, as also Red Jacket, the great speaker, and prince of the Turtle tribe. On my entering the town, there were numbers of Indians collected at the hut where we alighted from our horses, and on taking a general view of them, I found that they were far better clothed than those Indians were in the towns at a greater distance, owing entirely to the immediate intercourse they have with the British, being but about thirty-five miles distance from Niagara, and but six miles from Fort Erie, situate on the north side of the lake, from which places they are supplied yearly with almost every necessary they require, so much so, as to make them indifferent in their huntings. And the chiefs, who are poor in general, have to look up to them for almost their daily subsistence, not only of provisions, but for apparel; for the Farmer's Brother, the Young

King, was fully regimented as a colonel, red faced with blue, as belonging to some royal regiment, and equipped with a pair of the best epauletts. So that, from his after conduct, it may not appear extraordinary, where the King has thrown in his opposition to my errand, he being paid so well for his influence over the Indian nations, as to carry his favorite point in question. I had not been long in the village before I was invited to the great council house, with my companion, attended by Red Jacket, O'Beel, and other chiefs. Just as we approached the porch of the council house, they had a two pounder swivel gun, which they had loaded very high, having put into her an uncommon charge, which the acting gunner being sensible of, stood within the door, and fired it from the end of a long stick, which he passed between the logs, which being done, the explosion upset the gun and its fixture. This, they said, was done as a treat for our safe arrival through the dangers that we had encountered, and for which they were thankful to the Great Keeper.

The speech, as an introduction, given by Red Jacket being ended, he came forward to me to the seat I had been ushered to in the centre of the council, and presented me with four strings of wampum which he had held in his hands while speaking (for the particulars of which see another page.) Capt. O'Beel having been particularly named by Red Jacket, he rose and returned the compliment in behalf of us that were strangers. Being at this time just sun setting, I apprised the council through my enterpreter that I had messages from General Washington, the great chief of the Thirteen Fires, which were particularly addressed to the notice of the Six Nations, the representatives of which nation I presumed were principally present: but, as it was drawing late, I requested leave to postpone the introduction till the morning, which was consented to. Upon this, Red Jacket rose to remark, that many persons had occasionally come into their country, who said that they had also come in by the authority of the Thirteen Fires, but of the truth of which they were not always convinced. This information opened the door that I expected, being informed by a French gentleman, a trader amongst them, that these sentiments had fallen from Colonel Brandt and Butler about

seven days previous to our arrival at this place, who desired of the chiefs in private council to pay no attention to what should be said to them by me; and, as they knew the purport of my mission from the chiefs whom I had held council with at the Genesee river, the Colonels advised them not to assist me in going to the Miamies, as the consequence would be fatal to those that should attend me, and consequent death to me and my companion. From these suggestions which had fallen from Red Jacket, I mentioned in open council, that I was desirous that they might call forward any gentlemen of veracity whom they had confidence in, to be present while I should deliver myself to them, and overlook any writings that I was directed to lay before the Six Nations, as by that means proof would be made that my commission was founded on the authority of the United States of America. They then agreed upon sending for the commanding officer of Fort Erie, and despatched a runner for the purpose. Soon after the council broke up, Captain John, of the Onandagoes, came to my hut and informed me in private conversation, that no scruple was made of the authority I came under to them, being well informed by the chiefs of the Genesee who had given that information some considerable time before my reaching Buffalo. Captain John, from his manners appeared to be a man of veracity, and had received a Mohawk education and understood himself very well, and during my stay at Buffalo attached himself to me in person, and promoted all that lay in his power the business I had before the council; but the reasons, he said, they were so particular with me, was on account of a certain William Ewing, a resident from the Connedesago lake, who had come in behalf of the Hon. Robert Morris, whom he called the second greatest man in the Union; that he had convened a council the day previous to my arrival, informing those of the Six Nations present that the preemptive right to the lands in this country as belonging to the State of Massachusetts, were now the property of the said Robert Morris, whensoever the Six Nations of Indians were disposed to sell any part of the same; that, the better to authenticate this business that he had to perform, he produced his instructions under the hands and seals of the Hon. Robert Morris and the Hon. ——

Ogden, both of the State of Pennsylvania, adding, that the chain of friendship now stretched between the said gentlemen and the Six Nations, the centre of which was to be supported by him; that in consequence thereof, he desired their permission to traverse the several courses of the lands granted by their agents, —— Livingston, of New York, to the said State of Massachusetts.

April 28th.

The council being convened within the house, there appeared to be about one hundred and fifty in number. Mr. Ewing began to open and continue his business, which he had introduced the day before upon which I rose to inform him that he must desist from going on any farther, as it was an interference with my mission, that was of the utmost consequence to the United States, and to the Indian nations in general, and that as soon as the same was completed, agreeable to the purport of my coming here, that then I would lend him such assistance as was in my power, and through which I would evidence my respect for the gentleman who sent him.

The commanding officer of fort Erie sent word to the council this morning that he could not leave his garrison without the express permission of the commandant of Niagara, (Col. Gordon,) but that he had sent Captain Powell, of the Indian Department, as a suitable person to superintend their business.

As a proper introduction to my mission, and by the consent and desire of O'Beel, I began by reading his address to the Governor and Council of the State of Pennsylvania, as also his several letters to the President of the United States, and his Excellency's answer to them in order, and a third letter to the same from the Secretary of War. The reading of these several papers, and the deed from his Excellency the President, for the restoration of their lands in the Six Nations, and the interpreting the same, took up the whole of the day, upon which I concluded to adjourn till to-morrow, leaving them to digest what had been said, and to judge of the great attention that had been paid to them by the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, I thought it proper to give the invitation to Captain Powell, to take up his abode at my hut for the night, which he

very willingly accepted of. After we had taken a little refreshment we entered into a general conversation, and spoke on many matters, the consequences of the late war. The Captain being free in conversation gave me to understand that Colonels Butler and Brandt, himself and several other officers from Niagara and Fort Erie, had been in Buffalo some time, waiting my coming, as they had advices that I was on the way hither; that while there Brandt received private instructions from head quarters, to set out for the Grand river, and from thence to Detroit. This business, Captain Powell judged, was to carry instructions of some kind to the Indians at war with the United States, It had the appearance of truth, from what had fallen from the Lips of Butler and Brandt, some days since with the chiefs of the Onandagos and Senecas, as it had the tendency of their joint advice when they spoke in the great council, viz: that they should not determine on any matter of consequence with me without their concurrence. These injunctions being laid upon them, (as I received it from my informant,) the British officers retired to their different posts.

FRIDAY, *April 29th.*

The business which I postponed yesterday, I opened in a much larger council than had appeared before; and, after I had read the Secretary of War's message by me to the Six Nations, I continued to read those also directed to the Delawares, Wyandotts, the Miamies and to the Indians inhabiting the Wabash, and closed the whole with an address to them, clearly explaining the greatness and power of the United States, and of their trade and commerce; as also of their being at peace and amity with many of the powerful nations of Europe; and though we were once angry with Great Britain, with whom we had fought for eight returning seasons, and having compelled them by force and arms to quit our country, the red hatchet between them and the United States was buried deep under the earth.

I also went into and explained the treaty, held at New York, between his Excellency the President and Colonel McGillivray, the political chief of the Creek nations, and the most numerous body of Indians on the continent, and at this interview there were thirty-two of the most principal chiefs.

Everything being most amicably adjusted at this treaty, they are now become the established friends of the United States, and have firmly engaged themselves to act as our allies in offensive wars, as the nature of the case will require. Moreover, as they had journeyed far from their own country, not less than sixteen hundred miles, that, to save them the trouble of returning the same way, an American vessel was properly equipped for their accommodation, and conducted them, fully satisfied, to their own country.

And here I was happy to have it in my power to give a more recent proof to the Six Nations, of the great justice done them by the President of the United States, in the late negotiation had with him by Cornplanter and others, at Philadelphia, to evidence which, no greater testimony can be given than what I have produced this day, in the hearing of this large assembly. And that nothing more remained, at this time, to be done, but for the chiefs of the Six Nations to evidence their attachment to the United States, by their speedily proceeding forward with me to the unfriendly Indians, and assisting me by the same to inform their minds, to reclaim them from the murders and thefts which they were daily committing upon the defenceless inhabitants near the Ohio, &c., &c. By this, they might have an early caution what must be the consequence, should they refuse to accept the terms of peace, and the proffered mercy of the United States, before that a decisive blow be leveled at those misguided people, and which cannot be far off, if they persist in their cruelties. Moreover, that it is a business worthy the attention of the Six Nations, nay, of all good men, both of the Indians and of the whites; and the speedier their determination might be made known to me, the better, so that we might go on to the accomplishment of this good work, thereby to preserve hundreds of our fellow men on both sides. The reply of Red Jacket to the foregoing, as it will come more proper in this place, I here insert it at its full length:

"BROTHER FROM PENNSYLVANIA:

"We have heard all that you have said to us, and by which you have informed that you are going to the bad Indians to make peace with them, and that you are sent to us to receive

our assistance. Now we must consider the matter thoroughly, and to choose which way we must go, whether by land or by water. You likewise tell us, that you have messages to the Wyandots and to Captain Snake of the Delawares, and that they are to take hold of you and us by the hands, and go to the bad Indian nations with us; and this, also, we must consider of thoroughly; for we find that all our Six Nations are not present; and, as our brother, Captain Powell, of the British, is here and true to us, for he is with us at every treaty, we must let you know that we shall move our council fire to Niagara with him, and that you must go with us to-morrow, as far as Captain Powell's house, and as soon as we can know what time we can reach Niagara, we will send runners off to the Fort, to accquaint the commanding officer of the garrison. And now the council want to have your answer."

I did not long hesitate to make answer, in what I deemed a very unwarrantable request; and particularly so from a people that have received so many marks of gratitude and attention from the Government of the United States, I therefore, addressed myself to the council and accquainted them that I had the honor of receiving my instructions and messages for the Six Nations of Indians from the honorable the Secretary of War of the United States of America, by the advice of his Excellency the President, thereof; that by those instructions, I was ordered to proceed to the council fire of the Six Nations, where it should be deemed proper and advisable to light the same. This is, therefore the place I have been led to by some of your principal chiefs; and upon my account, and the messages I have for your nations, this council fire has been lighted; this being truly the case; and that my errand here was to invite you to send with me some of your head men and warriors into the nation of the unfriendly Indians, as proposed at Philadelphia to the Secretary of War, by your chiefs who are present. That on my coming thus far, I am certain to be in the line of my duty; but to move from hence with this council fire to Niagara, a British garrison, there to transact important business, in which the United States were concerned, is of such a nature that neither my principles nor commission would warrant me in such a transaction, therefore I should decline to accom-

pany them; adding that if the Six Nations were so far obligated that they must have the particular counsel and advice of any person or persons at Niagara, let them be sent for to this council, so that the result of such deliberations might be done openly at this place and that my desires were, that this fire should not be quenched until the intentions of the Six Nations were full made known to me, so that I might lay the same in form before the Secretary of War, by him to be laid before General Washington, the Chief of the Thirteen Fires.

A silence for some time pervaded the whole of the council, after which, Red Jacket and the Farmer's Brother spoke to the council by turns; the result of it being, that a runner must be immediately sent to Niagara, to request the attendance of Colonel Butler, &c., to meet them in their council as soon as he could make it convenient.

The foregoing speech of Red Jacket, as done by the advice of the Young King and Fish Carrier, (for they sat on either side of him and prompted,) plainly demonstrates, that the most of the chiefs of the Six Nations are under the influence of the British; as no business of consequence will be undertaken, to the advantage of the United States, but what must first be sifted by British counsel. These suggestions, which were pressed on my mind at this time, gave me to fear that I should not meet the wished for assistance that I had a right to expect from the Six Nations; but fully determined to persevere in my endeavors till I should gain the summit of difficulty, which was arrayed before me.

April 30th.

No business this day, but private counselling among themselves. In the evening, Captain Powell invited me to go with him to a store about four miles distant, in which he was interested, and his partner who kept it, a Mr. Cornelius Winney, of Fish Kills. With the last named gentleman, I staid till the Monday following, through a very pressing and polite invitation, which at length I accepted of, being lame, and much indisposed, through fatigue and change of diet, such as from poor, to exceeding poor indeed; but with him there was plenty of every necessary and given with so good a grace, that I shall seek occasion to return the compliment.

May 2d.

No further business with me, but the Indians still continue their councils keeping their fire burning waiting the arrival of Colonel Butler, and by information which I received that leaked out of the cabinet of the Sachems, the council were much divided upon my account. About two in the afternoon, a messenger from Niagara arrivedinforming them, that Colonel Butler, &c., had set out from Niagara for this place. Among other circumstances in their private council by the friends to the British interest, that the place where I was desirous they should accompany me was on the verge of the ocean; that it would take them twelve months to reach the place of treaty; but those falsities were explained soon to my friends and through which I plainly shewed them, by my draughts, that the distance from hence to Fort Washington, did not amount to six hundred miles, and that half that distance we should go by the waters of lake Erie, and that when I was satisfied of their going with me, I would charter one of the trading vessels on the lake for that purpose.

May 3d.

Finding upon inquiry that there was no general council to be held this day, waiting the coming of Colonel Butler, I sent the interpreter to invite the chiefs to my cabin, as I had some matters to communicate to them, previous to their going to general council, they soon attended me, and I took the opportunity to open my map before them, and showed from our situation at Buffalo, the trace we should make into the Miami nation; from thence to Fort Washington, on the Ohio; the first by a transport on Lake Erie, to the mouth of the Miami, which, with anything of a fair wind, could be completed in less than two days and two nights. From the mouth of the Miami to the Messasagoe nation, situate on the same, and from thence to the Miami and Wabash tribes, at such place where they might generally be assembled; plainly demonstrating to their satisfaction, that the whole tour could be performed in a short time, and, therefore, enjoined them under the friendship which they professed to bear to the Thirteen Fires, that they would in their next council, promote and further my business, that I came to receive their assistance to perform; so that I might go on my journey without further hesitation, as my or-

ders were not to remain at any council longer than two or three days, if I could possibly do otherwise; so that it might be reasonably expected, that my stay here could not be much longer, this being the seventh day since my arrival, I hoped, therefore, that they would not be silent with me longer, as I plainly saw that they were not to exercise their own opinions but on the opinion of the British Agent. These remarks I made with intention that they should feel the force of my observations; upon which Red Jacket desired that I should hear him speak; as I had been speaking a long time. "Tell him, said he (speaking to the interpreter,) that some of his language is soft, but that other parts of it are too strong; for the danger that is before us is great, and our enemies are drunk; and they will not hear what we say, like a man that is sober, and we consider that, whatever number of the Six Nations accompany him, will be in the same danger with himself, and it is likely that we shall not live long, when the bad Indians shall see us, therefore as it is a business of such great weight to us, we must take counsel in order to save ourselves and him from falling by their hands, moreover, the Indians are not like white men; for they must think a great while. He must therefore attend our councils, and look and hear till we shall speak on his business, and to-morrow our head men will meet together and try what can be done." While we were in conversation together, a runner came to the Young King, acquainting him that Colonel Butler with several officers, from Niagara, had arrived at the store house, on Lake Erie, where Colonel Butler desired, that the sachems and head men of the nations should meet him in the morning; but did not advise that I should attend with them. This the Young King desired might be told to me, that I might know that Colonel Butler had called them together. the circumstance of their moving the council fire from hence to Lake Erie, had never been attempted before, and may with propriety be said, that their being called together without my being to be present, was intended to answer some private purpose; perhaps to damp the ardor of such friends as I might have gained among the Indians, through the fair and honorable statements which I had laid before them in their councils. Since the dusk of the night Captain O'Beel has

called a meeting of the chiefs, at the cabin of Cayassutta, as I understood it, to advise them not to do any thing to injure me in the business I had to do with them. In the course of this day, Captains Half Town and Big Tree, and several of the head men and warriors from O'Beel's town and Cattaragus, about sixty in number, and Captain Snake, with about forty of the Delawares arrived, attended by many of their women, youth, &c. By invitation I dined this day (in company with Captain Houdin,) with the principal chief of the Onandago nation, named Big Sky. His castle lay about three miles east of Buffalo, near which were about twenty-eight good cabins, and the inhabitants appeared in general to be decent and well clothed, particularly their women, some of which were dressed so richly, with silken stroud, &c, and ornamented with so many silver trappings, that one suit must be of the value of at least thirty pounds; some of the latter attended the feast, which principally consisted of young pigeons, some boiled, some stewed, and the mode of dishing them up was, that a hank of six were tied with a deer's sinew around their necks, their bills pointing outwards; they were plucked but of pen feathers there plenty remained; the inside was taken out, but it appeared from the soup made of them, that water had not touched them before. The repast being the best I had seen for a long time, I ate of it very heartily, and the entertainment was given with the appearance of much hospitality. Returned about sunset at Buffalo.

May 4th.

The whole of the headmen and warriors repaired to the place yesterday appointed by Colonel Butler, to open that council they intended holding at the British garrison of Niagara, I pressed my friend O'Beel to go forward with them by all means, lest the United States should not be represented. About eleven o'clock an Indian runner delivered me a letter from Colonel Butler, through which Captain Houdin and myself received a polite invitation to dine with him and his officers, viz: Captain Burrows, commandant of Fort Erie, Colonel Street, Captain Johnson, Captain Powell and Captain Butler Shane; most of which gentlemen appeared to speak the Indian language fluently, and all appeared to be busily engaged with

the parties, holding converse with them. The tenor of which was, as I since understood it, that they must be cautious what they should undertake to do in such matters as I had laid before them; and before they might determine, they must repair to Niagara and receive the instructions of Colonel Gordon. Colonel Butler speaking to them in my hearing to the same effect, also mentioning, that, as Colonel Brandt, of Grand river and Mr. M'Gee, agent for the Indian affairs for Detroit, were now preparing to go among the Indians at war with the Americans, to know what their intentions were, whether for war or for peace; advising them by all means to wait the information that would be received from them, and, should it not come as early as might be expected, they should not go without it, as thereby they would draw war upon their own nations, for they were very angry with them already, and would be more so in finding an American among them; and that, notwithstanding his going among them was to establish peace, they would kill them all without waiting to hear what errand he had come upon. This, and the like conversation from Colonel Butler beside what were doing by his officers of the Indian department then present, lasted till late dinner time, and previous to their going away to their castle at Buffalo. The Young King and Red Jacket remarked to Colonel Butler, that the speech intended for the Miami and Wabash Indians contained threatening sentences which would be more likely to irritate them than soften them into a compliance. Upon this information being given, I undertook to show them to Colonel Butler and others that were present, that, on the same being read publicly, they acknowledged that they had not understood it so well before, and appeared satisfied that a mistake rested with them. A considerable conversation took place with Colonel Butler and myself in presence of the Young King and other chiefs entirely on the subject of a peace, and of my intended progress through the Miami country which were severally interpreted to them, the tenor of the Colonel's advice being, to leave the whole of the treaty, and adjustment of the same to the chiefs of Buffalo, Colonel Brandt and M'Gee, whom he should engage for to accommodate the disputes between the Indians at war and the United States, and on no account to attempt the undertaking myself, as he was well aware what must be the consequence.

Colonel Butler having given his opinion so fully, gave me the opportunity to explain myself, by saying that, if I possessed weakness enough to submit to a negotiation on the terms he had introduced, that a peace could not be confirmed with the thirteen States, but with his Britannic Majesty's subjects, in their behalf; that, on the completion of this business, due honor would rest with the negotiators, and, by such a passive procedure in me, I should justly entail on myself lasting disrepute. That, for those reasons, the chiefs of the Six Nations must be decisive in their answer to me, within a few days, being compelled by my duty to seek assistance by other expedients, which are in my power—perceiving in some of their chiefs, an indifference of conduct in matters which I held to be of the utmost importance. These expressions having been interpreted to them, they severally retired to their villages, and I received the invitation of continuing the night with those gentlemen, and complying with the same, I received the utmost civility and agreeable conversation till one o'clock in the morning.

May 5th.

This morning Col. Butler and his suite took boat from hence, which was rowed by six British soldiers across the lake, for Fort Erie; and previous to their departure, as before mentioned, I saw that each and every public paper received by Cornplanter, at Philadelphia, together with the message that I brought to the Six Nations, were safely put under the care of Col. Butler, and by him to be presented to the commanding officer of Niagara, as concluded upon by the council of the Six Nations, so that the counsel of Col. Gordon might be obtained by them. In the afternoon of this day, I wrote a letter to obtain permission from the commanding officer of the Niagara, to freight one of the Schooners upon the lake, to conduct me, and such Indians as were willing to go with me to Sandusky, in order that no time might be lost when I should gain their concurrence, and forwarded the same by an Indian, being unwilling to trouble either of the officers with its carriage, to Col. Gordon; paid him 15s.

[See the letter to Col. Gordon.]

May 6.

Red Jacket and Captain O'Beel came to see me, when the former acquainted me with the reason why no council would be held this day, to wit: That it was their pigeon time, in which the Great Spirit had blessed them with an abundance; and that such was his goodness to the Indians that He never failed sending them season after season, and although it might seem a small matter to me, the Indians will never lose sight of those blessings. This is, therefore, the reason why our men, women and children, are gone from their towns, but on to-morrow our headmen will return and your business again shall be taken up. 'Tis a matter worthy of observation, that at some convenient distance from every one of the Indian settlements, the pigeons hatch their young in this season of the year, and the trees, which they commonly light on, are low and of the bushy kind, and they are found in such great abundance, that exceeding a hundred nests, a pair of pigeons in each are common to be found in a single tree, so that I have seen in one house, belonging to one family, several large baskets full of dead squabs; these they commonly take when they are just prepared to leave their nests, and as fat as is possible for them to be made; when after they are plucked and cleansed a little, they are preserved by smoke and laid by for use.

May 7th.

Captain O'Beel called the chiefs together on business concerning themselves; to take into consideration where land should be selected for the accommodation of certain tribes and families, who had put themselves under the protection of the Six Nations, being compelled to leave their former situations, dreading the rage of the Shawanese and Miami Indians.

To Captain Snake and the Delawares under his immediate care, the place appointed for them to plant in, was near the village of Cattaraugus; to the families of Connondochta, a chief of the Messasagoes, and to the Bear's Oil Chief and his family, who fled from their settlement, Conyatt, all of the same nation, had their planting grounds assigned to them near the village of Buffalo. On the arrival of the Bear's Oil chief and Connondochta at this place, they acquainted me, that, from their friends, they had intelligence, that large bodies of Indians were

assembled at the Miami, preparing for a descent on some part of our settlements or garrisons, on or near the Ohio, and that many white people had lately fallen by the hands of the Indians, in which attack, two warriors were lost; and by the same information, they received accounts that war traces were seen leading to Fort Pitt. They professed to be very happy in seeing of me, as they had heard it in their own country, the business I had come upon. At this meeting, advice was received that the Squawky Indians, those of Carrahadeer, and Hiskhue, were in fear of our white people, and about to leave their settlements and repair to Buffalo. This account several of the chiefs came to make me acquainted with. Upon which, I told them such a report had not the least shadow of truth, for it was a well known subject to the inhabitants of the Genesee, that, by my mission, I was sent to the Six Nations as a pledge for the friendship of the Thirteen Fires, to them; that whosoever was the author of this bad report, was a great enemy to the Indians, as well as to the whites inhabiting the frontiers, and that, therefore, without loss of time, they should send messengers to advise the Indians of those settlements not to stir from their property, but to go on with their planting as usual, and that neither our army nor our militia, dare to disturb the quiet. This, my advice, was communicated to the council, and Cornplanter was active in forwarding the dispatches to them. During this day's business in their council, it was moved that some of their chiefs, attended by the Farmer's Brother, should go to Niagara to obtain the counsel and assistance of Colonel Gordon; but nothing was determined upon.

Mr. Joseph Smith arrived this day from the Genesee with a message from Col. Pickering, intimating to the Six Nations that he had received presents for them from the United States, desiring their attendance at the Painted Post on the Tioga river, on the 16th day of June next. The introductory part of his address pointed out to them the interview that he had had with their chiefs at Tioga Point two years since; that there the mutual friendships between the United States and the Six Nations were entered into; that he was happy to inform them that the chain between them was held fast by the States, and

kept free from rust. In his next position, he recommended to them to keep peaceable in their towns, and by no means to join the Indians who were carrying on a war against the United States. I seconded the purport of his speech to them and advised, in a particular manner, that the whole of their chiefs and warriors with their women, would present themselves at Cohockton on the day, or as near it as possible, and receive the benefits which would be bestowed upon them by the Thirteen Fires; and this the chiefs promised should be attended to.

Council this day as usual, without my meeting amongst them. Nothing more material.

May 8th.

A great dance was performed here this day, and worship by the Six Nations present; but in the fore part of the day held council, and I was present. For the particulars, see the speech of Fish Carrier, a chief of the Cayugas, and the right hand man of Brandt and Butler.

May 9th.

The council being convened, I replied to the speech of Fish Carrier delivered yesterday, in which I gave them to understand that I thought it useless for me to stay any longer with them at Buffalo, seeing that those who were in the interest of the British had deterred others of them from serving in the cause of the United States; and that, whatsoever they might have conceived of their conduct throughout this business, that I would lay it in its true colors before General Washington, the President of the United States, that he might be the judge how far the Six Nations deserved his future attention and care. And here I must inform the chief and head men of the Six Nations, that I have, by your desire from time to time, overstaid the period limited me to be at Fort Washington, being the thirteenth day since my arrival. I therefore call upon you for your final answer to my message, and I cannot doubt but it will be such that will remove all those troubles from my mind that it has labored under for many days past; and this you must receive as the last talk I have to make to you, unless that something worthy of my attention shall be publicly declared by your head men, that can alter the opinion I now pos-

sess. And shall only add in this place, that it is my fervent desire that the Great Spirit may always preside over the councils of the Six Nations, and direct all their doings for their lasting happiness. Previous to my leaving the council, Red Jacket and the Young King desired that I would wait their future deliberations, and from a few words which were afterwards spoken to me by Red Jacket in council, gave me the first reason to expect their assistance.

May 10.

Worship was performed this day as usual.

May 11.

The great dance that succeeded was attended with a very drunken entertainment, from the Young King to the meanest subject, Cornplanter and some of the elders of the women excepted; but not the least insolence was offered to me, or any of my people.

May 12.

There was a general alarm took place in all the villages near this quarter, the cause of it I had judged proceeded from the enemies of the United States; but report gave it that there was a large number of Indians approaching the castle of Buffalo, and that one of them had come to a woman the last evening, and showed her two fresh scalps, one of which was a white man's, and the other an Indian's; the last scalp so large, that the ears with its bobs remained to it, and that the main object was to make demand of the white persons among them, and of me in particular, to be surrendered; and should it be denied, they would commence an open war amongst them. Capt. O'Beel on this feigned alarm; sent out early in the morning of the 13th, a number of his Indians to discover if there was the appearance of an enemy's track; but returned in the afternoon and reported that there had been no Indians where it had been said there were seen in numbers. Some time in the day the Young King went to the encampment of the Bear's Oil chief, and in conversation with him, and many others of the Indians, told them to prepare for going to Niagara in the morning, with him and others, to consult with Col. Gordon what was necessary to be done, as I had required an immediate answer from the Six Nations, on my messages to

them, and to determine whether they should take the advice of the United States, or the advice of the British. This information I received from Captain Print, an Indian Chief, and one of those who accompanied Gen. Sullivan, speaking the English Language sufficiently well to be understood. He told me further, that the British were the main instigation of my not succeeding hitherto. This led me to call a meeting of the chiefs at my cabin this evening, and particularly the Young King to be of the number. Captain Print was present, as also O'Beel. Before them I recounted many principal objects, as the end of my mission to them ; and in the clearest and most becoming manner, I showed them where they had failed to perform in many instances, all that I required at their hands ; and if such had been attended to by them, the United States would be more liberal in their rewards, but the contrary having taken place, the more straightened their gifts would be in future ; and that the reasons that they were now called to the Painted Post to receive clothing, &c , at the hands of Col. Pickering, were under the firmest belief of the President of the Thirteen Fires, that we are at this time far advanced in the country of the unfriendly Indians, proceeding on our way to the treaty at Fort Washington, which is to be held by Gen. St. Clair, Governor of the Western territories. What passed at this interview between me and them, was soon carried for the information of the elders of the women, and was the cause of the awakening the whole of them from their lethargy. Mess expenses for four persons, and feed for our horses, commencing 27th April, to 13th May, both days included, £12 16s. 7d.

Information received this day of Mr. Joseph Smith, interpreter, as he had the same from a Mr. John Knowles, of Detroit, and formerly of the city of Philadelphia, silversmith, viz : that after the battle which was fought last fall, between Colonel Harmar and the Wabash Indians, &c., great quantities of provisions, ammunition and other necessaries, were sent to the seat of war to supply the Indians, and conducted by a Simon Gerty and some other persons from the garrison of Detroit, said to be of more notoriety than said Gerty, this being a fact founded on truth.

Quere. Is not as likely that they are constantly supplied by the same process with every article they stand in need of to carry on war with the United States; and, can this be a principle comporting with the reputation of a brave Briton? I think not.

May 14th.

Private council this day with the Indians, as usual, in which they strongly debated on the principles under consideration between me and Colonel Butler, the particulars of which are more fully explained in the speech of the Young King, assisted by Fish Carrier, which he delivered in my hut after candle light. (See subsequent page.)

The afternoon of the 9th instant, about 5 o'clock, my interpreter came to inform me, that Mr. William Ewing had called the chiefs to his hut, (as was his custom, unknown to me, almost every afternoon,) and that a council fire was lighted in the front of the same; that Fish Carrier, the Farmer's Brother and several other chiefs were present, consulting on the business I have before alluded to. It gave me some concern, that the imprudence of this young man had compelled me to come forward, to silence him, as I was, plainly; and received information also that the Indians were not able to decide what purpose was intended, by sending two extraordinary messengers to them at one time; being led to believe, that the authority of each was nearly similar. I proceeded to the council fire, and in a short manner introduced my business to the chiefs, of what was the cause that brought me forward to interfere in the business of their council.

Upon this, I turned to Mr. Ewing, and charged him with having insidiously thrown obstructions in my way, and was one of the principal causes of my not having succeeded in the purpose of my message to the Six Nations. In consequence of which, I commanded him, in the presence of the chiefs, at his peril to proceed any farther, in either their public or their private councils, until my mission was fully decided upon by the chiefs of the Six Nations, and should he attempt it after this caution, that I should be unpleasingly compelled to commit him to the first prison that could be come at within the United States, and prosecute him, on the obvious reasons be-

fore recited. The purport of this conversation with Mr. Ewing, I desired my interpreter to communicate to the chiefs, and upon which I left them to regale themselves with liquor, placed before them for the occasion.

On the Young King's closing his conversation with me for the night, and roundly denying that they would accompany me in person to the Miamies, &c., I took this as the last occasion I should have to tell those who accompanied him the sentiments of my mind, and assuring them, at the same time, that whatever I should say to the Secretary of War on my return, should be identically to the same effect that I had upon all occasions accosted them; and that, as I scorned deception, I must generously tell them that I was displeased with their delays, and of the little respect they had paid to the message that I was charged with to their nations. That if the same was well received by the Secretary of War, it would tend to their future advantage; but that I could not persuade myself would be the case, and closed our conversation for the night.

May 15th.

Early this morning the elders of the Indian women resorted to my hut, (present a number of chiefs.) Having heard the general conversation that took place between me and the Young King the evening before, addressed me in the following manner:

"BROTHER:—The Lord has spared us until a new day to talk together; for, since you came here from General Washington, you, and our uncles the sachems, have been counselling together. Moreover, your sisters, the women, have taken the same into great consideration, because that you and our sachems have said so much upon it. Now, that is the reason why we have come to say something to you, and to tell you that the Great Spirit hath preserved you, and you ought to hear and listen to what we women shall speak, as well as to the sachems; for we are the owners of this land and it is ours; for it is we that plant it for our and their use. Hear us, therefore, for we speak of things that concern us and our children, and you must not think hard of us while our men shall say more to you; for we have told them."

The above speech being ended, I acceded to a request they made that I would attend their sachems in council this day, and hear what should be said by the women's speaker, the young prince of the Turtle tribe, (Red Jacket.) Soon after their departure the alarm gun was fired, which was their signal to call their head men into council. They were soon assembled from their adjacent villages, and sent some of their sachems to usher me and my colleague into their assembly. Being arrived, the first matter unusual that presented itself, were the elders of the women seated near their chiefs. When, after a short silence, the speech of the women was continued by Red Jacket, agreeably to the terms entered into between them, and the whole of the leading sachems of the Six Nations, as follows:

"BROTHER FROM PENNSYLVANIA:

"You that are sent from General Washington, and by the Thirteen Fires; you have been sitting side by side with us every day, and the Lord has appointed us another pleasant day to meet again.

"Now, listen, Brother: You know what we have been doing so long, and what trouble we have been at; and you know that is has been the request of our head warrior (O'Beel,) that we are left to answer for our women, who are to conclude what ought to be done by both sachems and warriors. So hear what is their conclusion. Brother, the business you have come on is very troublesome, and we have been a long time considering on it, ever since you come here; and now the elders of our women, considering the greatness of your business, have said that our sachems and warriors must help you over your difficulties, for the good of them and their children, Moreover, you tell us since the treaty of Tioga with us, the Americans are strong for peace.

"Now, all that has been done for you by our women, and the rest will be a hard task for us; for the people at the setting sun are bad people, and you have come on us in too much haste for such great matters of importance. And now, brother, you must look when it is light in the morning until the setting sun, and you must reach your neck over the land, and take all the light you can, to show the danger. And this is the words of

our women to you, and the sachems and warriors who shall go with you. And now we shall name them, as they have first presented themselves in this full council, viz: Our first great sachem Kuyascetta, Red Jacket, the young prince of the Turtle tribe, Captain John of the Onandagoes, the Grand Carrier Awangogathe, [The foregoing are four chiefs of six who were appointed to conduct me into the country of the unfriendly Indians. The names of the other two grand chiefs were at the same time given, but, by some accident not inserted.] And now we will name our chief warriors, viz: Sawishue, Cuyanddoas, Unandasthenous, Thenachqua, Conneague, Tenanquach qua, Otanhjohngottang, Hottehdeyouche and Attwanikea.

"Now, brother from Pennsylvania and from General Washington, I have told you what has been directed. Let us, therefore, throw all care on the mercy of our Great Keeper, in hopes that he will assist us. You now know that Col. Butler, of the British, told us that he must take our writings down to Col. Gordon, as he is a very wise man, and perhaps he may have something to say to us that is for our good And we also want his assistance, as he is the man that keeps all the vessels that is on the lake. Therefore, my brother, make your mind easy, for your request is granted, and when we hear from our brothers, the British, then we shall know what time we can start. And you must not be uneasy that our brother, O'Beel, does not go with you, for he is very tired and he must rest awhile, and take charge of our young warriors while they are playing, (hunting,) to keep them in peace, for fear of danger. And now, while we are speaking, more of our young warriors have given their names to go with you."

Having received this welcome information, and so firmly authenticated by so complete a council, I undertook to write a second letter to Col. Gordon, commandant of Niagara, making request of him to grant me a passage in one of the merchant or other vessels on lake Erie, for a certain number of Indians, and others, intended to accompany me to the Miamies, and from thence to Fort Washington, on the Ohio, and, the better to prevent any miscarriage or delay, I sent it by Mr. Horatio Jones, my interpreter, on the morning of the 16th, enjoining him by all means to present it to the Colonel himself, and to

return with an answer to me as speedily as possible. [See the letter.]

Early on the morning of the 17th, he crossed the river St. Lawrence to Niagara, and, being well acquainted there, he went through any part of the garrison he thought proper, until about ten o'clock, when he went to the commandant to present my letter. Mr. Jones informed me, that, as soon as it was known that he was charged with a public message from me, the town major had orders to put an orderly non-commissioned officer to attend him, and to prevent his going through the garrison or of holding any particular conversation with the inhabitants. And, as soon as Col. Gordon sent to him the answer of my letter, he was ordered to return to Buffalo by the same route he had came; and the orderly conducted him to the ferry where he had crossed in the morning, and returned on the 19th, to me at Buffalo.

The answer which Col. Gordon sent in his letter was, that, as he had not seen those public documents that I had wrote him of, therefore he could not enter into a discussion with me on matters of a public nature, viewing me only in the line of a private agent; nor was he authorized to permit me a passage for the Indians I proposed carrying to Sandusky, in any of the vessels on the lake, (See his letter.) This unfriendly denial puts a stop to the further attempting to go to the Miamies, as the Indian chiefs who proposed to accompany me were unable to walk the distance required, and it was held by them unsafe to go in a large Albany boat I had contracted for, fearing disappointments; as to gain a harbor for such a boat in case of rough water, it could not be met with at times, under going the distance of twelve or fifteen miles, and all winds from the north-east and north-west and northerly, made the lake very turbulent, and the waters as rough as the ocean.

While Mr. Jones continued at Niagara, six engineers and twenty-five or more artificers arrived there from Quebec, being sent by Lord Dorchester for the purpose of carrying on some works of fortifications. He likewise saw that fresh work had been done to the face of the garrison, &c.

I have likewise been informed that the British have laid the foundation of a new fortress on the north side of Lake Erie, at

some distance higher up the rapids, and I presume, (beyond the range of thirteen inch shells from the present garrison; it being very evident they cannot, in justice maintain it much longer. The reason of their establishing of new garrisons on the lakes is very obvious, they being intended for the support of the fur trade, which produces abundance of wealth yearly to Great Britain. But this revenue will, I hope, very soon be decreased, on the surrender of the Fort of Detroit, the key of the fur trade by the lakes and such posts as may be established by the United States in the Western territory, near the Mississippi, and also in the Wabash country, and by the Government of Pennsylvania, at the old French garrison of Presque Isle; which will invite most of the trade from the Grand river, that empties itself into Lake Erie, on the north side, and at a small distance from that beautiful station of as fertile lands as America produces, of a pure air and a healthful climate.

During the absence of my interpreter, twelve of the chiefs, headed by the Young King, came to the Store-house on the lake, (at which place I was writing my dispatches for the Secretary of War,) and informed me that they understood that I had intentions of going away secretly from them in the night, and that I had proffered an extraordinary price for a horse for that purpose, and had likewise offered a large sum of money to an Indian to carry my letters to Pittsburg. I then inquired who was their informant, that I had communicated these things to. They answered that John Berry, an Indian, who interpreted for Mr. Ewing, had told them so, and they had come to know my reason for so doing. I replied, that such a thought had not passed my mind, and that, if I had had such intentions, why should I have sent my interpreter to Niagara, to obtain a vessel to conduct me and them to the place I so earnestly and so constantly had solicited them to accompany me? And that, were I disposed to leave them in that manner, I should not have sold my horse yesterday to their trader, Mr. Vinney; and the sole reason of my having sold him, was, that we could not take a horse by water to Sandusky; for, when there, we should have the utmost occasion for them, having to travel a long distance on foot. But the mistake or wrong interpretation rested on this point. My intentions of going by

water, as above related, prompted me to engage one of O'Beel's Indians, whom I believed to be an honest man, to carry my letters to Fort Franklin; and, as well as having offered him certain payment for his services, I had proposed to him a horse to carry him to the New Arrow's town, where the horse belonged, and the rest of the way he might go by water, if he chose to do so. Moreover, to speak in their own language, I was more of a man than to leave my friends in that manner; and that whenever I was about to go from them, I should tell them so, and take my leave of the Six Nations. Having so said to them, I gave them a treat, and they returned to the towns fully pleased and satisfied.

May 17th.

Red Jacket and other of the chiefs informed me that my friends in the different towns expected that I would give them something to drink, as they were going to have a great dance before they should leave their women. I readily accepted his proposition, and ordered eight gallons of the best spirits to be presented them for the entertainment; and I desired that the women should be attended to particularly, for their valuable conduct in the last great council.

May 18th and 19th.

I was engaged in preparing my despatches for the Secretary of War, and other letters of the same import for Governor St. Clair, and I proposed to forward them by the way of New Arrow's town, thence to Fort Franklin and Pittsburgh, and appointed Captain Stingfish, of New Arrow's town to be the bearer, whose wife was the principal governess and leader of the chiefs among the women, and the principal promoter in gaining the sachems over to my interest. It is well known to every person entrusted with a public commission among the Indians, that they are expected to possess a liberal hand. Red Jacket whom we have often spoken of, waited on me this morning to tell me that his house wanted a floor; that, as he was going with me and desirous to leave his family more comfortable in his absence, he expected that I would have it done for him. Moreover, he wanted some rum for his wife and his mother; and, that he might drink with them before he set out on his intended journey, he wanted a little for himself. The

first request of laying his floor, I promised to have done immediately before our going on board the vessel; and to make him and his wife cheerful at parting, gave orders to present him with one gallon of rum. The Young King was not less pressing in his request for rum on various occasions; and although he did not behave so well in their councils as I desired, I did not send them away empty handed, sound policy having dictated my motives. And, as I perceived that Captain O'Beel's modesty prevented his calling on me in that way, to him and Cuyaratta I was not less liberal. To a Shawnee Indian named Chafudet, (or Hot Sun,) one of the chiefs appointed to conduct me into the Shawnee country, I gave a blanket, being entreated by him in a particular manner to furnish him, for which I gave 18s. 9d. This afternoon and immediately after Mr. Jones' arrival from Niagara, the Young King and the major part of the chiefs came to be acquainted what was the result of Colonel Gordon's answer to me, upon which I informed them to meet me in general council in the morning, being desirous of communicating some matters of consequence to them, and then they should be informed of the contents of his letter. About this time I received information, that, about eight days since, Colonel Brandt had set out from the Grand river with about forty warriors, to touch at Detroit, to take with him Mr. M'Gee, agent for Indian affairs in that district, from thence, to proceed to the great encampment of those Indians at war with the United States; and by those who are professed friends of the British family, believed that his motives were not to pacify them, but to inflame their minds to a more vigorous opposition.

May 20th.

According to my proposals of yesterday, I met them in general council; introduced and explained the substance of Colonel Gordon's letter to me, apprising them that I was sensible of the cause that led him to give me such a denial, that it was replete with envy in him towards the United States. And it spoke no great affection in him towards the Indians, and that, ultimately, it must reflect on his name and station, the unfavorable epithet of a discernible public, as preferring to cherish the rage of the desolating sword of war, to the happiness which flows in such abundance through the channels of peace.

And perceiving from those causes, that nothing farther can be done by us at this time, I must take my leave of the Six Nations, and return with my informations to the chiefs that sent me, to whose attention I will recommend them, seeing that no fault at this time lays at their door. Having placed the whole of our disappointment to the fount from whence it came, and to-morrow being the day I propose moving hence, I have now to desire that the chiefs will prepare to deliver me their farewell speech, which I will duly communicate to the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, and hope that it may be done soon to-morrow.

May 21*st.*

The whole of the chiefs resorted to my cabin, and the Young King, by appointment, gave their farewell speech, but not without the aid of Fish Carrier, whose physiognomy, when speaking, put me in remembrance of the old Roman senators, possessing so much keen gravity in his manner. [For the conclusive speech of the Farmer's Brother, see subsequent page.]

Settled with Mr. Cornelius Vinney, for liquors, &c., had for the Indians occasionally, £26 5s., deducting 32 dollars for a horse sold to him, bought of Mr. Maxwell, at Tioga. Also, gave a white prisoner that lived with said Vinney, 9s. 4½d. Having now all matters arranged, I delivered to Captain Houdin all the public writings I had prepared for his Excellency the Secretary of War, and sent him by the Genesee, in company with Messrs. Smith and Ewing, residents of said place, (in the several villages adjacent to the castle of Buffalo, to wit: The Senecas, the Cayugus, the Onandagos, &c., there are more than 170 tolerable well built huts,) and proceeded by the verge of the lake for Cattaraugus, with my interpreter and servant, where we arrived on the 22d. Paid for the hire of two horses hither, and time for returning, 45s. The reason of my taking the route for Pittsburgh was, that I was apprehensive that my letters might have been intercepted, had I put them into the hands of the Indian before named, and taken to a British garrison for inspection, and that my conducting them myself might give me the opportunity of meeting with General St Clair or Colonel Butler, and giving them personal information of such matters as might not have been treated on in my letter.

Having found myself fully disposed to make a forced march to Pittsburgh, though late in the afternoon, I hired fresh horses and an Indian to go to New Arrow's Town and to return, for which I paid eight dollars; and for a supply of stores from a British trader 16s. 10½d. I arrived at the New Arrow's Town on the 24th in the evening, (distance 80 miles,) having encamped out in the woods the two preceding nights; I had no sooner arrived than the chiefs were summoned to council by the sound of a conch shell, which was intended for nothing more than to take their leave of me. Here I parted with my interpreter, for him to return to the Genesee country, the place of his residence, and accounted with for sixty-one days' services, allowing him six days to return, at 10½s. per day, a balance appearing in his favor of £24 13s. 1½d. I gave him my obligation to pay the same at sight, in Philadelphia; and at a late settlement with the paymaster general of the United States, I left the same, together with £18 payable to Messrs. Hollinback & Maxwell, for a small horse received of them at Tioga Point, and £7 10s. to the payment of my draft on the Secretary of War, to Joseph Smith, Indian interpreter. Previous to my leaving this town, 23d of April last, I was obliged to send my own riding horse to the Genesee settlement, it being impossible to procure forage or corn for him, and at which place he has remained ever since at expenses. Not having it in my power of doing otherwise, and whether the same will be allowed for to me, I must submit to the judgment of the Secretary of War.

Being in private conversation this evening with Captain O'Beel, and setting between him and the New Arrow sachem, I hinted to Captain O'Beel, that if he would go and join General St. Clair with 35 or 40 of his warriors, as well equipped as he could make them, purely to counterbalance the force that Brandt had taken with him to the unfriendly Indians, I would use endeavors with the Secretary of War to procure him a commission that should yield to him and his people a handsome stipend. He replied that the Senecas had received a stroke from the bad Indians by taking two prisoners, a woman and a boy from Conyatt; and that, should the hatchet be struck into the head of any of his people hereafter, he would

then inform me what he would undertake to do. I hired a canoe and two Indians this evening, to carry me to fort Franklin, and should have set out immediately, but for a heavy rain that fell. I agreed to pay them $430, and a proportion of whiskey when we should reach the garrison, and provisions to bring them back. I arrived the next morning by daylight at fort Franklin, took breakfast with Lieutenant Jeffers, had a canoe prepared with four fresh hands put into it, and after having adjusted my engagements with the Indians brought from New Arrow's town, pushed off as speedily as lay in our power for fort Pitt, (distance about 156 miles by water,) and gained the same in 25 hours, the men having worked hard all night to complete it, and assisted myself, for which I paid extra to each, one dollar, and one dollar for entertainment at Pittsburgh, having completed in five days and two nights, going by land or water from Buffalo to this place, 411 miles. Expenses at Pittsburgh the 29th, 40s. 4d. To servant's wages, engaged at Venango, April 8th, 52 days at 3s. 9d. per day, as per receipt, is £9 15s. To Horatio Jones, expenses going to Niagara with my letter, and returning, 46s. 10½d. Set out from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia on the evening of the 29th of May, and arrived the 7th day of June. Expenses from Pittsburgh hither, £7 14s. 3d.; and for keeping of a horse employed in public service, and for stabling in Philadelphia, and returning the horse to James Smith, Esq., Cumberland county, 40s.

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 8, 1791.

SIR:—I left the castle of the Six Nations of Indians at Buffalo creek, the 21st of the last month, in the afternoon, the forepart of the day being spent in the council with the chiefs of the above nations of which there were a full representation; and, by the following as delivered by the Young King and the Farmer's Brother, will evidence their friendly disposition towards the United States, in maintaining with them an inviolable peace; as, also, with the British, as, from the situation of their nations, they are centrally placed between them.

The same day I sent forward my despatches for your Excellency, under the care of Captain Houdin by the route of Wy-

oming, while I should proceed by the way of Forts Franklin and Pittsburgh, with the letters I had written for the information of General St. Clair, and arrived here yesterday afternoon. It is also with pleasure I inform you that as to the several posts on the Alleghany river, &c., they were under no apprehensions of danger from the unfriendly Indians, and were in good health and high spirits.

I am your Excellency's,

Most obedient servant,

THOMAS PROCTOR.

The Honorable Secretary of War.

The speech of Little Beard, April 1st, 1791.

BROTHER OF THE THIRTEEN FIRES:

Hear what we have to say to you. The Lord has spared us this day to meet together, and for you to let us know what has been done at Philadelphia a few days ago, for our nation.

You say our lands are secured for us, and that the grant given by the Great Chief General Washington, will last as long as the sun goes over us.

That is the reason why we give you great thanks, our lands being secured to our children's children. And great reason we have for doing so.

Every one of us will wish well to the great Chief, Honandaganius, (or General Washington,) and our women and our children will thank him, and will look up to him as a strong sun for protecting of the right of their lands to them forever. And you tell us that there is a great paper in the hands of O'Beel for us. Now we want you to shew with your finger how large the lands are given to us. [Here I named to them certain grants to land which they had made to the State of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, &c.]

Captain O'Beel's speech at Fort Franklin, April 9th, 1791.

We have met our brother here, and I believe he remembers what we said at Philadelphia; that we would try our friends once more, viz: the Wyandotts; as there were bad people among them, advising to use the hatchet.

There we said it would be well for one man to go with us from the United States, in order to hear what we should say to them.

Now the Lord has spared us to this day, to meet our brother that has been sent from the Thirteen Fires, and to join our hands with his to have justice done. And we should have been glad that he were with us on our way to Pittsburgh, for then our wagons would not have been stopped, our goods taken and our liquors drank, and that by people whom we thought to be our friends. And when we had got to Pitt, more and great trouble began on us by the bad men of the Big Knife. For when we had started from Pitt, with all our goods and writing with us, to shew what we had done for our nation, the white people and our friends seized upon the garrison boat, belonging to French creek, which had our goods in, and several canoes, and forcibly took them back to Pittsburgh, and there deprived us of all that was necessary for the comfort of our women and children; and we are sick for them. And now we wait here to know from our runners, if anything is left for us; and then we are ready to shew you the road. In one part of General Washington's speech to us he gives us to choose whether we will go by land or waters, and it affords us great pleasure, as we shall choose for the best and safest, as there are bad men on the way.

Now, the chiefs of our nations here have made their choice, and we must go to Buffalo, where our head men are waiting for us, and where the council fire has been long lighted and put out again, and we must light it the next, and that will be soon. There we shall finish our minds and have good plain faces wheresoever we turn against those bad men, and we shall be strong. Our friend sent by General Washington must not think hard by our requesting of him to wait for us. For this is the last speech the unfriendly people can have. And it is a heavy matter, and we must take time to do the business well and sure.

Now we shall send a runner right off, where the great fire is to be lighted at Buffalo, so that our great men of the different tribes may assemble all their people. And when there, we shall be able to tell you what number of Indians are going to ac-

company you to the Miamies, and he can write to General Washington of every particular of which our brother wishes to send. And now we have determined to start from here in the morning, although we have left all our papers behind us. But we shall leave some of our young men to bring them after us to the council at Buffalo creek.

This is all we have to say at this time, but to leave the business we have here to do with our brother and the commanding officer of the Fort, to obtain our goods, &c., which your people have deprived us of, and we hope you will now send for them, as we are now going away. Now we want to know if our speech is pleasing to our brother, who will show what we have said to General Washington, for we again say we must go by water, and with all our friends being with us we shall be strong.

BUFFALO CREEK.

Speech of Thyogasa, Chief of the Senecas, at Cattaraugus, near Lake Erie, as delivered 25th April.

BROTHER:

Some time ago there came messages into our country, that our people should meet at Buffalo creek, and then they should hear of our head men from Philadelphia, what they had from the council of the Thirteen Fires.

About this time they had got to Fort Pitt, and we heard there was a great man and a Frenchman coming, also from Philadelphia, in great fear, trying to make peace. Then we thanked God. The next express said that our head men and those from Philadelphia were coming on the waters together, to have the great council fire lighted at Buffalo, and we that live here sent on the express, and gave great thanks to our Great Keeper.

Now that you and they have arrived here, and have showed your faces at our council fire in trouble and fear, we give great thanks again to the Great Spirit for keeping you and your chiefs from the trouble that befel others coming to this place. Now tell the man from Philadelphia to pity us children, for we are fearful; and we say to you, that will open your throats, that you may speak fair and clear to us without any hard

thoughts, when you get to our great council fire of the full nations, that you may deliver any message you are sent upon from the great chiefs at Philadelphia. Besides, now we open your ears to hear anything which may be said by us, and hear the same in peace.

Brother: These are the few words we have to make known to you; and give thanks to God for our safe meeting this day together, our brothers and our chiefs.

[This speech being ended, Thyogasy handed to me a belt of wampum of three strings, and then continued his discourse as follows:]

Brother: This is our custom, to make a small speech on seeing our friends, but Buffalo is the place where you must speak, and at that place matters must be talked over in peace and quietness, and of which, tell all people to be careful. Now wipe the tears from your eyes, and make your throat clear, so that you may be understood.

The speech of Red Jacket before the Great Council at Buffalo, April 27th, as an introduction in the business of the day addressing himself to me:

Brother:

Listen! It is usual for us to speak; and to you we do it as to a brother that has been absent a long time. Now, we all speak to you, and to our head warrior that left us last fall; and we thank the Great Spirit for his and your safe arrival here, and as you are together, hand in hand, from Honandaganius (General Washington), upon great business.

You have travelled long, with tears in your eyes, upon account of the bad roads and bad season of the year. Besides the disturbances between the bad Indians and our brothers, the white people, everything has been trying to prevent your coming, and to stop your business, and to lose the way.

Thus, the big waters might have stopped your coming, and the wars might have stopped you, and sickness might have stopped you; for we cannot know what is to happen us until it comes upon us. So, therefore, we thank the Great Spirit who has preserved you from such dangers that might have hindered us from hearing of the good news which you and our

head warrior have opened to us. But how could it be that anything bad could have happened to you, while you have such important business to transact, as we understand you have come on.

You must now wipe away those fears occasioned by all the great dangers you have come through. And now we set you upon a seat where you can sit up straight on a seat, where you are secure from the fears of your enemies; where you can look around and see all your friends and brothers in peace. Besides, you have come along, with your heart and your throat stopped up, to secure all that you had to say in your body. But now we open your heart with your brother's hands, and we run our fingers through to open your mouth, to speak clear, and not to be molested. Your ears also have been stopped by Honandaganius until you should see your brothers at this place, being spared by the Great Spirit to arrive safe.

Now open your ears to hear what your brothers may say after you have made your speech. This is, therefore, the compliment of the chiefs and head men of Buffalo creek, to you and our great warrior (O'Beel) and you may, each of you, go on safely with your business.

MONDAY, *May 8th.*

In full council. The speech of Fish Carrier, a chief of the Cayugas, and the right hand of Butler and Brandt, as may appear from the following, addressed to me:

Brother, this day you have met again with your brothers in peace; a day provided by the Great Spirit for you and them to sit together, and talk over the business you have been sent to perform by General Washington, the Thirteen Fires, and for which you are to come to our council; and likewise to hear us with regard to the people (the bad Indians) on the other side of your body, toward the setting sun.

Here you have made your business known, and to all the chiefs and warriors, who met every day; and now they understand the same, because they have taken due notice. Therefore, you shall hear what we have determined upon by all of us, for we all had a hand in it, or it would not be strong.

Now, Brother, We shall say more to what General Washington sent you for, and to tell you, that our head warrior, (O'Beel) our nephew, has done things which we know nothing of, and it seems to us, that he has requested that this business should go forward without our consent. Neither do we know you in this matter, and were we to undertake to help you, we do not know what might happen before we went far with you, as that might be the cause of our country being destroyed or broken up by the mad people.

Now we tell you, as we told you before, that we have met on your business, and that the one-half is not for peace. So we look at the man that has been sent to the Shawanese, (Brandt,) and we have sent to see how matters go at their council fire. We must, therefore, see his face, for we can't determine until we know what they are about.

So we beg of you to grant our request; to keep your mind easy; for we who do this business, look on you, and hold ourselves to be slaves in making of peace. Now we all say, you must look for Capt. Brandt's coming to hear the words that come from his mouth, for then we can say to you, what towns will be for peace; and this is all we have to say to you at this time.

Upon this I told the council, that in the morning I would give them my talk, in answer to what had been said this day, and immediately return, with what they had spoken in their council, to the Great Chief that had sent me. Captain O'Beel then told them in council, what would be the consequence to the Five Nations, and publicly declared to accompany me, if no other chiefs would attempt it. For further particulars, I beg leave to refer to the continuation of my letter of the 4th of May.

The speech of Conyandocta, an Onandago Chief, addressed to the Council of the Six Nations, through which he explained the dangers which attended on him and his people, should they remain at Coneyat.

BROTHERS:

There is a great deal of danger at this place, for we are told by the enemy, the Messasagoes, that we must come to their side, or else we won't live long. But said I, we turned our

face once, and you did not pay us the compliment to call us to council with you, or even to shake hands with us. Now we turn our face to this council, and you must prepare a place for us when we come; for we mean to be true to the promise we make to you.

(On the close of this speech, four strings of wampum were presented, a mixture of black and white.)

The speech of Bears' Oil, a Chief, to the same effect as the above, who, with his people are in danger of the Messasagoes.

BROTHERS:

Now hear me a little, I am a Messasago chief belonging to the Six Nations, I and my people are in great danger, because I have been the entire instigation of saving the white settlers at Coneyat and Cassawago; for I told them of the danger they were in, as I heard the Red Indians say they were bound for that place, and that they intended to murder them. Moreover, that if I did not come away to them, I should die, for that was the only way to save my life; and that should I attempt to go to the Six Nations, they would meet me on the way and kill me. For they say, if they meet with any of the Six Nations, they will strike them. But I have not listened to them; I have come to you, and you must have a place ready for me to sit down when I come with my people. These matters I take the liberty of communicating to your Excellency, in order to shew you the Six Nations themselves profess that they are not secure from the anger of the Indians who are unfriendly to the United States.

Col. Proctor to the British Commander.

BUFFALO CREEK, *May* 5, 1791.

SIR:—Although I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance, I am, notwithstanding, emboldened to address you by letter, and through the same to inform you that I am the person charged with certain messages from his Excellency the Secretary of War, for the United States to the Six Nations, and the other tribes of Indians residing near Lake Erie, &c. One of those messages are particularly sent to the tribes now

unhappily at war with the Americans, and with whom, it is the ardent desire of General Washington, the President, that peace should be established on the most lasting terms of equity and justice to them. My mission is, therefore, to invite them to a treaty with Governor St. Clair, on the Ohio, not far from the country they inhabit.

The better to effect so desirable an object, proposals were made to the President in January last by certain chiefs, who came on business of the Six Nations to Philadelphia, viz: That they would appoint in their councils certain of their head men to accompany such gentlemen as might be sent into the country of those misguided people, to bring them to terms of amity with the thirteen States. This, sir, you will discover on reading the Secretary of War's letters to the Six Nations and committed to my care. It will be handed to you by the Young King with other public papers, which were delivered Captain O'Beel for the better information of the nations concerned. I have, therefore, to entreat you, to conceive the most favorable sentiments on the meaning and intent of those public instruments of writings as they are founded on the principles of humanity, and a regard for the well doing of our fellow men; and I cannot doubt but the same motives will invite you to assist in so laudable an undertaking; the effects of which will establish happiness to the British subjects of Canada, &c., as well as to the United States.

The favor that I here request at your hand, is to permit me to charter one of your vessels in the lake for such number of Indians, &c., who may accompany me to Sandusky, on Lake Erie. So far as my request meets your approbation, I shall receive much pleasure by your signifying the same by a few lines to,

Sir, your most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTOR.

Col. A. Gordon, Commandant of Fort Niagara.

May 14th, 1791.

The Speech of the Farmer Brother, or the King.

Brother:

The last summer was the time we had our last talk with the Shawanese, and then we tried to make peace in their minds,

but they would not listen to us. They named to us their great chief of the Shawanese, called the Little Hoope, who told them, that all the nations beyond them to the setting sun, being in number forty-eight large towns, were all under arms, and that Little Hoope said they would be at peace with the Long Knife. So that when peace was put in their heads, and that we had returned home, then the great fight was had between them and the Virginians, The Long Knife, and that made their determinations stronger for war than ever, because they had killed many of their people, and hurt their nations. And after this, we tried and told the Americans to be at peace and quietness. So we concluded to send some body again, to know what they were doing among the bad Indians, so that we might judge, and we consented to send a chief to them with whom they were acquainted. And upon that determination, as we told you before, we sent Capt. Brandt, so that he might know how many people were bent for war, or how many nations were not so hard for war, so that we might judge whether it was worth while to try again to make peace. That is the reason why we asked you the other day to attend our council fire, until you should see his mouth yourself, when he should tell us all that was doing in that country. And that is the reason why we are afraid of our brother, for we know that they won't receive you in peace, for it is their determination as we hear. We tell you again, that one of the same mind with us is gone to speak to these people, and we want to hear him as much as General Washington does, and we pay all attention to what he has laid before us; and now our opinion is, we must go alone and try to make peace ourselves; and that is the reason we don't want you to go with us; for this is the outermost edge of the bad people's settlements; and were we to take you by the hand and go together, we must instantly meet with a great loss, which would make war on both sides, and we should be killed. Now we will tell you the reason why they refuse to make peace, is, that General St. Clair, struck the bad Indians while they were thinking of making peace with the Americans, and this is the reason to try ourselves, to make them hear by our chief that is gone before us; and that will be the time for General Washington to light his fires, when he knows they

are determined for peace, and we the Six Nations are strong for it; therefore, tell General Washington to hold back his warriors a little, and let his intention be strong for peace, and God will assist the Americans to make it up.

Now the Six Nations give great thanks to General Washington, that his mind is so strong for peace, and the Six Nations look to him for peace. Therefore, the sachems and head men of our nations have come to you this evening, to tell you that you shall not go with them into the towns of the enemy Indians.

Col. Proctor to Col. Gordon.

BUFFALO CREEK, *May* 15, 1791.

SIR:—The 5th instant I had the pleasure of addressing my first letter to you, and delivered the same to the care of Capt. W. Print, an Indian, to be presented by him, but having received no answer since I presume it has miscarried through some neglect. The purport of it was, to be permitted a passage in one of the vessels on Lake Erie for such number of Indians and white men destined to accompany me to some convenient port on the west end of the Lake. The mission I am charged with, is directed to the Indians now unhappily at war with the United States, with desires to reclaim them to a peaceable demeanor before certain destruction overtakes, which is now pending over them.

Mr. Horatio Jones will deliver you my letter, and wait your answer which I hope will be to the granting of my request. And whatsoever expense may accrue upon this occasion, I shall most cheerfully satisfy the same with the commander; and subscribe myself,

Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTOR.

Col. A. GORDON, Commandant of Fort Niagara, &c.

Col. Gordon to Col. Proctor.

NIAGARA, *May* 18, 1791.

SIR:—A few days ago I had your letter of the 5th instant, to which I should have returned an immediate answer, had I

not waited for some public papers which you wrote were to be handed to me by the Farmer's Brother and other chiefs who were to wait upon me, to receive my advice on business and importance. They have, however, as yet, never made their appearance at this post.

I think it but proper to give you this explanation of my not having sooner replied to your letter; but as there is no document which places you in any other light than a private agent, I cannot enter into any discussion of a public nature. Whenever any of the chiefs of the Senecas or others of the Six Nations apply to me for counsel, I shall give them such advice as I conceive best suits with the present situation of affairs.

As to that part of your letter which requests to be permitted to freight one of the vessels on Lake Erie, to carry you and such Indians as may be inclined to accompany you to Sandusky, on the west side of the lake, I beg leave to inform you, that I am not authorized to comply with your request.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

A. GORDON.

Colonel PROCTOR.

The speech of the Young King of the Six Nations, on my leaving of Buffalo Creek.

May 21, 1791.

BROTHERS:—We are called together this day by the appointment of yesterday, to hear what answer has been sent to your letter, from the commanding officer of Niagara. And the same having been made known to us, we find that you are disappointed in your expectations of getting a vessel, in which we were to go with you toward the unfriendly Indians, and that, therefore, you would return by the way of Fort Pitt.

You have also said, that you do not blame us, but that you blame the British; and that, therefore, we should be easy in our minds, and be at peace with the United States.

You have also mentioned a letter which came from General St. Clair, to us, and what answer we should give to the same, so that Colonel Butler, at Pittsburgh, might be informed by you.

The answer of our fighting, as requested by General St. Clair. On seeing how your troops should act against the enemy Indians, you must listen and hear what is the full determination of all the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations; what they have determined upon, and that in a few words for Col. Butler to be sent to General St. Clair. Now the answer is, that we are desirous of complying with the instructions of his first letter, sent to Cayasatta, our great chief for the Six Nations; namely, that we must sit still, and not to mind any other business but peace; and those were the words of his letter. Moreover, last fall it was told to us by Col. Pickering, that the Six Nations must take no notice of anything, but what tended to be peaceable; for that would be an advantage to our nation and nothing else. So that ever since, we have conformed to these instructions, in not interfering in any matter that has another tendency; for with the British we are at peace, according to their request of us; and we are the same with the Americans, And should the unfriendly Indians come forward to seek peace by us, we will help to do so; and we are desirous ourselves of remaining peaceable.

The reason why we now tell you these things, is, that we are neither on the one side or on the other, whether of the British or of the Americans, for we desire to be still, and to be at peace with both.

Here, brother, we speak to you on another matter, that has respect to the Six Nations. General Washington, the great chief, has kindled a fire at the Painted Post, and this we expect was done for the sake of peace; for he has called all the nations from the Grand river to the Oneidas. And it is our desire to attend the same, at the time proposed.

Therefore, tell Colonel Butler, at Pittsburgh, that we cannot attend according to the request of General St. Clair; for we shall attend the treaty at the Painted Post, where the fire is lighted by General Washington, and at that place all matters we here related shall then be talked over again. In this, brother, you have heard the sense of the Six Nations, and our sentiments are firm and strong; for amongst us there is not one deficient. This, is therefore, the close of this speech, as we want to talk over other matters which concern the errand

that you have come to us upon, and which we can't go through with, because we can't speak to the Indians, that reside towards the setting sun. But we have told you, that we have sent Captain Brandt, to know their opinion; and we have always wanted you to stay with us until his return, to know what is the minds of those people towards the Thirteen Fires.

We have also told you, that we shall take the same into consideration, as we want to speak to them once more on terms of peace; for our mind is the same as when you first came amongst us, and we are desirous of seeing Captain Brandt return, and when we hear that those people will incline to peace, we will help it, and try to bring the same to effect, and should Captain Brandt be here before we go for the Painted Post, whatever their intentions are, we shall make the same known; and if for peace, the one-half of our chiefs shall go to the unfriendly Indians, and the other half, with our women and children, shall attend the treaty before named, and the same information shall be sent to Fort Pitt, for the information of Col. Butler, as you have requested of us.

This, therefore, is all that we have to say to you at this time, and are desirous that you may go whither you intended.

SIR:—Thus far, I have attempted to delineate the several events and progress of my tour among the Six Nations of Indians, &c.

And, although the commissions you were pleased to honor me with were not so completely accomplished as wished for, I nevertheless enjoy a conscious evidence, that, in no instance, have I omitted to put in practice such means as I conceived to be the most conducive to that end.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most

humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTOR.

Major General H. Knox, Secretary of War.

The State of New York To Ezra Hommedieu Dr.

To Attending a Treaty with the Six Nations of Indians at Fort Stanwix as a Commissioner 40 Days. Leaving Last Home at the request of the Commissioners the 20th of May 790. returned to New York the 30th of June detained there with Sickness. 5 Day & 3 Days Travelling home & back 16/ Pr Day	39.4.0

I do Hereby certify on my Honour that the above Acct is True

Ezra Hommedieu

24th March 791.

Auditors Office New York March 31 1791

Pursuant to the direction of an Act Entitled an Act for the payment of the Salaries of the Officers of Government &c I have examined the above account & do allow to be due to Ezra L. Hommidieu Esq[r] or Order the Sum of Thirty nine pounds 4/ which you are requested to pay as the Law directs

Gerard Bancker Esq[r] Treasurer

Peter T. Curtenius State Aud[r]

Rec[d] March 31st 1791. from Gerard Bancker Treas[r]. Thirty Nine pounds four Shillings in full for the above Account.

£39.4.0

David Gelston

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Brothers, Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations.

When I took you by the hand last fall at Tioga the chain of friendship was brightened between you and the United States; and you expressed your wishes to keep it always bright. On the part of the United States I assured you of their regard for you, and their desire to maintain with you perpetual peace and friendship. To renew those assurances, and again to brighten the chain, and to remove all causes of jealousies and discontents, I am desired once more to meet you at such time and place as should appear to me most convenient. I therefore now propose the painted Post as a proper place of meeting; and as it is important that the treaty be held as soon as possible, I propose that we should meet together at that place by the 15th day of June next. That time and place I hope will be convenient and agreeable to you; and I shall use my endeavours that every thing else shall give you satisfaction.

Brothers

You will naturally ask, for what special purpose you are called to attend this Council-Fire? Brothers I will be open and tell you: For at the Council-fire which I kindled at Tioga, in the name of our Great Chief, General Washington, and of the United States, I assured you that in all my conduct you should find me open and sincere. Without sincerity how can friendship be preserved?

Brothers;

You know that some of the Western Indians have lifted up the hatchet, and struck many of the citizens of the United States. You told me that the Shawanese had invited you to join them in a war against the United States; but that you had refused to join them. And you gave strong reasons for your refusal. You said

that we sit Side by Side, and ought to live in peace. That you wished to keep the path between us, open and clear, that you might pass and repass unhurt; and that you desired to be at peace with the United States, that your women and children might be in safety. Brothers I was equally pleased with your determination, and with the reasons on which it was founded. The same reasons must still influence you to hold fast your determination of maintaining peace with the United States. Some bad men, however, enemies of the United States, may again endeavor to persuade you to engage in the war, and by misrepresentations and lies, prevail on some; contrary to their own interest and the interest of the Six Nations. Now Brothers, I am to kindle the proposed Council-Fire at the Painted Post, to give you fresh assurance of the goodwill of the United States, of their desire to make the chain of friendship with you still brighter, and to keep it always bright, and to shew you that the war with the Western Indians is, on the part of the United States, not a war of choice, not of oppression, not of injustice; but of necessity, to defend our frontiers and to save the settlers from destruction

Brothers, According to the usual practice in treaties with Indians the proposed treaty will be concluded with a present of goods.

Brothers, I received great pleasure in the treaty held with you last fall at Tioga; and the manner in which it was conducted was entirely approved by the great Chief of the United States. I hope and believe that the intended treaty will be equally pleasing, and give equal satisfaction to our great Chief.

Given under my hand and Seal at Wyoming, in the State of Pennsylvania, the seventeenth day of April 1791.

Timothy Pickering.

Brothers Sachems Chiefs & Warriors of the Six Nations

When I look You by the hand last Fall at Tioga the Chain of Friendship was brightened between You and the United States and You expressed a wish to keep it always Bright, On the Part of the United States I assure You of their Regard for You and their Desire to Maintain with You perpetual Peace & Friendship to renew these Assurances and again to brighten the Chain and to renew all Ancient Friendship I am desired and now to meet You at this time and place as soon as I could appear to me meet. I therefore Now Propose the Fourth Day of Proper time of meeting & it is important that the Treaty be held as soon as possible, I Propose that we should meet together at that Place by the 15th day of June next, that time & place I hope will be convenient and agreeable to You & I shall use my endeavour that every thing else shall give You Satisfaction

Brothers

You will Naturally ask for what Special Purpose You are called to attend this Council fire - Brothers, I invite You to open & clear Your Ears at the Council fire which is Kindled at Tioga in the Name of Our Great Father General Washington

Washington and of the United States Assure
You that in all my Conduct You Shall find me open
& Sincere, Without Sincerity how can Friendship
be Preserved

Brothers You Know that Some of the Western Indians
have Lifted up the Hatchet & Struck many of the
Citizens of the United States You told me that the
Shawnese had invited You to Join in a War
against the United States, but that You had
Refused to Join them & You gave Strong Reasons for
Your Refusal You said that we Sit side by Side
and ought to Live in Peace, that You Worked to
Brush the Path Open between us. that You might
Cross and Repass, untent and that You desired to be
at Peace with the United States, that Your
Women and Children might be in Safety - Brothers
I was equally Pleased with Your Determination and
the Reasons upon which it was Founded The same reasons
must Still influence You to Hold Fast Your Determination
of Maintaining Peace with the United States Some
bad Men however Enemies of the United States
may again endeavour to Persuade You to engage
in the War and by Misrepresentations and lies prevail
on Some Contrary to their own interest and the Peace
of the Six Nations Now Brothers I am to Invite
the Purposed Chiefs & Warriors to Come
Down at the Painted Post to Give
You fresh assurances of the Good Will of the
United States, of their desire to make the Chain

of Friendship Hold Brighter and to keep it always Bright, & to Show Your that the War with the Western Indians is, on the part of the United States not a War of Choice, not of Oppression not of Injustice but of Necessity, to defend our Frontiers and Save the Settlers from Destruction

Brothers According to the Usual Practice in Treaties with Indians the Proposed Treaty will be Concluded with a Present of Goods

Brothers I received with Great Pleasure the Treaty held with You last fall at Tioga and the Manner in which it was Conducted was entirely Approved by our Great Chief of the United States I hope and believe that the intended Treaty will be equally Pleasing and Give equal Satisfaction to our Great Chief

Given under my hand & Seal at Wyoming in the State of Pensylvania the 17th day of April 1791

(Seal) Signed Timothy Pickering

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Speech to the Six

Nations dated April 17th

1791

Dear Sir, Wyoming April 17. 1791.

Captain Samuel Bowman is the bearer of this letter. He will also deliver you a speech I have sent to invite the Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations to a treaty at the Painted Post, which I have proposed should be held on the 15th of June next. If Joseph Smith is within reach, I would engage him to go with the speech to the Genesee Indians. Then I should with Little Beard & Big Tree & the other Geneseo Chiefs to send runners to Buffaloe Creek to deliver the speech to the Chiefs at that place. And as those Chiefs will know my seal, I have sent a duplicate of the speech, made my seal to be cutted to them by the runners. If they [illegible] could be sent to Cornplanter & the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas & Oneidas. The Buffaloe Chiefs should forward the speech by some of their runners, to the Mohawks. — If the Geneseo Chiefs have capable & faithful runners, perhaps they would send the speech to the Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas & Oneidas; but if not, or if you judge it more expedient, that Mr. Smith should deliver it to the four latter tribes, I wish him to go accordingly.

This is the way in which I have thought it eligible to give notice of the treaty. But if Mr. Smith should have gone with Col. Procter, or otherwise be absent, how will the Speech be communicated? - Perhaps Jack Berry may be within reach, & be hired to go to most of the tribes. at all events I trust you will be able to make the Indians understand thus much: That I shall be at the Painted Post on the 15th of June, with every thing necessary to hold a treaty with the Sachems Chiefs & Warriors of the Six Nations, and that in the name of the United States I desire them to attend. And further to prevent even the possibility of a failure of notice, I am now going to send an express for Jasper Parish [illegible] & the copy of my speech, with which he is to proceed with all speed to all the tribes (if time will permit) personally to deliver to them my the invitation to the treaty. But from this invitation the Cornplanter is excepted: for he supposes by any means be prevented from accompanying Col. Procter on his errand westward. I send to you, by Captain Bowman, Smith with [illegible]

Wyoming April 17. 1791.

Sir.

I am to hold another treaty with the Six Nations. I have proposed to hold it at the Painted Post on the 15th of June. I have sent an express to Canadaugui, to General Chapin & Joseph Smith with a speech to be communicated to all the Six Nations inviting them to the treaty. But it is possible Smith may be absent, and nothing more be done than to make the Indians understand that I am to hold a treaty with them as above mentioned. Therefore I wish you to come to Wyoming by the first of May at farthest, by which time I shall return from Philadelphia. I shall then give you my speech to carry first to the Indians at Genesee, & at Buffaloe Creek, then to the Mohawks; and you must either go (if there be time) or get the chiefs to send runners to the other four nations, to the sachems & warriors to attend. My present idea is, That you will be in the Indian Country till the time of the treaty, and bring the Indians along with you. The business is important. & I trust you will let nothing prevent your engaging in it.

I am y. friend & Servant

J. C.

Mr. Jasper Parish.

Wyoming April 17. 1791.

Sir.

This is to request you to deliver to the Indians at Genesco my speech of this date, inviting them to a treaty at the Painted Post on the 15th of June next. You will be pleased to proceed afterwards as your Genl Chapin shall think best so as to give to all the Tribes the most certain notice of the treaty. I have written more particularly to Genl Chapin, with whom I desire you to consult on the business. I request you to attend the treaty as an interpreter, together with Jasper Parish, for whom I have sent to Goshen.

Mr Joseph Smith.

[From the other side] I send you by Captain Bowman sixty dollars to supply Mr Smith with what is requisite & to enable you to defray any other necessary expence. The immense importance to your young settlement and to all our frontiers of preserving the friendship of the Six Nations will apologize for the trouble I give you. I am happy that a gentleman so judicious and confidential is on the spot to direct this preliminary business. I am &c. J. C.

Wilkesbarre April 17th 1791.

Sir. The papers now delivered to you relative to the holding of a treaty with the Indians, it is of high importance to have speedily delivered. I hope you will find Genl. Chapin at Canadaugui, as well as Mr. Joseph Smith the interpreter. The great objects of your going is, to get notice communicated to the Sachems Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations, that I will hold a treaty with them at the Painted Post, on the 15th of June next, and to invite them to attend. I deliver you sixty dollars to be handed to Genl. Chapin, to enable him to pay the interpreter, and defray other necessary expences. It is possible that neither Genl. Chapin nor Mr. Smith may be in that country. In that case you will endeavour to find who are the most substantial, honest & judicious settlers, with whom you may advise. There is an Indian by the name of Jack Berry, who is a very excellent interpreter. If he is to be found, endeavour to engage him. In such case you will read to him my speech, till he is satisfied that he can communicate the contents to the Seneka Indians, who are to be desired to send runners with it to all the other tribes. If nothing more can be done, let so much be interpreted to the Indians at Geneseo, as that they shall understand when & where the treaty is to be held. — But if you find General Chapin, you will have nothing to do but to deliver him the papers and the money; and to return as early as you can to inform me of your proceedings. For the money you will take a receipt.

I am &c

T. Pickering

Capt. Samuel Bowman

An account of expenditures relative to the treaty held with the Six Nations of Indians
~~The United States~~ in June & July 1791. By

1791. By Timothy Pickering Commissioner

April 18.	No. 1.	Paid Abraham Bradley, expenses	£	1. 15. 0
	2.	Samuel Bowman expenses		11. 16. 3
	3.	General Chapin to defray contingent expenses		22. 10. —
June 5.	4.	Transportation of Indian goods from Heller's to Wyoming		20. 16. 1
26.	5.	Peter Bartle for provisions &c. furnished to the Indians		35. 0. 10
July 1.	6.	George Goodhue, transporting Indians		1. 10. —
2.	7.	John Parkhurst, clearing the ground for the Council house		7. —
3.	8.	James Henderson for tables benches &c		1 6. 3
	9.	Ezra Rowley for transporting Indians		15 —
11.	10.	Capt. Hendrick Aupaumut the Stockbridge Indian Chief		22. 5. 0
13.	11.	Timothy Dewey coming as interpreter &c. for one body of Indians		1. 10. —
18.	12.	Nicholas Damont, late prisoner with the Indians		15. —
	13.	N. Rosecrantz, for horse hire &c		1. 13. 4
	14.	Horatio Jones, interpreter, his Expenses at the treaty,		9. 5. 9
	15.	Joseph Smith, interpreter,		50. 5. 0
	16.	George Hornell's bill		45. 1. 9
	17.	Henry McCormick for butter		19. 10
	18.	Ezekiel Brown firewood &c		3. 4. 2
	19.	Doctor Amos Parks bill		6. 2. 0
	20.	Peter Loop, for a horse for Little Beard		6. 0. 0
	21.	William Harris Gunsmith		20. 8. 9
	22.	Nath[l]. Fairchild, blacksmith		10. 12. 6
	23.	Col[o]. Benton Paine. Sundries		4. 13. 9
22.	24.	Abraham Bradley for a horse del[d]. to Cayahota		10. 0. 0
	25.	William A. George for services		7. 2. 6
8. 10. 10 11. 11 9. 2. 9	26.	Jasper Parrish costs of a suit &c		14. 1
	27.	Jasper Parrish interpreter		69. 18. 9
	28.	Bill of provisions purchased for the Indians		4. 17. 2
	29.	Bill of travelling Expenses		9. 22. 9
			£	380. 2. 9

The United States

To Timothy Pickering — Dr.

1791. For his time in preparing for & holding a treaty with the
April 1st Nations of Indians at Tioga Point, & ~~see a letter from me acquainting you~~
& pursuant to instructions from the Secty of War, ~~requesting~~
May ~~desiring me to call the Chiefs & Warriors of~~
~~Indians to a treaty & to hold the same~~
wrote two
~~Accordingly~~ ~~after~~ several ~~times~~ ~~unsuccessfully~~
to the Six Nations,
sending duplicates of them, letter to in-
terpreters &c — . . . . . 1 day

April 20. Setout for Philadelphia (agreeably to the
request of the Secty of War) & arrived
there the 22d. — — — 3 days

April 23d } Stayed in Philadelphia attending the
to } business of the treaty, & also receiving
May 2. } my instructions and other papers on
the 2d of May, in all ~~14 days~~ 10 days

May 4th Setout for Wyoming & reached it
May 7th. — — — — 4 days

in all — — 18 days @ 6/. £54.0.0

May } Procuring waggons to go thro' the swamp
& } for the Indian Goods, receiving & storing
June } them on their arrival, paying the waggoners
& afterwards transporting the goods to the river
Susquehanna, to be carried up to the
place of holding the treaty — 1.10.—

June 11th to July 20th going to, holding, & returning from the
the Treaty to Wyoming, in all 40 days @ 6/. £120.0.0

£175.10.0

Amount brought over ——— £175.10.—

In July & Aug.st } Making up & transcribing the report of the proceedings at the treaty, and journey to Philadelphia to deliver the report delivered and Aug.st 11th. } journey, 12 days, @ 6/. ——— 36. 0.—

£211. 10.—

deduct the 30. for engaging waggons &c £1. 10.—

£210.0.0

or 560 Dollars

3 days more added for the time taken up in making, transcribing the report & journey to Philadelphia to deliver it } 9.0.0

219.0.0

Account of Exp.s
Aug.st 11. 1790
To Journey & Sec.y &c £210.0.0

1791. ~~Sundry~~ Expenses incurred by T. Pickering Commissioner for holding a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians

2.8.1
1.3.6
3.10.7

April 20. to May 7. Paid Expenses of my journey from Wilkesbarre to Philadelphia & while there £ 3.10.7

(18 days) horse hire (21) ~~included~~ included & keeping 1.16.—

£ 5.6.7

Paid expenses of my journey to and from the ~~treaty held~~ between Wyoming & Newtown 1.12.1

August 6th to the 9th Paid expenses of my journey from Wyoming to Philadelphia ~~including horse hire~~ 1.12.2

~~Paid for 100 rails to make tobby &c~~ ~~4/½~~

~~Jan 28 Paid for [illegible] 27th 1792~~ £ 8.10.10

268 276 266

8/103.£
12: 7/8

4.10
5.7½
1:3

4.17.2

4.17.2

can communicate the contents to the Seneca Nation,
are to be desired to send runners with it to all the other
tribes. If nothing more can be done, let so much
be interpreted to the Indians at Genesee, as that they shall
understand when & where the treaty is to be held. — But
if General Chapin ~~is here~~ you find you will have nothing to do
but to deliver him the papers and the money; and
to return as early as you can to inform me of your pro-
ceedings. For the money you will take a receipt.

I am Dr. Sir Yr. J. P.

Captain Samuel Bowman.

Journal June & July 1791.

Lett. Augst 6th left Wilkesbarre, reach'd
Phila. Thursday P.M.
Thursday Augst 11th Lett. in my report

Treaty proposed to be held at the Painted Post June 15. 1791.

~~Saturday June 11. 1791~~

April 18. Rec'd Gen'l Knox's letter of the 9th desiring me to hold a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians.

18. Sent Abram Bradley express for Jasper Parish interpreter, who lived at Goshen in the State of New York.

19. Delivered a written speech for the Six Nations, & letter for Gen'l Chapin & Joseph Smith interpreter, to Capt Sam'l Brennan who went express to Genesee with them.

20. Set out for Philadelphia, agreeable to Gen'l Knox's request, to prepare matters for the treaty.

May 7. Returned to Wyoming, reaching home this day.

10. Sent Jasper Parish, interpreter, with copies of my first written speech, and duplicates of a second speech, to the Six Nations, to enforce my first invitation & hasten them to the treaty by the time appointed.

28 to June 3. Receiving the Indian Goods of the waggons I had sent the Sequoia for them - & paying the waggoners - in all equal to 5/ a day.

Carried the Goods to the boat to be transported up the Susquehannah, with my own hand team.

Colonel Timothy Pickering

Wyoming

Wednesday April 20. 1791. Set out for Philadelphia to see the Secretary of War, agreeably to his request in his letter of the 9th April which I rec.d on the "about the 11th or 12th" , by Bowman. Reached the city Friday evening April 22d. Saturday 23d. waited on the Sec.y of War & conversed with him on Indian Affairs.

Monday April 25th delivered the Sec.y of War a list of presents goods proper to be provided for the Indians, in addition to the Blankets & Strouds he had already ordered.

Afterwards almost daily saw the Sec.y of War on the business of my proposed mission. Suggested queries relative to a negociations with the Indians, for his consideration requesting instructions on the points held up to view. He proposed to furnish me with copies of all the speeches and answers which passed last winter between the Presidents of the U States & the Complanter & the Chiefs with him, & such other papers as would exhibit the present posture of affairs between the U States & the Six Nations. On Monday May 2d. I rec.d those copies, together with my instructions from the Sec.y of War. Tuesday May 3d. rec.d from the War Office a further communication being a copy of a letter dated at Fort Franklin May 9th from Col. Proctor to Genl. St. Clair. Wednesday May 4th left Phila.a and on Saturday Evening May reached my house at Wilmington.

Extract from the
President's Message
Oct. 26. 1791. relative
to the Treaty with
the Six Nations in June &
July last.

Estimate of money wanted on account of
treaty proposed to be held at the Pan
Post with the Indians of the Six Nati
on the 15th of June 1791.

	Dolla
To pay two interpreters ——	12
To advance towards the supplies of bread and meat —	20
For my own use, for the purchase of a horse &c.	10
To defray contingent expences ——	8
Dollars	50

Phila. Apl. 28. 1791.

T. Pickering

Copy

Extract of Mons

Apl. 28. 1791.

for Indian Treaty

To Colonel Timothy Pickering.

Sir

The Vice President of the United States, and the heads of the departments of State, who are empowered thereto by the President of the United States, having determined it to be expedient at this time, that the six Nations of indians, so termed, should be assembled together, for the purpose of cementing the existing friendships, and that this business should be performed by you, I have the honor of giving you the instructions herein contained, which are to serve as the general rules of your conduct.

I

In order that you may comprehend clearly the present relative situation of the United States with the six Nations,

I herewith deliver you copies of certain written speeches, which were delivered by the Corn-planter a Chief of the Senekas, and his companions, who were lately on a visit to this city, to the President of the United States, and the answers thereto. Two of these answers were signed with due form by the President of the United States, and the first engrossed on parchment:— And also the instructions to Colonel Thomas Procter, and a letter to Governor Clinton.

It would be proper that you should repeat to the said six Nations, all that has been stated by the President of the United States, as the foundation of their future expectations.

It

It being the sincere desire of the general government, that the indians, on all occasions, should be treated with entire justice and humanity, you may give the strongest assurances on this point.

The great objects of the proposed meeting will be, to impress on the minds of the indians, that their interest and happiness depend upon the protection and friendship of the United States; and to conciliate their affections, for which purpose you will use your highest exertions.

That the war in which we are involved with the western indians, is highly disagreeable to the United States, and would be speedily terminated, were the indians to manifest pacific dispositions. But, if they persist in hostilities, their destruction must

be

-be the consequence, as may be easily proved to them by a comparative view of the re-=spective force.

That if the six Nations shall be convinced that the United States are desi-=rous of peace, on terms of moderation, and justice, and that any further oppo-=sition of the western indians, after receiving information of the humane dispositions of the United States, will be entirely unjustifiable, in this case, it is the expectation of the President of the United States, that the six Nations do not only abstain from joining the enemy, but that they manifest their friendship by sending their young warriors to join our army, for which they shall be well paid.

It will be important to dwell much upon this point.- It will be difficult, if not

impracticable

impracticable for the chiefs to restrain the young men from indulging their passion for war. They will therefore probably join the western indians, unless they join us. If this should be the case, the United States will consider the six Nations, as responsible for the conduct of their young men. To avoid therefore so dangerous a situation they had better join our forces, than remain liable to join the enemy.

In case of their compliance with your request, it would be proper that you make a decisive arrangement on this point, so that a number of their warriors, not exceeding fifty, or sixty, join the troops at Fort Harmar, or Fort Washington, by the fifteenth or twentieth of July. If the Corn planter should head this party, it would be most acceptable, as his attachment and fidelity

could

could be relied upon.

You will observe the contents of the Letter to Governor Clinton — If there-fore you should see Captain Brandt at the meeting, you will endeavor by all rea-sonable methods to attach him to the United States, and if you should think proper, you may invite him to repair to this place, when the President of the United States shall be present, together with such other important characters as you may judge proper; but none but such cha-racters ought to be invited on account of the expence. In case of their accept-ing the invitation, the proper time of their visit would be during the next ses-sion of Congress.

That the general govern-

ment

=ment are not insensible to the improper conduct of some lawless whites, on the frontiers, to the friendly indians_ That every measure shall be taken to make atonement to the indians agrieved, by making liberal compensation for the loss of property, upon which subject General St. Clair is fully instructed, and that also the States have been applied to for the punishment of the aggressors.

You will also inform the indians, how desirous the President of the United States is, that the indians should have imparted to them the blessings of husbandry and the arts; and of his willingness to receive the young sons of some of their principal chiefs, for the two fold purpose of teaching them to read and

write

write, and to instruct them fully in the arts of husbandry.

If they should readily accede to this proposition, you may require the children to be educated, either at the time of the treaty, or at such other time and place as you may agree upon.

You have delivered to you certain goods agreeably to the invoices hereunto annexed, in order to be presented at the treaty according to your judgement; and, if it should be your opinion, that pensions, not exceeding one hundred dollars each, be allowed annually on four or five of the principal chiefs, would greatly tend to create, or encrease, an attachment to the United States, you will please to intimate the same to them, on condition of

being

being hereafter confirmed, by the President of the United States.

You will conduct your business, journal wise, in the manner you observed at Tioga, keeping written copies of all speeches delivered to or received from the indians.

You will report every part of your proceedings, in order to be submitted to the President of the United States.

You will keep all your accounts accurately, and present them after the treaty, supported, in all cases, by proper vouchers; and on this point, the delivery of the goods to the indians to be witnessed by the most reputable white characters who may be present.

The rate of your compensation for

for your services, shall be the same as the President of the United States stipulated in your former employment of this nature at Tioga.

Given at the War-Office of the United States, in the City of Philadelphia this 2d day of May 1795.

Knox
Secy of War

5. Breeding Sickness – common, as among white people. No remedy.

6. The Indian women sometimes die in childbed. To facilitate delivery, they make tea of the bark of some tree. [Whether human aid is ever necessary in childbed. Not much.] They commonly have the assistance of 2 or 3 women at the delivery, but the husband is not allowed to be present. [They are much alone at the delivery, but the husband is not allowed to be present.] The informant does not know certainly. Last suppose they begin to menstruate about the same age as white females. – But they do not commonly menstruate oftener than once in 3 months – at the largest. The sickness lasts 4 days. – During the menstruation, they will not eat with the same spoon after any one – nor sleep under the same blankets with their husbands: They will not put their hands to any part of the food they do, that also eat of it. They will not even take the belly ache bread, nor handle any thing they work with the bare hand. [They are not private about it, but freely tell when they are.] They avoid the breath of the menstruous woman.

8. They commonly suckle till their children are 3 or 4 years old: the children last borne are suckled longest. – They will not suffer a man to lie with them while they suckle (except their husbands) saying that such practice will hurt the child. But Brooks says they do. [But Brooks says the Indian women from those who have little with child of other men than their husbands. the husband.] During pregnancy, they admit the embraces of their husbands – but of not of any other man. Unmarried girls during pregnancy admit no man's embraces.

9. Not much mortality among their children – most die at birth or 3 years of age. – Disorders, fevers and chiefly. [Brooks says, most children in the Indian tribes die]

10. They do not bear children at so late ages as white people. Their ages are unknown to them: but it is supposed they cease bearing at 35 or 36. – Brooks supposes they bear children till 40. – some till a greater age.

11. The faculties of the mind sometimes decay: and some lose the hearing in a degree. Brooks has known an Indian person who could talk only by signs.

12. They commonly lose the teeth in old age.

13. Gray hairs very common among the old people. Brooks never knew any Indian who was not wholly gray.

14. When they have plenty of food, & they eat often, & great meal, their excretions by stool are more frequent than those of the white people.

15. Suicide is sometimes among them – sometimes for love. The unrelenting party & friend went to the same tree & hanged – so long Good Peter. – Squeteague was a great white prince, & hanged himself committed suicide on the same tree. – Brooks says he saw a young woman who had eaten the cold parsnip root to poison herself. She was standing leaning against the side of a house – & fell suddenly flat her length on the floor. & frothed at her mouth. They gave her the bark of elder roots & she pushed up the poison. * She was assaulted by her husband, who restrained her when she attempted to strike him. She had often abused him in that way. She took up a hoe to strike him. He held her stuck the handle end down, & followed & saw her vomit: she got well again. Brooks knows a woman who

* Sometimes they give a dose & find it unsuccessful: in such cases, they sometimes, they send them, pursue & force them to swallow it.

Canandarqua may 5th 1791

Dear Sir

I received your Letter of the 17th Ult.o by Cap Bowman.- I have this day returned from Genesee River, where your message was delivered to the Indians, who appear to be very friendly, and without doubt will attend the treaty - I shall forward your message immediately to the Onondagas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, and Onidas.- Mr. Smith is now gone to Buffaloe Creek and when he returns I shall write you more particular - Col Proctor was at Buffaloe Creek the 2d Inst. holding a Council with the Indians, and intends to proceed on his journey soon as possible- Cap Brandt and Col.o Butler were present at the Council - I hope Mr. Morris nor any other person will endeavor to purchase any lands of the Indians at present; for its my opinion it will be attended with very ill consequences - I understand there is a person among the Indian nott who is trying to purchase Lands of them - -

I am Sir with respect
Your Humt Servant
Israel Chapin

Col Timothy Pickering -

Letter
General Chapin
May 5. 1791.
rec'd. May 11. by Capt Bowman,

Timothy Pickering Esqr.

Wyoming

Capt Bowman

Canandarquay May 7th
1791

Sir

Agreeably to the desire of Timothy Pickering Esqr now at Wyoming I enclose you a copy of his Speech to the Six nation of Indians. and request you would deliver it to the Onandaga Indians as soon as Possible, & ever shall oblige

Your Humble Servt
Jsaac Chapin

Major Ira Dan[illegible]

Niagara 28th May 1791.

Letter from the Farmer's Brother
& other Chiefs.

rec.d at Niagara Point June 14. 1791.

To the Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations.

Brothers,

On the 17th of the last Month, I sent a message to you, inviting you to a treaty which ~~I was sent~~ by the authority of the United States I ~~was sent~~ proposed to hold at the Painted Post on the 15th of June next. This message I sent by a runner to General Chapin, ~~&~~ to be ~~you~~ handed to Joseph Smith, the interpreter, whom I ~~appointed~~ requested to go & interpret the same to you. And as the treaty ~~is of great~~ was important, I at the same time sent another runner for Jasper Parish, the other interpreter, whom you know. And lest ~~the~~ Smith should be absent, or by any other accident my first message should not be properly made known to you, I determined to send Parish with a copy of it, to show & interpret it to all your nations. I have now given him a copy of it, under my hand & Seal, which many of you have seen & will remember. I desire you to receive him as a brother and friend, & to hear with attention the messages which I have given him to interpret to you.

Brothers,

In my first message I have so openly & clearly told you the mind of the United States in regard to the proposed treaty, and given you such assurances of their friendship, that I have but little more to say, but [before] I shall meet you at the Council Fire.

Brothers, I find many false stories are told among us about the Indians; and I suppose many such stories are [among] told among you about your brothers the people of the United [are] States. ~~There are bad men among all nations, who delight in deceiving the White people & Indians to procure their evil ends.~~ They are bad men who raise & spread abroad these lies. Both you and we must be on our guard against such deceivers, and not believe what they say. Some of them say, you are engaging in the war against us: but I do not believe

their; because you have entered into a treaty of peace with the U States; because you have renewed & confirmed that treaty; because last Fall you detected the chain of friendship between the United States & your ~~[illegible]~~ because you strongly spoke your desire to keep it bright; & you all know that it is your true interest to preserve their friendship. ~~the United States~~.

Now, Brothers, if any stories have been or shall be told you, pretending that the United States are not your friends; - or that they desire to destroy you, ~~[illegible]~~ or to drive you from your lands, or to do you the smallest injury, do not believe them, for they are void of truth. Rest assured that the wicked men who make such lies are equally enemies to you and to the U States. We consider you as brothers. The Great Spirit has given to us as well as you land enough on which to lie down. Why then should we quarrel? ~~[illegible]~~ You know, also, that the United States have made a law to protect you in the full enjoyment of all the land which you have not already sold or shall not will imply dispose of. This law I explained to you at the Council Fire at Fort Stanwix. This law the President of the U States will see faithfully observed.

Brothers, Think well on what I now say. You must know that your safety the quiet enjoyment of your lands, your safety and happiness depend on your keeping bright the chain of friendship with the United States. If that chain be once stained with the blood of war, it will be hard to wipe it dry and make it bright again. If then any rash men among you should be going to war, stop them: if any are already gone - call them back. This is the desire of the U States, because they are your friends. What more I have to say in their behalf, I shall fairly tell you when we meet at the Council Fire. Then also you will receive generous proofs of their friendship for the Six Nations.

Brothers, From my heart I now bid you farewell.

Given under my hand & seal at Wyoming the 9th day of May 1791. P.P.

To Jasper Parish, Interpreter.

Sir,

I have informed you of the steps I have taken to assemble the Sachems Chiefs & Warriors of the Six Nations at a treaty to be held with them, by the authority of the United States, at the Painted Post on the Waters of Tioga River. To confirm the invitation before issued I have thought it expedient to repeat it. I therefore now hand you a copy of my message of the 17th of last month to the Sachems Chiefs & Warriors of the Six Nations, and a part of the message referring to the former, & containing a few additional observations. Both these messages you are faithfully to interpret to the Indians of the Six Nations, at all their Castles which you shall have time to visit. As to the other Indian settlements, you are to request the Chiefs to send runners to them to communicate my messages & urge them to come to the treaty. If the Chiefs & all the tribes attend, the treaty will be more satisfactory to the Six Nations as well as to the United States. But an exception is to be made in respect to the Cornplanter and any other chiefs who may have gone or are appointed to go with Col. Proctor on his message of peace to the Western Indians. They are to perform that service in preference to attending the proposed treaty at the Painted Post. A sufficient number of Sachems chiefs and warriors will remain behind, to represent the Six Nations at the treaty. You will use your endeavours to hasten them forward, that the treaty may be opened by the 15th of June next.

I enquired at Philadelphia for belts of wampum, but could hear of none. The custom of white people is to send messages by speeches or paper. This I explained to the Indians at Tioga; & they were satisfied with that mode of negociation. Of the my second next message you are to deliver I give you a duplicate, to leave, when interpreted, with the great chiefs of the Seneca nation. They will know my hand & seal affixed to it, & accept it in lieu of a belt.

Use all diligence to accomplish the business with which you are now entrusted, & write me an account of your proceedings as shall meet

Copy of the speech sent to
the Onondagas - & returned
by their Chief on his arrival
at Newtown Point, in
June 1791.

(Sheuh at
Apr. 17, 1791
(Chapin to Danforth May 7)

Major Asa Danforth

Onondaga

Capt. Bowman left Wilkesbarre April 20. arrived at Canadaichque the 28th. Friday the 29th set off for Geneseo, which he reached the 30th General Chapin was to follow & be there the same evening: but did not arrive till Tuesday May 3? Smith the Interpreter came with him. The Indians were assembled on Sunday by Capt Bowman; but as Chapin & Smith did not arrive, they dispersed. They again assembled on Tuesday, when Smith interpreted to them my message. They answered, that they would all attend, and be punctual at the time appointed, & not keep me waiting as before. They told General Chapin, that they feared being attacked & driven from their lands by the Western Indians; and earnestly desired to know whether the United States would protect them. They discovered great anxiety on this subject - saying they must take one side or the other - wished to join the U States; because if they took the other side, they knew that ultimately they must be driven from their lands. About 30 (among them Big Tree, Hot Bread & Sun Fish, Chiefs, among them) attended the delivery of my message. They were exceedingly pleased with the prospect of the treaty. - Genl. Chapin thought Brandt would attend the treaty.

Col. Procter, with Complanter had been at Buffaloe Creek a good while, endeavouring to persuade certain of the Chiefs to go with him, but could not prevail. This Gen Culbertson told to Capt. Bowman. April 30th he left Buffaloe five days before Culbertson brought Procters horse to Geneseo, being lame. But James Miller from Niagara, who reached Geneseo the 3d May, said that a man from Geneva (whose name Capt. Bowman forgett, but General Chapin said his information might be relied on) told him that he had come from Buffaloe, & the Indians had consented to go with Procter, & were to set out the day after the Geneva man left Buffaloe. That they Captain Bowman forgett. The Indians at first declined going with Procter, because they were afraid of meeting scouting parties of the Western Indians who might cut them off. Genl Chapin, Major Thompson (formerly of Canada regt) & Culbertson (who learnt it at Buffaloe) told Capt Bowman, that a runner from the Western Indians had been at Buffaloe, who

told the Senecas that they must join them in the war against the U States, or they would come & destroy them. This threat greatly intimidated the Senecas. Those at Buffalow met the declaration to Genesee, where they were alike intimidated. In consequence, the hunters generally kept at home.

General Chapin and Major Thompson, & one Berry a trader who speaks the Indian tongue, all told Captain Bowman, that the Senecas & all the Six Nations generally, said they would readily join the U States in the war against the Western Indians, provided they could be protected in return.

Report of
Captain Bowman
of the execution of his
mission with my message
to the Six Nations —
Taken from his mouth
May 11. 1791. He arrived
at Wilkesbarre the 10th
at night.

Sir, Wilkesbarre May 12. 1791.

On the 8th instant I wrote you, mentioning certain reports about the hostile views of the Indians of the six nations, as related to me by a Col.o Miller, on which the 10th at night captain Bowman (by whom I sent a message to the Six Nations on the 17th of April, to invite them to the proposed treaty) returned; and yesterday he gave me an account of his proceeding. He reached Canadaigua the 28th of April & delivered my letter to General Chapin; & the next day set off for Geneseo, whither Genl. Chapin was to follow. Smith the interpreter was already there; but returned to Canadaigua; & taking a different route, capt. Bowman missed him. So it was the 3d of May before my message was interpreted to the Geneseo Indians. About 30 assembled, among whom were the principal chiefs who were at home. He says they were exceedingly pleased with the prospect of the treaty, and promised to attend it punctually. He says also that Genl. Chapin thought Brandt would attend. the treaty. The residue of his information was in substance as follows —

The Geneseo Indians told Genl. Chapin, that they feared being attacked and driven from their lands by the Western Indians; and earnestly desired to know whether the United States would protect them. They discovered great anxiety on this subject — said they must take one side or the other — wished to join the U. States; because if they took the other side, they knew that ultimately they must be driven from their lands. General Chapin, Major Thompson (formerly of Lambs regiment) and one Berry (a trader, who speaks the Indian tongue) informed him, that the Senecas, and Six Nations generally, said they would readily join the United States in the war against the Western Indians, provided that in return they could

be

be protected.

Col. Procter, with Complanter, had been at Buffaloe Creek a good while, endeavouring to persuade certain of the Chiefs to go with him; but could not prevail. This was told to Capt. Bowman the 30th of April at Genesee by one Culbertson, who left Buffaloe Creek six days before, bringing with him Procter's horse which was reduced & unfit to proceed on his journey. But a James Miller of Northumberland county, from Niagara, who reached Genesee the 3d of May, said that a man from Geneva (whose name capt. Bowman forgets, but Genl. Chapin said his information might be relied on) told him that he had come from Buffaloe Creek — that the Indians had consented to accompany Col. Procter, and were to set out the day after the Geneva man left Buffaloe. [That day Capt. Bowman forgets: But Genl. Chapin in his letter of May 5th (of which a copy is inclosed) declined going, thro' fear of meeting scouting parties of the Western Indians, who might cut them off. Genl. Chapin, Major Thompson & Culbertson told Capt. Bowman, That a runner from the Western Indians had been at Buffaloe, who told the Senecas that they must join them in the war against the United States; or they would come and destroy them. That this threat greatly intimidated the Senecas at Buffaloe, who sent the declaration to Genesco, where they were equally alarmed. In consequence of this, the hunters generally kept at home.

Col. Procter was there the 2d. —] The Indians at first

I mentioned to you, in the city, that Mr. Morris had employed one Ewing to endeavour to purchase land of the Indians, or at least to feel their dispositions on that subject. This is the man referred to in the last passage of General Chapins letter. I understood from Capt. Bowman, that

the

the Indians could not endure the idea of parting with
any more of their land.

If the Six Nations should ~~agree~~ accord to your request to send fifty or sixty of their warriors to join our troops at Fort Harmar or Fort Washington, one difficulty may occur, from the danger of their being met on the way & murdered by our own people on the western frontier of Pennsylvania. If a white man should precede them, & give notice of their advancing for the purpose of fighting for us, I do not know but there are some white savages in that quarter so athirst for Indian blood, that they would way-lay and attempt their destruction. You will recollect how unwilling the Clergyman's party of militia were to believe the Soldier belonging to Fort Franklin, that the Indians helping him up with provision for the garrison were friend to the United States! — If the Indians should proceed without a harbinger their appearance would excite a general alarm, & might also prove fatal to them. — The route, I presume, would be down the Allegany to Fort Franklin, whence the commanding officer might dispatch a discreet person to apprize the inhabitants of the approach of the friendly Indians, of their number, & of the times when they may be expected to reach particular places on their route. Some officer or other, a person well known in that country, should attend the Indians to identify the party, and secure them from annoyance. This is the mode of proceeding which just now strikes me as expedient if you should prefer another, I should be glad to receive your directions. It may be necessary for you to make corresponding arrangements with the commanding officer at Fort Franklin, and at every post or place where there are troops, or where provisions are to be drawn; and to inform me of the arrangements, that I may satisfy the Indians on this head. — By your instructions to me, you propose that the Indians should not exceed 50 or 60 the number of warriors, that they should join our army at Fort Harmar & Fort Washington by the 15th or 20th of July next. But I doubt the practicability of their reaching either of those posts so soon. I should therefore be glad to be informed of the latest time at which their junction would be of probable utility; and whether if more than fifty

24
11
24
21
264

[illegible] should be desirous of going, [illegible] beyond [illegible],
[illegible] number, should be regarded.

James Lee

To Genl Knox
Secy of War

Letter to Secy of War
12th
May 11. 1791.

Sir

Buffaloe Creek May 16th 1791

v 193

To you who had made Business to Transact with the Savages — would be unnecessary to tell you that my patience in the Shawn has been Long since exhausted — for this is the 19th day since I arrived here and my errand to them is not fully Answered, only in that small part that the Six nations had to perform — Namely to Send word to the unfriendly Indians on the Wabash that they must at Length agree to set out with me by Water to Sandusky & from thence a Safe Convoy was for them, from Sandusky to endeavouring to do — and this I think they would not have promised, only for the Message from they had from you, that We should and from Hock the Absolute necessity of Dispatching us on the adventure that would answer to them on their giving proofs of their friendship ——

I have had a very tedious Journey to get here, for, on my reaching Ohio at the Alleganey River, I found he had not been able to come with the Boat for me, I was engaged with Mr. Elliott who advised him to take Steps in first to ascertain as to about twenty of his Party on this occasion Came me to go to Cuyahoga after him — and finally Brought him and his Hearers to this place; because I could not forward on him, or any of his people to go with me to Sandusky Via from Cuyahoga by Land means Could have saved the Journey of upwards of 400 miles, as they Decided Falling in the hands of the Shawanese Ohio had then Deserted the Settlement in Coming at — for further particulars Refer you to Col. Stephen, and Mr. Smith. I shall Draw for Eight Pounds York money on the Secretary of War in favr. of Mr. Jos. Smith, and as it may be Inconvenient to Mr. Smith to obtain it so Soon as he might require his money I shall esteem it a favr. if you will take his Indorsement and discharge the same — Wishing you and your good Family every happiness Remain Dr Sir

Your Obedt Servt

Thomas Proctor

Colonel T. Pickering

Col.o Thos. Proctor

Buffalo Creek May 15. 1791

rec.d June 29. 1791.

War-department,

[In Lowrie & Clarke's State Papers IV. 166.]

May 18th. 1791—

Sir

I have received yours of the 8th of May.—

The report of the Jerseymen to Colonel Abraham Miller as delivered to you relative to the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Cayugas, and Onondagos joining the western indians in hostilities against the United States, is most probably ill-founded.

In order that you may possess all the information relative to the objects of your mission in my power to afford— I transmit you herein-enclosed a letter from Colonel Brant dated the 25th of February 1791, which I have not yet answered— A letter from Mr. Kirkland of the 22d of April, and my answer thereto, and

also

also my letter to General Schuyler of the 11th instant. – Brant's letter to Mr. Kirkland of the 8th of March – Governor Clinton's letter to me of the 27th of April and my answer thereto of the 11th instant.

You will perceive by the letter to the Governor, the turn that the idea of employing Brant has taken, and you will please entirely to conform thereto.

It is sincerely desired, that every effort be made, to establish peace with the indians on a solid basis, and, if possible, previously to an active campaign against them – But if force must be excercised to prevent their depredations, it is to be hoped they will be admonished, in such a manner as to bring them to terms, so as to prevent the necessity of another campaign.

You

You will therefore, to the utmost of your power, give every facility to all the mes-sengers of peace, and impress all indians who shall come within your sphere of action, with the justness and humanity of the general go-vernment.

The goods for your treaty were sent off by Mr. Hodgdon on the instant.

I am
Sir,
with great respect,
Your most obedient servt.

Colonel Timothy Pickering.

Letters & Papers
from the
War-Office
May 1791.

[The duplicate was "rec'd June 21. 1791. at Newtown Point"]

Genoa May 19th 1791

Sir

I must inform that I Arrived here last night and this morning Delivered my message which gave the indians much Sattisfaction and Compose them. what you requested in your Speach for the Chiefs to Send runners to the outwards towns to invite them to the Council fire at the Painted Post which is kindled by the authority of the united Stat with the indians Very willingly Comply'd to and Send their Runners on the Business the indians inform me that there is many Sobreyoty amongs them Every Day with they believe them to be Sob report Som of them from the British the Sachems Chiefs and Warriors Send their Compliments to you and by the will of God they will me you at the Place of Joined by the if possible they will wiet untill the indians arrive hear from the other towns

I am your friend and Servent

Jeffrey Smith

Wm Timothy Pickering

Genesco May 19. 1791.
rec'd by Capt. Hendricks
June 5. 1791.

Col

Timothy Pickering

to the Care of Guy Maxwell

at Tioga

The Speech of the Young King of the Six nations on my[x] leaving Buffaloe Creek May 21. 1791.

Brother

We are called together this day by the appointment of yesterday. to hear what answer has been sent to your letter from the Commanding Officer of Niagara, and the same having been made known to us, we find that you are disappointed in your expectations of getting a Vessell in which we were to go with, toward the Country of the unfriendly Indians. and that therefore you would return by the way of Fort Pitt.

You have also said that you do not blame us but that you blame the British, and that therefore we should be easy in our minds

[x] Col Proctor - See fol. 225

and/

and by at peace with the United States.

You have also mentioned a letter wh
came from General St. Clair to us and what
answer we should give to the same so that Col
Butler at Pittsburgh might be informed by you

The answer of our fighting as requeste
by General St. Clair or seeing how your ~~troops~~
act against the enemy Indians you must liste
and hear what is the full determination of al
the Sachems and Warriors of the Six nations,
what they have determined upon and that w
a few words for Col.o Butler to be sent to Ge
St. Clair

Now the answer is that we are
desirous of complying with the intructions o
his first letter sent to Cuyasutta, our great
Chiefs for the Six Nations namely, that w
must set still and not to mind any other bu
-ines but peace - And these were the word
of

of his letter. Moreover last fall it was told to us by Colo Pickering that the Six Nations must take no notice of any thing but what tended to be peaceable, for that would be an advantage to our Nations and nothing else - So that ever since we have conformed to these intructions, in not interfering in any matter that has another tendency For with the British we are at peace according to their request of us - And we are the same with the Americans. - And should the unfriendly Indians come forward to seek peace by us we will help to do so, and we are desirous ourselves of remaining peaceable

The reason why we now tell you these things, Are, that we are Neuter on the one side or on the other, whether of the British or of the Americans for we desire to be Still and to be at peace with both,

Here Brother we Speak to you on another

another matter that has respect to the Six Nation
General Washington the great Chief has kindl
a fire at the painted post, and this we expect
is done for the sake of peace for he has called all
the Nations from the grand river to the Oneida
and it is our desire to attend the same at the tim
proposed.

Therefore tell Col.° Butler at Pittsburg
that we cannot attend according to the request
of General St. Clair for we shall attend the Trea
at the painted post where the fire is lighted
by General Washington and at that place all
matters we have related shall then be talk
over again,

In this Brother you have heard t
sense of the Six Nations and our sentiments a
firm and strong for amongst us there are no
one deficient), Therefore this is the close of th
Speech as we want to talk over other Matte

which concern the Errand that you have came to us upon, and which we can't go through with, because we can't Speak to the Indians that reside towards the Setting Sun. But we have told you that we have Sent Captain Brandt to know their opinion and we have always wanted you Stay with us until his return to know what is the mind of these people towards the Thirteen fires

We have also told you that we Shall take the Same into consideration as we want to Speak to them once more on terms of Peace. for our mind is the Same as when you first came amongst us. And we are desirous of seeing Captain Brandt return and can we hear that these people will incline to peace, we will keep it and try to bring the Same to effect; — And Should Captain Brandt be here before we go for the Painted Post whatever their intentions are we Shall make the Same known

and

and if for peace the one half of our chiefs shall
go to the unfriendly Indians and the other half
with our women shall attend the Treaty before
named and the same information shall be sent
to Fort Pitt for the information of Colo. Butler
as you have requested of us —

This therefore is all that we have to
say to you at this time and are desirous that you may
go whether you intended.

Speech of the Young King
of the Six Nations —

May 21 1791 —

(Copy)

Rec? June 21. 1791. at Newtown Point.

Sir

Genesee 24th May 1791

I recvd your letter by Captn Bowman and a Speech which I deliver'd to the Six Nations at Buffalow Creek, the Say they will attend your Council fire at the Painted Post by the time Appointed they Seem to be all for peace and wish to keep peace With the United States — I think you will have a Great Number of Indians to the Counsel fire for I believe all the Six Nations will attend — There will be a Kettle to be Boiled at this place — But I will beg to put it off if Possible —

I was with Col Procter at Buffalow Creek he was there a long time — But all to No purpose — he did not get an Indian to go with him to the Westward, He has gone to Fort pitt, by the way of the Alagany — I have not seen Mr. Parish, he had left my House before I come Home — I will Endeavour to attend the Treaty according to Your desire —

I am your H. Sr

Col. Tim.y Pickering

Jos: Smith

Col.

Timothy Pickering

Wyoming

Lt Lawson
Capt. Bowdoin

Joseph Smith

Genesee May 24. 1791.

rec.d June 5th

Albany 26th May 79.

My dear Friend

I have just now received a letter from Genl. Knox in which he says: "I highly approve of Capt. Hendricks being employed & will make good any reasonable allowance to him for his services. Let him call on Col. Pickering at Wyoming who will furnish him with clothing & necessaries for the present."

Genl. Knox also wishes Good Peter to go with you, & such other of your Nation, as you may want for interpreters. particularly thro' the six Nations.

Good Peter, I know will object, on account of his corn & grass - but you may tell him, That I will procure a labourer for him, for the term of one month at least, after my return. I hope you will be ready to set out by the 10th of June, so as to meet Col. Pickering, at

at the painted Post by the time appointed for the treaty to be held there, which is the 15th of next month. — I will supply your family with wheat & Corn to keep them alive till you return agreeably to what I promised. —

In haste — wishing you prosperity & the divine protection in the important undertaking of your western Embassy. — I am affectionate friend & Father —

I Shirkland

Capt Hendrick
Aupaumut —

Capt Hendrick Aupaumut

Hon^d by

Govr Taylor & New Stockbridge

10
6
4
3

6

Brother,

We the Sachems and Chiefs warriors of the five Nations received your Invitation to meet you in Council at the Painted Post, to which we shall attend.

Your message arrived whilst we were in Council with a messenger from Colonel Proctor from the great Chief of the Thirteen States. We also received another message about the same time from General St Clair upon which we shall speak more fully when we meet you

At present we are not a little uneasy in our minds, as our heads are intoxicated with the different messages crouding in upon us at the same time, but we wish to convince you that our intentions are good, and our hearts incline to peace.

You warn us against listening to mischeavous people who may rise amongst us, and spread false and mischeavous reports. Lest evil reports may also be spread amongst you to our prejudice, we take this early opportunity by Parrish who you have sent to us to acquaint you of the reasons which influenced us in Council with Colonel Proctor, who was very pressing for us to accompany him through the different Indian Nations now at war with the United States. to which we objected for the following reasons viz: We are desirous of living upon a friendly footing with the United States; and of being instrumental in bringing about a peace betwixt you and our Brothers the western Nations, and for that purpose had, previous to Colonel Proctors arrival, dispatched Captain Brant with some Chiefs of each Nation, about Twenty five in all, to open their eyes and endeavour to bring them to an accommodation with the people of the United States, and stop the effusion of innocent blood. Notwithstanding these conciliatory steps had been previously taken, we agreed to accompany him with fourteen of our Chiefs and young men, and second the operations of Captain Brant, by giving every assistance in our power to Colonel Proctor. Whilst we were preparing ourselves for this journey, we received General St Clairs message, calling us to war against our own flesh and blood, and contrary to the object of Colonel Proctors journey, which made us mind

uneasy and determined to be first allowed your Immediate attention, where we expect to have those matters explained to our mutual satisfaction, and hope to have the chain of friendship then brightened. —

As evil reports are too apt to circulate both among st you and us, to prevent their reaching this place to our prejudice we took our friend Mr. Street with us last fall to Niagara, and there expressed our wish that he should accompany us on similar occasions, and shall accordingly take him by the hand on the present occasion. —

Niagara 28th. May 1791.

Seneca Chief { Ogh na ieeya was his X Mark
or The Famous Hunter

Cayuga Chief { Ojighte — his X mark
or Fish Lamyer

Onondago Chief { Oyehie ware his X Mark
or Clear Sky

Senecas Chief — Kyoshote his X Mark

Done, and signed
in my presence

Joseph Sarah

What conduct is to be pursued, in the following cases?

1. If the Indians shd. desire any of their children to be brought in to the country to be educated — ~~in reading writing & arithmetic~~ they shd. desire they might

2. If with their education they be taught the art of husbandry

3. If they shd. desire ~~one or more~~ persons to be sent to their towns to teach them the art of husbandry, with reading writing & arithmetic —

4. If in order to practice the husbandry — they should ask for horses, cattle, & instruments of husbandry —

5. To what extent in the above articles, any engagements may be made.

6. If no overtures of the kind be made by the Indians — whether any attempt may be made such ideas may be suggested to them, with a view to encourage their application to the arts of civil life?

7. Whether with a view to obtain pledges for their preserving peace with us, if we not be eligible at this time to draw a few of the sons of the principal chiefs into the U States, for the purpose of them

1791.

June 11. Saturday. Prepared for & set out on my journey for the Painted Post, where I arrived the 15th P.M. being the day appointed for the commencement of the treaty with the Six Nations.

16. Returned toward Newtown Point; having first written a letter to the interpreter, proposing to remove the council fire from the Painted Post to Newtown Point, because the scarcity of the water of the Tioga river rendered it very difficult to carry on the good dispositions.

17. Arrived at Newtown Point — & thence went down to Baldwins.

18. Returned to Newtown Point.

19. This morning an Oneida, with a Stockbridge Indian to interpret, came with a billet from a company of Oneidas, Tuscaroras, & Muhheconnuk (or Stockbridge) Indians, informing that there were 20 of them who would arrive to-day. — They arrived P.M.

20. They delivered a short speech

July 18th. Finished the business of the treaty at Newtown Point, & at about 5 o'clock P.M. set off in a canoe for Tioga Point, which I reached at 10 at night

19th Went in a canoe from Tioga Point to Black Walnut Bottom.

20th Reached home, just after sun set.

57
120
36
213

S/B 504

Philadelphia June 12. 1791

Wm. Shillcam Lewis

Sir

Your Letters with the several enclosures by Capt. Hudden we received - The very unsettled state of the Seneca nation has for some time past made it evident to us, that, at this time it would be improper to agitate any Business what ever with them; and we are confirmed in that opinion, as well by your Letters, as by those from Mr. Street and others - We therefore with all things to be suspended for the present - You will ~~Therefore being the necessity of this for the present~~ give up every Idea of surveying the Territory, or doing any one thing which may appertain to us - the Lands until further orders - We expect after a little while it may be proper for us to make the visit you have urged - pursuant to which we shall write You and then will instruct You as

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

~~I~~ as to Sachi coming down at present
it can answer no good purpose

We expect this will be delivered to you by Mr Hoops who goes to survey those Lands which Mr Morris purchased of Messrs Gorham & Phelps & he has mentioned you to Mr Hoops in case he should want more assistance than is already engaged — Wishing you

Your old Schoolmate,

Wm Judd Eustis

S. Ogden —

Capt. Eustis
Care of Messrs Gorham & Phelps
Canandaigua
Favd Ogden
Dec 12th 1791.

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Dated 9 June 11. 1791.

Rec.d by Mess.rs Parrish & Langdon

Timothy Pickering Esq.

Sir

Philadelphia June 12th 1791 v 229

My Sons Thomas and William are on the point of departure from hence for the Painted Post in order to gratify their curi-osity by being Witnesses to an Indian Treaty, after which they propose to make an excursion through the Genesee Country and finally to take a view of the Falls of Niagara if that favor may be permitted by the british Governor at Niagara. They go in company with Mr. Adam Hoops who is employed to survey the lands which I purchased of Messr. Gorham & Phelps, I shall be thankfull for any attentions you can shew him or them during their stay at the Treaty. —

Upon a consultation with Col. Hamilton and General Knox I have agreed not to make any proposition to the Indians at this Treaty for the purchase of any part of the Land therefore nothing need be said to them on that subject, except it be to announce my Sons to them and myself as the owner of the preemptive right to that Tract of Country lying West of the Genesee River as far as Lake Erie. I have written a few lines as a Speech to be made to them by my Son Tom which he will shew to you for your approbation, which you may alter if you think it necessary, or if you think it best to say nothing he will be silent. — I am glad to learn by Col. Proctor that your business at this Treaty will close agreably to our wishes the Seneca nation having already decided in favor of Peace. — It was my intention to have been present at this Treaty, but after I agreed not to attempt a purchase I thought it best not to appear there, and sending

my Sons will answer every present purpose.

With great attachment and regard I remain

Dear Sir

Your obedient & very humble Servant

R. H. Morris

Col.° Timothy Pickering

my

Sir

Philad^{a}. June 12. 1791

My Sons Thos & William are on the point of departure from hence for the Painted Post in order to gratify their curiosity by being Witnesses to an Indian Treaty, after which they propose to make an excursion through the Genesee Country and finally to take a View of the Falls of Niagara if that favour may be permitted by the British Garrison at Niagara. They go in Company with Mr Adam Hoops who is employed to survey Wm Lands which I purchased of the Gorham & Phelps, I shall be thankfull for any attentions you can shew him or them during their stay at the Treaty.

Upon a Consultation with Colo Hamilton & Genl Knox they agreed not to make any proposition to the Indians at this Treaty for the purchase of any part of the Lands therefore nothing need be said to them on that Subject, except to announce my Son, and myself as the Sole Owner of the Preemption right to that Tract of Country lying West of the Genesee River as far as Lake Erie, I have written a few lines as a speech to be made to them by my Son Tom which he will shew to you for your approbation, which you may alter if you think it necessary, or if you think it best to say nothing he will be Silent. I am glad to learn by Colo Proctor that your business at this Treaty will close agreably to our wishes the Seneca Nation having already decided in favour of Peace. It was my intention to have been present at this Treaty, but as I agreed not to attempt a purchase I thought best not to appear there, and trusting my Sons will answer every present purpose. With great attachment & regard I remain Dear Sir Your obed^{t} & very Hble Servt

Colo Timothy Pickering

JOURNAL
OF A
TOUR

to the Treaty of Newtown Point, in the summer of 1795.

On first day morning, the 12th of the Sixth Month, I took leave of my Friends, and mounted a high-trotting horse, with a large portmanteau and a buffalo blanket, to accompany my Friend John Parrish, who had been for some time religiously engaged to attend a Treaty, to be held by commission of the United States, Timothy Pickering Esq. of Wilkesbarré, for the purpose of renewing our alliance with the Five Nations, and also for settling and preventing them from joining with the Shawanese, Wyandots, and other Western Indians who have been provoked by the unjust encroachments and depredations of some Inhabitants of the Frontiers to attack the neighboring settlements, and revenge their injuries with the fire-brand and the tomahawk. We were accompanied to Germantown by Isaac Parrish and William Sansom; attended the meeting of Friends there, and went to dine with Thomas Forest, a colonel of Artillery in the Continental service, during the last war. His regiment was not those ordered out to destroy the Indian towns and habitations, under the command of General Sullivan in

1779. They performed the service but too well, driving
Indians before them with great slaughter, and carrying
fire and sword throughout the extensive territories of the Five
Nations. They had been constant friends to the British
from their first settlement in the country, and could not then
refuse to join them, though it seemed to them like a dis-
pute between two brothers. The Colonel had since been
convinced that war and fighting are contrary to the com-
mands of Christ, and inconsistent with the spirit of christ-
ianity; but having a mind to revisit the scenes of this bloody
expedition, and the spots where many of his Fellow Soldiers
had fallen under the tomahawk, and were laid side by side
in the silent woods, he joined our little party, and we
rode in the afternoon about 24 miles to an Inn on the
left hand road to Bethlehem, where we were indifferently en-
tertained. We rose next morning, 2d. day the 13th. by peep
of day rode 16 miles to breakfast, and came within sight
of that celebrated Moravian Settlement, some time 6 miles
further, sometime before noon. Its lofty and extensive
public buildings towering over the Lehigh from the su-
mit of the opposite hill, have a striking effect upon
Traveller just emerging from the hills and woods

we dined heartily upon excellent Trout &c. We no doubt met
better spirits than we should have done had we known that
it was the last decent cookery we should meet with in a jour-
ney of 200 miles. After dinner we called upon brother Tho-
mas, an honest, affectionate old Man who generally attends Visitors
to shew them the place. He seemed pleased to see Chorey again
and complimented me on some improvement in my German.
We went together to the Schools. It was a holiday, but the chil-
dren were to collected in their different apartments, under the
care of their Instructresses. Several of the girls from various parts of the Continent
were introduced to us. We were pleased with their innocent co-
tenances, and engaging behaviour, and they were de-
lighted with the inquisitive notice of my friend Parrish, who
had something about home to say to each of them, after the
usual enquiry into name, place of abode, &c. When we had
walked round the town we mounted again, stopped at Na-
zareth to bait, and lodged at Heller's tavern, a good house
at the foot of the blue mountain, 17 miles from Bethle-
hem. Our ride this evening was very pleasant. After we
had passed the Moravian village and farms, the blue ridge
was in full view most of the way, stretching from east
to I had been at Bethlehem two years before.

to west like an immense wall, and we saw the sun set behind it, unclouded, as we approached. Here we could see at one glance the Delaware gap, the Wind gap, and the Lehigh gap, in a range of 24 computed miles. 3rd. Day the 14th. Understanding that it would be difficult for us to ride through the Bear swamp to Wyoming, 45 miles of very bad road, in one day we concluded to stay to dinner where we were, and ride to the last house on this side the swamp in the afternoon. We passed the morning in clambering up the mountain, with a good deal of difficulty, its sides being very steep and stony, guided by our Landlord. He looked for the roundest stones to roll down the mountain; but could find none to his purpose. Large round stones will sometimes roll from the top of the mountain to the bottom, making a report like distant thunder, and bearing down bushes, stones, and even small saplings that stand in their way. Here we could cast our eyes over a vast extent of mountainous and woody country, apparently rising higher and higher on all sides, interspersed here and there with houses and plantations, the nearest of which appeared at so vast a dis-

tance

distance below us as to remind us of the birds eye views of the Aeronauts. In the afternoon we passed through the Wind Gap, a regular passage through the body of the mountain, not more than 50 feet above the circumjacent level, and about 100 yards wide, seemingly scooped out by the hand of Nature for the convenience of her Children. Through this deep and narrow passage the northerly winds frequently rush with such violence as to stint the growth of the trees in it, and bend their limbs into uncouth shapes. We rode 16 miles this evening in company with a plain old Man who we were told was a Mennonist Parson. He spoke little but we thought his looks preached to us upon meekness and humility. For the first 5 miles the country was barren and hilly; the next 6 or 8 ^ the rye. road lay through a beautiful and cultivated valley, ^ chiefly settled by industrious Germans in neat log houses, along side of large barns; but the last 3 or 4 miles ^ was the road lay through a melancholy tract of poor land thinly covered with Hemlock and Pitch Pine. Lodged at a wretched tavern, the last on this side of the Great Swamp. ^ 4th. day the 15th. While we were at breakfast we heard the tramping of horses, and on looking out

we

were surprised to find it a funeral convoy. It was that of Col. Arthur Erwin, who had been murdered a few days before near Tioga. The body was in a covered waggon. Two of his sons and several Attendants followed it on horseback. They had travelled all night, and hurried on to get to his own house in Bucks County that day. We mounted as soon as they had passed, rode over some high hills, and then crossed a tract of pine barrens, about 10 miles, to the entrance of the bear swamp, an extensive bottom thickly covered with a heavy growth of White Pine Spruce and Beech timber Many of the Pines appeared to me to be 4 or 5 feet diameter in the stem, and 120 feet high but I have since been credibly informed that some of them will measure from 160 to 200 feet. They exactly shoot up 60 or 100 feet perfectly strait, without any branches, and terminate in a bushy head. We

We stopped to feed our horses, and dine upon bread and cheese, on the southernmost branch of the Lehigh. I believe this beautiful river takes its rise in this great swamp forming where we crossed it four considerable streams, at the distance of 4 or 5 miles apart. We baited again on the principal branch, though but 6 or 8 miles from the first mentioned, being very much fatigued with slowly riding or walking over large stumps, stones, tangled roots, and fallen trees in different stages of decay. Some of the latter were overgrown with shrubs and young trees to the height of 5 or 6 feet. Emerging from the swamp we passed through a gloomy wood of spruce pines which the Soldiers during the late war used to call the Shades of death, because the Indians frequently lay there in ambush, and sunk their murderous tomahawks into the unwary passenger. Beyond this the land rises. Toward evening, from a great height,

we

we caught a sudden view of the Susquehannah meandering through the Plains of Wyoming. They are highly cultivated, and form a striking contrast to the rugged scenes with which they are surrounded. The river is here 300 yards wide, and from 2 to 3 fathoms deep. It runs a strait course from the north, as far as the eye can reach; but makes several bold turns to the southwest, which from the eastern ~~opposite~~ range of hills seem to rise one above another and overtop the intermediate high ground. The flourishing town of Wilkesbarré so called in compliment to the quondam Patriot Wilkes and Barré is agreeably situated upon an extensive level plain or flat on the east bank of the river, which is several feet higher than the western low-lands, still called the Shawanen Flats from their former Owners. ~~The Latter~~

frequently
has the river extraordy rises 17 feet above its ordinary level
~~in such places as this~~ in spring and autumn: but
in the year 1784 on the breaking up of the frost in the
year 1784 the ice damned up the channel, and the
water suddenly rose 34
~~rose 40~~ feet sweeping over the adjacent
country and carrying off trees, houses, Mows and
every moveable that impeded its course. The
People saved themselves in Canoes: but a great
deal of their live Stock was irretrievably lost.
The flood brought up, and deposited such vast
quantities of sand upon the lower flats that
the ground was scarcely worth cultivating for
several years after: but it is now mixed with
the rich mold below, and the compound makes
an
excellent bed for Indian Corn. Wilkes-
barré was founded upon the ruins of an In-
dian town, I think in the year 1769. It is
laid out in large squares, with broad streets
and now contains about 50 or 80 frame

houses, some of which are large and well-built.
There are quarries of stone in the neighbourhood and
[illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] and the clay
very good clay for bricks: but as there is no
lime-stone within 20 miles, and there is
excellent timber almost at the door, it is
probable the town will not be built more substan-
tially for many ages. 5th. day the 16th crossed
the Susquehannah in a crazy horse-boat,
and rode about 10 miles up the river, through
a rich and level tract numerously inhabited
to avoid a rugged piece of road on the eastern
shore. Crossed again, and pursued our journey
till 2 o'clock, when we stopped to dine;
but on such meagre fare do my appetite
could not yet stomach. Two or three sparing
slices of rusty bacon, a dish of sallad soused
in

in the fat, with half a loaf of Indian bread, coarse, black,
and sour, made up the meal, at one of the most noted
houses of entertainment upon the road, or rather
pathway, for it is there no more. All kinds of
Luggage are taken up to Tioga and Newtown by
water, there is therefore nothing but a horse
path, which you trace with difficulty, along the
general course of the river, by the blazed trees
on each hand, now mounting now descending
steep and rugged hills, now losing itself in
creeks and marshes, and now winding with
the river round the stony borders of
precipitous mountains. We passed a very comfort-
less night at one Osterhouts, 30 miles from Wilkes-
barré, the bed being so dirty, and the fleas and gnat
so numerous that I heartily wished I had sat

also

up in my clothes. 6th. day the 17th. rode half a
dozen miles through corn field, and meadow grounds
to a neat house upon Tunkannuppk creek, where we breakfasted with an
excellent relish. Passed some fields lately cleared
in the manner of the country, by cutting away the
underwood and girdling the trees. The owner was
ploughing them with two yoke of oxen, a comon sight
in these parts, but horses are very rare. Dined
indifferently. Riding through Black-walnut-bot
tom toward night we were overtaken with a vi-
olent ~~shower of rain~~ gust of wind and rain.
~~It wet us~~ We were wet almost to the skin before we could
get to the next house. It swarmed with ~~little~~
~~black headed~~ children and the roof leaked so
much that we were glad to turn out again
for a better shelter
as soon as the rain abated. We had 6 or 7
miles to Wyalusing. It grew dark before
we had ~~made~~ half the distance; but by that
time we had crossed the last steep hill, and

15 or 20 feet

slid or jumped, down a path an almost perpendicular bank into a plain that extends to the town and several miles beyond it. Here it began to rain again, and so violently that our cloaths were soaked through and the road full of water before we got to Wyalusing. This was formerly an Indian town the same that John Woolman visited in the year 1758. The Moravian Brethren afterward sent a mission among to this place. They made many Proselytes, and before the late war had civilized several hundred Indians, and built a church for divine worship: but in the year 1778 a party of Frontier People, enraged by the depredations of those Tribes which had joined the British, came down to Wyalusing, and murdered them all in cold blood. On the first attack the Indians fled & retreated into the Church, where they continued singing psalms, in the patient spirit of martyrdom,

while these inhuman monsters dragged them out, one by one, and slaughtered them upon the threshhold.
7th. day the 18th. Dined at a saw mill on a little creek. In the early part of this afternoons ride we crossed a dangerous pass, that has been worked round the middle of a precipice called Break neck hill. It is only wide enough for one to pass at a time, the hill rises, to quite impassable, to a great height above you, and below, craggy rocks descend 80 or 100 feet almost perpendicularly, into the river. A few scattered pines that grow out of the clefts, deceive the Traveller with apparent security: but if his horse should make a single mis-step, he would probably be dashed to pieces upon the sunken rocks below. When General Sullivan passed this place on the Indian Expedition. The cattle and the horses were tied tail to head, and head and tail to head, and driven through the passage. About midway one of them slipped over, and drew half a dozen after him; the next next behind to

to these were happily caught among the trees, and saved their lives at the expence of their tails, which were torn out by the roots. The Army was that moment turning the point in canoes. They jumped out upon the rocks, and cut up the cows and oxen while they were still warm, and broiled and ate them upon the spot. It is said that a woman was once ventured to ride this pass, sitting upon a feather bed. The horse stumbled, and they fell together to the bottom of the precipice; but she was taken up unhurt. Descending a rugged hill we passed a new frame barn on our left, and gladly observed the approach of a flourishing settlement by the new fences on either hand, and the fields of wheat and corn that extending several miles before us to the left. We were all quite elated with this agreeable change of scene, The Colonel cracked up his beat and I whistled Yankee Doodle as the Shenandoah and we rode up to the best house in the village of Shamung as fast as our horses could trot.

brot. The houses are scattered along the second rise of rich and extensive flats. The lower most, part of it containing several hundred acres, watered by the Susquehannah, and sheltered by a steep and high mountain, covered with pines, on the opposite shore, had been cleared by the Indians. Part of it was there planted with Indian-corn, and the memory of its native Owners came over us like a dream, as we walked pensively over it to the river, in the dusk of the evening. This is sometimes overflown in spring and autumn when the waters of the creek rise twice a year. When the waters subside, they leave a rich sediment, which renders the soil very luxuriant, and it is beside so loose that a single horse may plough it with ease. We staid here the morning of the 19th. it being first day. Our People Our Landlord had

had been a Colonel in the late war, but was a zealous Baptist, and had an appointed meeting at his house that day. As soon as it was over we rode to Tioga point, crossed the North East branch of the river, and went up to the town, consisting of one street, containing a tavern, and half a dozen log houses two stories high, with one or two windows in them. In the evening we were joined, over an excellent dish pot of coffee, by Jacob Hart, an intelligent young Man from Lancaster of German descent, but perfectly naturalised by an extra good english education. He had been employed for several years, as a Surveyor in dividing those called the Soldiers Lands into townships &c. and showed us with a map of the country, 30 or 40 miles round, most of which he had travelled over on foot, with his instruments in his hands, and a knapsack at his back. 2d day the 20th. We left Col. Forest here, a little indisposed, and went down to Wyalusing crossed down

Nantowee in the 42nd degree of north latitude, the north
ern boundary of Pennsylvania, about 5 miles from
Tioga; and a little beyond we were shewn the a
large hill, upon the brink of the river, that has
been called, time out of mind, the Spanish Fort.
It rises abruptly on all sides, and terminates
in an area of 5 or 6 acres. This has been sur
rounded with a ditch and bank on the edge
of the hill, the remains which are still visible.
Outside of this, in every direction, rows of
small
little mounds of earth sufficient to cover a sin-
gle person are thrown up in ranges extending
to the foot of the hill. The Indian tradition
was that a body of Spaniards came up the
river in canoes, a great while ago. Their
incursions up the country were repulsed by
the Natives. At length they fortified them-
selves upon this hill. Their retreat was cut

off

off, and they were at length overpowered by multitudes. Muscle shells are found within the entrenchment to the depth of 3 or 4 feet, which are supposed to have been these were probably taken from the river for sustenance by the besieged. This event must probably have occurred before the settlement of Virginia in 15 or it would have been recorded in the Histories of that Country. Probably these were some of the Adventurers who ranged most of the coasts and rivers of this part of the continent, in search of Gold and Silver, soon after the discoveries of Columbus, and the splendid victories of Hernan Cortes toward the close of the fifteenth century.

Sund. day 24th Dec. We continued our ride to a good house, 10 miles further, kept by a widow Baldwyn. After dinner we forded the Hoga, and for the sake of a better road, and about 5 o'clock crosed it again, near Newtown, just below a beautiful Islet covered with trees and shrubs bushes. There is a Ferry kept here, but we chose

to cross upon our horses. The town consists of 12 or 14 log and frame houses, one story high, scattered over 100 acres of low land without any appearent regularity, though we were told that the ground plot is regularly laid out for squares, on the Pennsylvania style. except 3 or 4 new buildings which range upon the river. We were readily directed to Colonel Pickerings lodgings, where we found him in conference with 5 Indians of the Mahecannick Tribe, commonly called the Stockbridge Indians. Their Chief, Hendrick Aupaumut, a slender, pale-faced young Man, in a scarlet cloak and leggings, was speaking in English when we came in, "The little tomahawk the Indians fight with" said he "costs them very little; besides they skill gave with it and support themselves but the great hatchet which the United States use in war costs a great deal of money and those who carry it into our Country must be pro-

vided

provided for at a great expence. I know that the United States think themselves so powerful that they could cut us all off at one blow. It is true you are stronger than we are but remember though you may kill some wolves in the wood, and frighten the rest away for a time you can not destroy them all some will return and infest your plantations It were therefore much better for the United States to live in peace with the Indians. A great while ago the Shawanese and my own Nation were but one People but the great Spirit caused a famine and we separated. We still speak the same language. I am willing to go to them and persuade them to peace Perhaps they will listen to me: for all other Indians know that we have always been friends to the English White People and that we know more about you than they do. Whatever we tell them they think it must be so. If I go I know it will be at the risque of my life. Perhaps your Warriors will arrive at the same time and then they will not hear me. I therefore wanted to see some of your great Men before I set out. If you will keep your young men at home I will go. Perhaps I may be able to induce their Chiefs to come down and treat with your great Men about a lasting peace."

When the conference ended we presented our letters, and
shook hands with the 5 Indians. The Colonel recei-
ved us upon a letter of introduction very civilly, and walked out with us to loo
for lodgings. We were suited at the next house, a
small log building, with a partition, without a door,
one end of it from the kitchin part, which was provided with a
prodigious vacancy in the floor, and a
for a proportionable opening in the roof,
designed for a chimney, when ever leisure and
inclination should permit its inhabitants
to build one. For the present they made
their fire upon the ground, against the log
side of the house, which was partly burnt through. Here we
found a Scholar, he was reading when we
came in, who had been successively a horse
racer, a Jail keeper, a physician and a
Priest, and now exercised the two latter pro-
fessions, without controul, upon the conscie-
ences

consciences and constitutions of the good People
of Tioga. His wife, an active, worthy woman, only a little
given to scolding, the prescriptive right of good
housewifes, entertained us with the best she
had, and charged us for it at the moderate rate
of 14/ a week, York currency. 3rd. day the 20th.
Col. Pickering staid to tea with us, and in the
evening, lead over his notes of what had pass'd
in the conference with Hendrick Aupaumut.
3rd. day the 21st. Crossed the river after breakfast
to see our horses at a lean pasture or common
of 4 or 500 acres, where they had been taken the
night before by Squire Payne. He is the only
bustling Man I remember to have seen in the
Settlement, and accordingly he serves the county in the different capacities
of Chief Justice of the Representatives in
Assembly — Colonel of the Militia, Repre-
sentative in Assembly, and Chief Justice

of the Quorum. In the afternoon we had the com-
missioner and Hendrick to tea with us. Hendrick is a very well-informed and relig-
ious man, under the profession of Presbyterianism. The Missionaries
Nation has been civilized, I think by the efforts
of the Scottish Society, for the Propagation of the
Gospel. They raise wheat, build neat log-houses
use chairs, and attend public worship. In the
evening we walked down to the encampment.
the Indians. It was in a fine grove
of Buttonwood and Sugar Maple, upon the
bank level bank of the river, which opening
the prospect westward exposed it to the
sun, and rendered it a delightful setting-
evening's walk, enlivened with the domestic scenery of the
bark-huts, and the frequent shouts of the
young Indians as they pursued their
unfatigued with labours, and undepress-ed by
the cares of civilized life. 4th Day the 2

In the morning we visited our horses. Dined upon a slice
of bacon. In the evening took our accustomed round among
the Indians. 5th day, the 23rd. A Party of 30 Oneidas
came in about noon, Indian file, bearing a white flag.
We went down to their encampment soon after to wel-
come them; but were caught in a shower of rain, and
took shelter under the bark roof of our friend Hendrick.
We beguiled part of the time by telling us the follow-
ing story. "During the late French war, Sir William
Johnson held a treaty with the Five Nations, at Al-
bany. He clothed their Chiefs in scarlet, presented
them with ornamental baubles, and put tomahawks
into their hands, to induce them to commence hosti-
lities against the French. The Chippewees, a tribe
north of Lake Erie, remarkable for beginning no war,
but acting only on the defensive, were also present; but
had received nothing. Sir William in a long
speech to the Five Nations ~~in which he~~ declared his
great good will for the Indians, reminded them
of the friendship that had so long subsisted between
their Ancestors, and recounted the costly presents

he had now made them. Then addressing himself to the Chippewees he said. "You see how well we treat our Friends, but you are afraid to join us, and will leave you naked and defenceless." To which one of the Chiefs made the following reply. "We do see how you treat your Friends: but we think there is no friendship in setting them to fight your battles. Many of them will be wounded, or slain in the field. There they will lie weltering in their blood; but you will not know where they languish & die among the bushes. You can send no body to bury them. We do not treat our Friends so. We fight our own battles, and we throw our arms about our Friends to prevent them from running into mischief or danger. If they die among us we bury them, and when we desire to remember them we revisit their graves." To which Sir William made no answer. Hendrick also repeated to me the following tradition, remarkably coincident with the Mosaic account of the confusion of tongues, and the consequent separation of Mankind, on the Plains of Babel. I will give it in his own wor

"I do not know whether it is so or not; but our Fathers have always told us, that all the Indians lived in one town, a great many years hundred years ago. While they lived there, they grew very wicked, and the Great Spirit sent a famine among them, to punish them for their wickedness. This made them wander about the country to seek for food. A few families went off one way, and a few families another way; and they never settled together any more, for when they met again a great while afterward they found they could not understand one another. They had lost the language. After the rain blew over we rode about 7 miles northward, with a friendly Man who was very desirous that we should spend some time with him. We passed the night disagreeably, for tho' he had purchased 58000 acres of land, and settled upwards of 30 families since he came into the country, 8 months ago, he had scarcely allowed himself room to swing a cat in his mansion house, and so wet and dirty was our bed chamber, that I could have chuckled at the thought of our having fallen into a mud hole, if it had but been deep enough to drown.

the

fleas. It rained violently during the night, with loud
thunder. We rose early 6th. day the 24th. in haste t
return to wheat bread and clean sheets at Newtown
but foard our horses were not to be found. They ha
strayed away during the night. We made sometime ye
search of them, with our Entertainer, and returned to
Newtown, hoping to find them there, but in vain
He went back in search of them, and offered to bri
them here in next day, or send us word, if
unsuccessful. 7th. day the 25th. We croped the
oga and walked about 4 miles to dine, through
tract of good land well settled by the enterprizi
New Englanders. They raise 30 bushels of wheat upo
an acre; which is here valued at 3/6 Not that
with every so much cash, for that Wheat is itself
circulating medium of the Country, in defect
of gold and silver, or even paper money, the
natural staple of North America. On our re
turn in the evening we found our horses brough
home. From this time we let them graze
upon

upon the common, where there was better picking than
in the pasture, and we could see them every day, as
they came up regularly to be fed. That day
we spent there with morning and evening
the 25th. We passed the morning in silence at our lodgings, for
having
we heard so much preaching and praying morning
noon, and night from our Host, that we had no
inclination to go to hear him lecture at a house
in the neighbourhood. In the afternoon we attended
a meeting held in the upper part of a new log
house, at the desire of an Indian chief of the Cher-
okee Tribe, commonly called good Peter.* He began
by reading a hymn, which was a consent of the Presbyterians,
and preached with a bible in his hand, though he
could not read, to a numerous audience of White
and Red People, upon the general principles of
Christianity; using great earnestness of voice
and gesture. The sermon was interpreted by
an Indian youth, who had been to France
with the Marquis de la Fayette, and repeated
aloud by a Professor of the neighborhood, some-
what adulterated with sectarian phrases, and

* His Indian name, Oquilonduneyah, is very expressive of his Gospel labours, it is

and additional interlocutions. We drank tea w
Colonel Pickering in his Marquee, and ate some
Philadelphia water biscuits, with a relish
hardly to be conceived by One that has never
breathed
fasted the keen air, or tasted the brown bre
of the county of Tioga. 2d. day the 27th. We
spent the day about home. In the afternoon pa
ed with our companion, Colonel Forest, who
had ~~ga~~ taken such a surfeit of woods and
mountains, log hovels and coarse fare, tha
he would not ~~to~~ have ~~had~~ waited another
weeks
to have seen all the Indians on the con
tinent. 3rd. day the 28th. We saddled our
horses and rode out, with intention to vi
the Canadasego Lake, being very weary
of some days confinement by rainy we
ther: but we were stopped short, within a mile
from home, by a swamp, commonly de
nough to mire you, but now absolute

impassable. Not to return directly with a story of disappointment, we crossed the Country and called at a Squire Miller's to see Thomas and William Morris, who lodged there, with several young lawyers, & there were four in a bed but they dined every day about two miles to dine and sup at the tavern in Newtown. On our return we met Jacob Hart, before mentioned, now employed by Colonel Pickering on his way from the Painted Post. In the evening Runners came in with information that the Main Body of the Indians, amounting to 600, would be at the Painted Post before night. Hart was immediately dispatched to join Pickering, and we concluded and prepared ourselves to accompany him in a few minutes. We set out at 5 o'clock, and rode 16 miles that evening, mostly along the mountain & over barren and rocky banks of the Tioga;

last

but for some miles the xxxx lay across a vast p
of 4000 acres, partly cleared and cultivated, border
by ranges of the highest mountains we had yet
seen. They rose within ten degrees of perpen
dicular to four times the height of the forest
trees at their feet, ~~the~~ any dry probably
3 and 400 feet high. We rode through an
full gallop, to the no small consternation
of the xxxd People of the neighbourhood to
whom this is a very unusual gait. When
we came upon the river again we had to
ride it for a hundred yards at the foot
narrow
of upon a ledge of a foot or two at the
just afforded us
that scarcely projected over the
water
foot a passage between the great water
and a perpendicular rock 30 or 40 feet
high. The sun was now set, but the
brightness of the western sky was still bril-
liantly reflected by a thousand the liquid
mirror

mountains that trickled down the smooth every where
down the smooth side of the rock. It melt or
Just beyond this pass we came to a creek so much
swelled by the late rains, that we were afraid
to attempt crossing it on horseback. It was now
almost dark; yet our Guide discovered a tree
that had been felled across the current, by way
of bridge. It was now under water for se-
veral yards; but we gladly dismounted drove our
horses before us, and scrambled after them,
as well as we could, by catching hold of the
branches of the trees, which almost met over
the stream. A few minutes riding brought
us within sight of the fires in the Indian
Camp. They spread several hundred yards
to the right and left over an extensive plain,
thinly scattered with lofty white Pines. They
had arrived but three hours before, and
had already set up their cooking poles,
and

constructed their bark huts of various lengths
some single with a fire before them, some d
the fire between. A few of them were belong
ing to the most careful or Industrious
were floored and roofed with bark, and she
tered with boughs at the side back and su
others were open all round, but and the grea
part ~~were only~~ consisted merely of two
three widths of bark spread along a large
fire, made up under two uprights and a
cross piece, on which they had hung their
pots, and were preparing a plentiful mea
As soon as we had put up our horses in
the yard of a snug house, hard by,
we walked out to shake hands
with our Indian Brothers, as they are
always called on these occasions. Most
of their women were still collected roun
a great heap of corn, meat, and potatoes
of which

which their principal Chief a stout Man, six foot
high, in a green Coatee with a round hat and fea-
ther; was seen directing the division. X. We shook
hands with him, and enquiring for Cayasuta,
an ancient Chief who had been present at the
Treaty of Paxtos many former Treaties, and
was well acquainted with our Society, we were
directed to the his tent, where we found him
sitting upon his hams, before the fire, while
the women were preparing him something to
eat. He clasped our hands earnestly, and
expressed great satisfaction at the sight
of us, in his own language. We went
to the house to supper. It was crouded
with visitors, who had come to see the
Indians, and heated with a fire almost
large enough to roast an ox. In the we were
glad to breathe the fresh air again after
which, and walked out among the Indians

~~they~~ ~~and~~ ~~appear~~ By this time ~~are~~ the young Warriors were collecting, ~~to~~ in different quarters, to dance to the sound of a sort of drum, accompanied with loud sing and the Chiefs and Old Men, were assembling in the center of the encampment, to deliberate upon the course of their march. They spoke regularly, one at a time, the rest observing the strictest silence, ~~except~~ excepting the yoho-aw, expressive of attention or approbation. One of the Interpreters told us that part of their conversation was about the two Friends that had come out to meet them. After the dance continued long after we retired to our lodgings, between 11 and 12 o'clock, and we could hear them singing and shouting ~~round~~ ~~them~~ all round us, untill we dropped asleep. 4th. day the 29th. The Indians proceeded to Newtown

and we followed them slowly now and then overtaking
Drayters who gave us the road and saluted us civilly.
Some of these were in Families. A Child or two ram
bled before the Father followed with a gun and
perhaps a knapsack with a skin or two while
the Mother brought up the rear with a great bas-
ket at her back full of their household utensils
provisions youngest Child &c. to the weight of
40 or 50 lbs. The main-body marched before in
a long train conspicuous to a great distance
winding round the narrows on the brink of
the river or climbing up the hills wrapped
in their white match-coats. They halted to rest
themselves after noon on the slope of a wooded
hill lying all about to the right and left of the
path. We acknowledged one another by a nod
or a smile as we rode past seeming already
like old Acquaintances. Near Newtown we

met

the Commissioner and attended by most Judge
Phelps of Canadoigue Colonel Payne Thomas
and William Morris and most of the respect-
able People in the place walking up the Troy a
to meet the 6 Nations Indians but on hearing that
they did not mean to come in till toward night
they returned with us. In the evening about
300 Men marched in under arms headed by
Cayasuter and another ancient Indian.
They drew up in a long single line facing
Colonel P. the Commissioner and his com-
pany, and the Head Warrior advancing from
the centre gave orders to fire in a voice
that might have been heard half a mile
on which they discharged their guns in the
air too irregularly however to produce
the effect of a platoon. They loaded and
fired again when attack finding their mi-

litary

military salute was not likely to be returned
which we were afterwards told was no small mortification to them. Tsekuyeaath their
Chief Speaker advanced from the rear and
made a short speech to the Commissioners
during which the two companies closed with
a friendly shaking of hands. The Indians
were afterward desired to sit down on some
logs that lay there for building and were served
with a glass of rum. 5th. day ~~Oct.~~ the 30th.
we dined by invitation at the Commissioners with the
~~the~~ with 15 or 20 of the Sachems and Chiefs
of the Five Nations and other Indian Tribes
under a covert of green boughs dripping wet for
it had rained violently just before and had not
cleared up when we sat down though the sun
shone out warm before we rose from table.
The entertainment consisted of a substantial

dishes of meat, &c. and plenty of rum and wa-
ter. As the table was clearing for the introduc-
tion of pipes the bench opposite to us sudden-
ly gave way and the whole crew fell to the
ground. On which I desired one of the Inter-
preters to tell them that we were needed
no further proof of their insanity as
we saw they were determined to stand or
fall together. They took the meaning of the
double-entendre and laughed heartily.
Shortly afterward John Parrish requested
them by the Interpreter to open their ears
for he had something to say to them pro-
ceeding to describe the disadvan-
tages of intemperance and the evil nature
of war and on the contrary represented
to them the happy consequences of a quiet
and

and peaceable disposition in which all Mankind might live together as Brethren. & concluding with earnest desires that their old and wise Men would endeavour to preserve sobriety and good order during that Treaty for the renewal of peace and friendship that it might be attended with the desired effects. To which I added, "It was then our Forefathers treated together when the People called Quakers came into your Country with William Penn 108 years ago in consequence of which they lived together about 70 years in uninterrupted peace and fellowship. If the Five Nations on their part wish to perpetuate the same friendly dispositions we believe the United States are now disposed to cherish them and we wish that a peace of still longer duration may be the happy consequence of the present Treaty. To what we said was repeating to them they assented from time to time in their manner with

with a hearty and general Yohaw. They afterward talked together some time in a low voice. One of them we were told said to the rest, "Don't you remember when we heard this speech a great many years ago" At length Oguilondungues an old Man after repeating all that had been said rose and replied, "Brothers we thank you for your good advice. We have not much to say to you in reply. We are not now about the Council fire of the Representatives of the Thirteen States but he has invisibly and says nothing. but he has invited us to his table that we might take one another by the hand and converse together as Friends. We thank Brothers, we thank you for remending us of the time when our fore fathers lived together in peace and friendship. Then we went out and came in when we

pleased and our Wives and Children were secure.
Now Brothers we have a mind to say something to
you. You have told us how it was with our Fa-
thers we will tell you how it has been with us
Formerly our Nations were always at war one
with another Indians were born with the Tom-a-
hawk in their hands till Sir William Johnson
told us that we ought all to be one People. He
made peace among us for which we revere
his memory. But after many years the French
made war upon the English. Then Sir William
came to us and laid his tomahawk down by
us and told us we must take it up and de-
fend our Brothers against the French. We
took it up for him then. but it was not right
for him to put it into our hands. When we
go to war we do not call the White Peo-
ple to assist us. We fight our own battles.

Id.

We wish them to do the same and hope they will never offer us the tomahawk any more. In the last war when we heard that Brothers were going to fight against Brothers we thought it strange. We could hardly believe that People of the same blood would rise up and destroy one another. We saw that they could not make a clear stroke because they could hardly not distinguish between enemies and friends. If we had had our senses about us we should not have taken up the tomahawk on either side. We should have let you alone until you became remembered that you were Brothers and then joined you as Friends to both." The Commissioner afterward observed that the whole conversation that had taken place was unexpected by him but that he was particularly pleased with what

what had passed on all sides unpremeditatedly because on such occasions People were most likely to express the real sentiments of their hearts. He then enforced what we had said and told them that we were Members of the same body of People still numerous in Pennsylvania that had dealt so fairly with their Ancestors and lived in peace with them so long. That we had come a great way to attend this Treaty with the same good will in our hearts knowing the friendly intentions of the great Chief of the United States toward the Indian Nations and that our presence must therefore be sufficient to remove from their minds every jealous apprehension which some of our common Enemies had been endeavoring to inspire them with. Friend Parrish had by this time sent

for an old Indian pipe he has which is supposed to have been presented to William Penn by the Indians. He repeated the history of it. As it was interpreted to them they looked at the pipe with expressions of satisfaction. The next Chief took hold of it, examined it attentively, smoked a whiff or two, then passed it to the next; and the old Pipe went round once more as a Calumet of peace. 6th. day 1st of the Seventh Month. About 3 o'clock P.M. The Indians were summoned to a conference by the blowing of a Conque-shell. It was held in a bower on a small knowl in the centre of the town, 30 feet by 60 and shaded with green boughs at the height of 8 feet and provided with seats crosswise. At the upper end sat the Commissioners with the principal Persons present, fronting the Indians, a small table with pen ink and paper before them, pipes and tobacco before

before him and a bucket full of rum and water at his side. After we had smoaked a friendly pipe and the cup had gone round the commissioner verbally welcomed them to the council-fire and accompanied with some strings of wampum after which Tekaryeoathaud i.e. the Speaker that keeps his audience awake commonly called Red Jacket, a middle aged well-set man about 30 years of age repeated all the previous messages and circumstances of meeting as their manner is to bring every thing into view and prevent all misapprehensions. When he had done an old Chief rose and with 4 strings of wampum in his hands and after talking over them a considerable time he handed them to the Commissioner telling him that he therewith removed all doubts and fears and that his Brothers the White People might now rest quietly in their beds. The Daughter the Commissioner then dismissed the assembly closed the conference by saying he covered

up the council-fire for the present a ceremony
scrupulously observed every evening sitting.
7th. day the Lord. No public business was done
and we amused ourselves walking round about the
encampments. At Gay-a-ute's tent we found
the old Man surrounded by his family all
grey-headed Ds Men and Women. We sat
down on the floor by him and fell into
a broken conversation aided by looks and
signs. On his part it was intelligible e-
nough. He saluted us with a prolonged
exclamation very expressive of the
joy and surprise and joy excited by the
sudden appearance of a long absent friend,
presed our hands earnestly repeatedly
assing over and over again earnestly re-
peating the words Pilawdelfy Pelaw-
delfy, Hoonos, Hoonos, and pointing
first at one and then at the other taken
intr-

introduced us to his household as some of his old
Friends the People called Quakers with evident
marks of the pleasing recollection of former
times next day the 3rd at 10 o'clock We walked out and sat
together in the woods about 2 o'clock both the
house and the town being too noisy for retire-
ment there. Dined with Colonel Pickering.
About 3 o'clock we went together to the Indian
Northern Encampment where we found a great com-
pany collected from the Neighborhood to hear a sermon
from the old Indian before mentioned. Rutherford,
esq. member for New Jersey was there on his way from
Otsego. We collected some sprigs from the bushes and
sat down upon the ground in a circle round the Preacher. Toward
the close of the discourse Col. Pickering himself de-
livered the substance of it after the Interpreter. After sermon
a psalm was sung by half a dozen Indian youths
of both sexes with affecting solemnity. Three very
decent Oneidas took tea with us. One of them who
has a mixture of English blood and speaks the lan-
guage practises physic in Oneida a

and professes a good share of common sense and domestic
economy. His Tribe live in houses and raise more
grain and other stock than they consume. In
the evening we walked homeward with them.
2ond. day the 4th. The Commissioner delivered
part of his speech but broke off early to give the
Indians an opportunity of celebrating the an-
niversary of Independance. In the evening they
were plentifully supplied with liquor and had a
war-dance in all its horrid forms. A great post
was set up in an open place round which they
or 8 warriors naked except at the waist danced violently
to the song of an Old Chief accompanied with
something like a drum which served to keep
time. They were stark naked except at the
waist with their bodies fantastically painted and silver
bracelets on their arms. The rest-
they had the mut-
derous tomahawk in one hand and a short
stick in the other with which they made a
continual clatter keeping time with their feet
and now and then striking their sticks
the post, as they threw themselves into with
as-

astonishing agility into the various postures of Jaw-
saving or dodging a Pursuer or chasing and mur-
dering a flying Enemy. It was supposed that there
were 2 or 3000 People Spectators many of wh om
had lost relations during the late war in this
horrid way. After dancing something the Indians began
Lt was told that they began to sing
their warlike feats and enumerate the scalps they
had taken during the late war. But Old Cayouter
prudently broke up the Dance put a stop to this
by calling them a parcel of Children and telling
them that he could remember ten wars but that
they were now met about peace and ought to bury
all those things in the earth; with which he
pulled up the post and broke up the dance
Next day 3rd. day the 5th. the Indians were
unfit for business. 4th. day the 6th. The Com-
missioner finished his prefatory speech.

Oliver Phelps Esqr. Philada. June 15th. 1791.

Sir

This letter will be delivered by Mr. Adam Hoops to you at the Painted Post if attend the Treaty. The unsettled state of Indian affairs and the uneasiness which I understand prevails in the Seneca Nations on account of the War with the Western Nations, induced a determination on my part not to make any progressive Surveys of Lands in that Quarter at present & therefore I have declined going to the Treaty at Canadaigua at this time as I was my intention.

Mr Hoops is the first I have sent into Genesee Lands which I have charged & he has taken up his Instructions and Authority to act in his Business, and as I have resolved that all the Officers to be employed in Surveying in Europe it has become my Duty to have the Lines run with the greatest Accuracy, & as I am informed that Mr Hoops is well skilled in Surveying and has his Compass fitted to conform to the Variation of the Needle at this time & also provided with Astronomical Instruments which enables them to run their Lines truely, without being liable to any errors by reason of Variation of Compass &c. I have directed Mr Hoops to run the Lines of the Tract he is to survey in such manner as to include the Quantity of Land contained within the Boundary Lines according to the Deeds of Conveyance and as he apprehend you should have done. I am Sir

Your Most Obt. Servant

Robt. Morris

Octob. Janua. 1811
draft of letter to
Colo. T. Pickering
Oliver Phelps Esqr

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[In Lowrie & Clarke's State Papers vol. IV. 166] [a print]

War Department,

June 13th 1791.

Sir,

I have received yours of the 12th ultimo, with its enclosures from Genl. Schuyler.

Colonel Proctor has returned to this City without effecting the object of his mission. He was at Buffaloe Creek from the 29th of April, until the 21st of May. Brant's interest was against any of the Chiefs going forward with him, to the Western Indians. But he finally carried the point that a number of the Chiefs and Warriors would accompany him, provided he could obtain a Vessel for their transportation from Niagara. But they absolutely refused to proceed either in Canoes, or by land, from as they said, an apprehension of the Western Indians.

Brant had gone to the Western Indians about the 12th of May, with a design as the Indians said at Buffaloe Creek, of endeavouring to make peace.

Indeed it would appear, from the imperfect information at present possess, that the British have made use of Brant with a view to peace, intending to

make a meal of it in some future time.—

You will see by the speech of the Tawnees Chief which I enclose, the ultimate intentions of the Indians who were assembled at Buffaloe creek.— This is the only written document which I have yet received from Colonel Proctor, he having sent his dispatches by Captain Houdin, by the way of Wyoming— I expect he will write upon you, and I hope you will conceive it to be proper to open his dispatches to me.— But if you should not, and there should be any thing of real importance for you to know, I shall dispatch an Express to you.—

I believe your treaty will be pretty generally attended—

Mr. Morris will not attempt to purchase any Lands at present, although two of his Sons will be present at the treaty—

Mr. Morris does not approve the conduct of Mr. Ewing, and informs me has ordered Ewing to be discharged—

General Butler in a Letter of the instant mentions, that he he was taking some steps with the Six Nations, to induce them to send some of their Warriors to join our army; and that he would inform me furth

thereon by the next post –

I have informed by Colonel Proctor of your
secrecy, and has not been directed by mine upon the subject –
also recently
& I have informed him of the secrecy, and that he must not
take any measures which would interfere with it –

If you should persuade the Indians to send up
party to join our troops – The route should be from Commissioner's town to Fort Franklin, on the junction of French
Creek with the Allegany –

Lieutenant Jeffers, and a party of Continental
troops would join them, and proceed as General Butler
should direct – Lieut. Jeffers is well known to the Indians
and is really an intelligent and sensible man –

If more than Sixty should offer for this service,
it would not be material – But unless they could be at
Fort Franklin by the 20th of July at furthest, the arrange-
ment would be useless –

I enclose you a copy of my last Letter, lest you
should not have received the original –

Since writing the above Captain Hamilton has
arrived, and brought your Letter of the [illegible]
also Colonel Proctor's dispatches – But as they contain
the above Ideas, without containing any thing further,

it

it is not necessary to send you copies of the several Speeches

The Complaints may be depended upon through all the

changes of Policy — we must cultivate and cherish

them — Brant the famous Mohawk, and all the

rest of them, ought to be treated with great kindness an

attached to us if possible — But the Complaints is

our friend from the solidities of interest, and we must

secure it by all ways and means in our power — Hondu

Receipt will be credited to your account.

I am, Sir,

With great Respect

Your most Obed.t

Humble Serv.t

Secretary of War

June 23. 1791.

Rec.d with inclosures, at Newtown

Point, June 21. 1791

pro.d Vol 4. 166,

Publ. State Papers

Knox

Jac Jefferson

Colonel Timothy Pickering.

Sir

Geneseo June 13th 1791

I must inform you That I arrived at Buffalo Creek at the twenty third day in the afternoon and inform the indians that I Come with a Speech from Col Pickering the indians inform me that thay was Call to a Counsil at Niagara with thay had Conclued to start the the next morning but it being to late in the Day I had not time to Deliver my message by this reson the indians Conclued to stay another Day and to hear my mess- with was don I told the indians that I had a message to Care to the indians at the Grand River and that I should be glad to Cross thair according I Did and after I had Cross the river I was ordered back to with I wars Carred back ther I give the Speech to the indians and tolde the Chiefs that thay must send thair runners to Care the Speech to the Grand Riv- with thay Consent to Do the indians invited me to go with them to the Counsil at Niagara which I went thair the Counsil Sot three Days the Seiont Day Col Butler Sent for me to Com into Counsil to with I attened two Days in Counsil at this Counsil thair was four Mohawks from the Grand River to with the Speech was given to them and to Care home the indians at this Counsil promise me that thay would be at the Cairned Post by the time with you proposed

I am your frind and Servent

Jesper Parrin

Col

Timothy Pickering

Col

Timothy Pickering

Painted Oft

Tioga River

Geneseo June 18. 1791.

del.d by himself June 21. 791

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12.

Sir, Painted Post June 16 1791. 234

I arrived here yesterday, the day appointed for the commencement of the treaty. This afternoon I shall return to Newtown Point, where I suppose the Treaty must be held, on account of the lowness of the water of the river, which will render it exceedingly difficult to bring up the good & provisions to this place. The good alone, including liquor, amount to near three tons weight; and it will be impossible to bring them up, without horses and boats to drag the canoes over the numerous shallows. Besides, I do not find here any place where the good can be safely kept until they are delivered. But at Newtown Point there is a store house; and all other accommodations will be better there than here.

These reasons I trust will satisfy the chiefs, & induce them to march chearfully on to Newtown Point, after boiling their kettles at this place, or near Pattersons, where they boiled their kettles last fall.

Col. Hollenbeck has engaged to supply all the provisions, and will accordingly provide for the Indians at this place what is necessary to refresh and carry them on to Newtown Point. I shall also leave orders for that purpose either with Mr. Sherber or Mr. Patterson, in case the Indians arrive before Mr. Hollenbeck's arrangements are made.

I am the more inclined to think the Chiefs will readily proceed to Newtown Point, because they themselves last summer proposed the treaty should be held at the Painted Post, or as far up as the canoes could come. Now the canoes cannot conveniently come up further than Newtown Point, nor indeed without very great difficulty, & dragging them with

with horses & oxen.

If however the Indians should be almost ~~impossible~~ bent on holding the treaty at the Painted Post, then I would have you come or send to me at Newtown Point, and I will repair to the Painted Post without delay. But under the circumstances stated, I have no idea that they will object to going to Newtown Point. I am yrs &c

P.B.

Mr Joseph Smith
Mr or Jasper Parish
} Interpreters

Painted Post
June 16. 1791.
Letter to Smith
& Parish

Shem moonk June 19th. 1791—

Brother. This is to let you know that there are 20 Indians who will arrive at the Council fire to de from Oneida Country— of three different Tribes (Vi The Tribe of Oneidas— Tuscaroras and of Muhhe = nuk. commonly called Stockbridge Indians or tribe— among these there are three Chiefs— who now send th runners to give you this notice— according to antien custom—

Coll Pickering—

Copy of Speech delivered to Col. Pickering, at a Treaty at Sandusky

Point June 20th 1791. By Capt Hendrick of the Mohawk town near Fort
Brother attend. [See T. Pickering's corrected version in Vol. 60 fol. 70]

I am glad that in the forenoon, we three Tribes in one voice did speak to you that we have find you in good friendship
Brother. I feel thankfull that by the goodness of the great Spirit above we are again bring our papers together that we may speak to one another. I feel glad that the father of the united States appoint you to kindle this Council fire for peace. - I have something to say to you which for a good while have lain with weight upon my mind.

Brother. Attend I now remind you that I my nation have always been the true friends of the Americans, even from the first day they enter into covenant of friendship - not as other nations have done who pretend to be good friends to Americans. they can talk of friendship but not of true heart. but of something. some do it. because you the great men have held so many Treaties with them - and they receive so many good easy treaty. and others because they know you are too strong, and therefore out of fear they talk to you as friends. But I can reasonably tell you that my nation is your true and nearest friend. I have manifested in all the wars, my blood have been spilled with yours, and to this day my bones lie in the field with yours - as a monument of my strong friendship for the United States, especially in the late war - I can manifest if need be. that my nation have done more service for the united States, than any other Indian nation. I lost many lives in your defence. I stood by you in all your troubles - not out of such things, which other nations are excited. other Indians who joined in the war were led by their Interest to assist you. But I had not large territory to fight for. nor of liberty - for I possess liberty always. But friendship pure friendship induce me and my nation to join with you. But after all sometimes I feel sorry, and sometimes ashamed, that some of my great Brothers have forgot me. and all my services and sufferings have been forgotten, I my nation remain neglected, no pay nor to promises in time of great troubles. what are the reasons I can not say. But friendship I have not forgot.

Brother, while I enjoy peace, I heard that my younger Brother the Shawanoes, and others, are in quarel with your people, I have heard number of your officers, and young warriors. I my nation are sorry. we are grieved for your loss.

Brother. I have heard that war on the part of the Americans was not a war of choice. not a war of injustice. but of necessity. I have also heard, that on the part of the western Tribes it was not a war of choice, not a war of injustice, not a war of inhumanity. but of necessity. to show that they do hate the inhumane practices of your people on the frontiers. who ought to have set good examples, they killed some of the western Indians, these in return killed some of the frontier people so that cruel people have kindle the bad fire - and so raise the

and Canada — the united states have us. means to quench
but still it rises higher and higher. — at lenth I see you the
United States - stir - and prepare a big hatchet - then I ful mo
concurr.

Brother. I have for some time past felt a disposition to use my
endeavours to effect a accommodation — seeing the Shawanese
is my younger Brother — the Miamies are my fathers. the Del
wares are my grandfathers. the Chippawas my grandchildren
and so on. they have always paid great respect to my advice.

Brother my mind is now ripe. I appointed by my nation, an
these are my Companions. I would undertake to visit the
and the other hostile Tribes with a view to persuade them
to make peace with the united States — but before I proceed fu
ther I will show you the letters I have received on this subj

Now Brother open your ears a little longer.

When I concluded to go — I have a desire to consult wit
you on this subject — for several reasons I am willing to go
first because I am a sincere friend to the united States. and th
reason that I am a true friend to the people of my own Colour. and
another reason is that I feel a degree of confidance that the m
diation may prove successfull — for the hostile Indians are sen
sible, that I my nation does know more of the white people
than any other people Indians. (and whether the white people
would believe that I know and have more influance of the wester
tribes than they had. but this one thing I know. that one Ma
could not annihilate the western Tribes. I consider them as wi
wolves. you know that although you dispose wolves of the
habitation yet that dont stop them from killing the Lambs)

Brother. I know that there is a distinction between the bad
people on the frontiers — and the great Body of the united
States — and that the latter wish the Indians no harm — but a
their friends, and firmly believe that I can make the India
sensible of this distinction — and thence induce them to liste
to the offers of peace. but if I fail — if they will not listen to
the offers I shall give them up to their own choice

Brother some of my friends the white people have thought by
that some of the Six Nations — should go with me — but I a
in doubt whether that would be best — the Mediation of
Six nations is not so likely to succeed — they have formerly
engaged Wars against the western tribes — and after they
make peace with them — yet the Six Nations continue in
ing injury to them — when killing white people or doing some
mischief — then they say the western Indians done it — and in
late war between the British — and Americans — the Six
nations refuse to set still but take up the Hatchet against

and often persuade the western nations to join them. and at length they gave such deep root of prejudice in the minds of those nations & others against the united States, that they could not discern a distinction - but thought all the united states are bad as frontiers. and to this day the six nations have this common opinion of the white people, that they are not true friends to Indians - but are sincere friends to Indian Lands. and the western nations are doubtfull of relying their friendship and if they now as they have advised to be at peace, it will manifest such an instability or inconsistancy in the Councils of the six nations - as tend rather to excite the Jealousy than obtain the confidence of the western nations - and I shall endeavour to consult with some of the six nations on this subject.

Brother as I have hinted that I would go. but there is one difficulty in the way of my proceeding - that opperations will be incompatible with the measure, I have suggested to your consideration. if I proceed the opperations of your Army must be suspended untill the event of my undertaking be known.

Brother. as I have already hinted the services and sufferings of my nation in the late war have been forgotten I cannot by wish you would not forget us - we earnestly wish to see peace established between you and all Indian nations - Brother this is all I have to say.

Hendrick Aupaumut

New Town, State of N York July 11: 1791

Brother

On the 20th of last Month you delivered me a long speech in behalf of your station, strongly expressing their long and stedy attatchment to the united states, that never should they had been forgotten. you hoped the united States would not recollect your past services and sufferings, and confider your inviolable friendship for them.

you mentioned the friendship which for a great length of time has subsisted between your Tribe and the western Indians, who are at War with the united States, and the earnest desire of your nation to use their endeavours to persuade them to make peace, that for this purpose you with three more of your nation were willing to undertake the long journey to that Country.

Brother All your speach was agreeable to me, it gave me very great pleasure. the neglected state of your Tribe

Married June 25. at Dept.
Signed Joseph Smith Interpr
Rec'd by the Precila Plumm
June 26th.
near Evening.

Newtown Point, on the Niagara river, State of New York.

June 20. 1791. Yesterday arrived from the Oneida country, twenty Indians, consisting of Oneidas, Tuscaroras, & four of the Muhheconnuk (or Stockbridge) Tribe: and this morning they came to my quarters; when Young Peter, an Oneida Chief, delivered the following speech.

Brother,

We have come here agreeably to your invitation in writing, to attend the treaty. We have come without delay. We thank the Great Spirit that we are safely arrived, and have an opportunity of speaking to you a few words.

Brother, We see the tears rolling down your face, for the loss of your officers and warriors, whose blood was spilt the last year, in the war with the Western Indians: Brother, we take our hands and wipe those tears from your face.

Brother, We put our hands to your throat, & take them away, that your throat may be clear, so that you may speack freely and moderately.

Brother, We do these things that your mind may be easy.

Brother, These are the few words which your brothers had to say to you.

Three Strings.

The above named Peter is son of God Peter, the great Speaker of the Oneida Nation. A Stockbridge Indian interpreted his speech into the Muhheconnuk tongue to Hendrick the Stockbridge Chief, by whom it was interpreted into English. To this speech I immediately returned the following answer, which was interpreted by the Stockbridge Indians to Peter, who in the Oneida tongue spoke it aloud to the Oneidas & Tuscaroras.

Answer

Answer to Peters Speech.

Brothers, You tell me that you received my invitation in writing; and according to my request, have come without delay, to attend the treaty. Brothers, I thank you for this attention to my request.

Brothers, You view me as representing the people of the United States, whom you suppose to be grieved for the loss of their officers & warriors, in the war with the Western Indians. You say that you see the tears rolling down my face; and that with your hands you wipe those tears away. Brothers, for your sympathy and fellow-feeling I thank you.

Brothers, You suppose that grief may stop my speech: you therefore put your hands to my throat, & take them away, that my throat may be clear, so that I may speak freely & moderately, or with composure of mind:—For this also I thank you.

Brothers, I am grieved, the people of the United States are grieved, for the war with the Western Indians. We are grieved, not for our own loss only, but for the Indian blood which has been spilt.—Brothers, tis not our fault that the war continues. We desire to live in peace with all the Indian nations. We are ready to make peace with the Western Indians; and shall do it as soon as they are disposed for peace.—But, Brothers, our grief and our desire of peace do not arise from fear: for the United States are strong, and have no cause for fear. If the war continues, the Western Indians must be destroyed. But we do not desire to destroy them. For we

consider

consider all the Indian nations as our brothers, children of the Great Spirit above, who has ordained that they should live upon the earth as well as we.

Brothers, I am pleased with the kind & friendly disposition which you have expressed towards the United States. I trust, or at least I hope, to find the same good disposition in all the Indian tribes who shall attend this treaty. If any should manifest a contrary temper, I have this request to make — that you will endeavour to change it, and to render them equally kind & friendly with yourselves.

Brothers, I have now taken notice of every part of your speech, and return the strings which you delivered me.

After drinking round and filling their pipes, Peter addressed me as follows.

Brother, We never saw you before; but we look upon you and speak to you as if we saw and spoke to the Great Chief of the United States: because your power is derived from him.

Brother, We have heard your request, That if any of the Indians who come to the treaty shall have unfriendly dispositions, we would endeavour to remove their prejudices, & render them kind and friendly. Brother, we shall do what you request.

[The foregoing speeches are written from my memory which is exact as to the sentiments, and the words are nearly the same as those used in the delivery of them.]

June 20. In the afternoon, agreeably to previous notice, captain Hendrick Aupaumut, the Muhhecommuk Chief, with his three companions of that nation, came to my quarters; when the Chief addressed me in a long speech in English ~~expression~~. ~~Then, the lieutenants and Interpreter, and the Chief proceeded to one of the rooms back of the house, which was prepared for the occasion, and the conference commenced.~~ Not knowing the object of the speech, nor expecting one of such length, I did not write it down from his mouth. Afterwards, I endeavoured to recollect it, and wrote down what I could remember; but finding it imperfect, I handed what I had written to Capt. Hendrick, desiring him to correct errors if any. He returned me what follows; except that I made a few verbal alterations, as he is not perfect in the English language. Many passages he left entire, as I had written them from my memory.

The Speech of captain Hendrick Aupaumut.

[See Hendrick's draft in Vol. 61 fol. 236]

Brother, Attend!

I am glad that in the forenoon we three tribes, in one voice*, spoke to you; and that we have found in you good friendship.

[* See the preceding speeches of Foster.]

Brother, I feel thankful that by the goodness of the Great Spirit above we are again bringing our pipes together, that we may speak to one another in friendship. I feel glad that the father of the United States has appointed you to kindle this council-fire for peace. — I have something to say to you which for a good while past has lain with weight upon my mind.

Brother, Attend! I will remind you that I, my nation, have always been the true friends of the Americans, even from the first day they entered into the covenant of friendship. I, my nation, have never been unfaithful, nor broken any part of the chain of friendship. We have not done like other nations, who pretend to be good friends to the Americans. They can talk as friends; but not out of a true heart; they have their motives. Some do it because you, the great man, have held so many treaties with them, and they

receive

receive so many goods in every treaty: others because they know that you are strong; and then out of fear they talk as friends. — But with reason I can tell you, that I (my nation) am your true and nearest brother. This I have manifested in all your wars. My blood has been spilt with yours: and to this day my bones lie in the fields with yours, as monuments of my strong friendship for the United States. Especially in the late war I can manifest, if need be, that my nation has done more Service for the United States, than any other Indian nation. I lost many lives in your defence: I stood by you in all your troubles: not excited by the motives which influenced other nations. Other Indians who joined you in the war were led by their interest to assist you: But I had no territory to fight for; nor had I to fight for liberty; for liberty I always possessed. But friendship, pure friendship, induced me and my nation to join you. But sometimes I feel sorrow, and shame, that some of my great brothers have forgotten me — that all my Services & sufferings have been forgotten, — and that I — my nation — remain neglected. What are the reasons I cannot say. Perhaps I am too small to be regarded. My friendship however is strong: my friendship I do not forget.

Brother, Attend! While I enjoy peace, I hear that my younger brother, the Shawanees, and others, are in a quarrel with your people, and have killed a number of your officers and young warriors. I — my nation are sorry — we are grieved for your loss. — I have heard that this war

war, on the part of the Americans, was not a war of choice – not a war of injustice; but of necessity. I have also heard that on the part of the western tribes, it was not a war of choice – not a war of injustice, – not a war of inhumanity; but of necessity; to show that they do hate the inhuman practices of your people on the frontiers, who ought to have set good examples; but who have set bad examples. They killed some of the Western Indians: These in return killed some of the frontier people. Thus these cruel people have kindled the bad fire, and so raised the evil smoke. The United States have used means to quench it: but still it rises higher and higher. – At length I see you – the United States – stir, and prepare a hatchet: then I feel more concern. For some time past I have felt a disposition to use my endeavours to effect an accommodation; seeing the Shawanees are my younger brothers – the Miamees my fathers – the Delawares my grandfathers – the Chippawas my grandchildren – and so on: They have always paid great respect to my advice.

Brother, My mind is now ripe: I am appointed by my nation: and these are my men who would go with me. I would undertake to visit the Shawanees and the other hostile tribes, with a view to persuade them to make peace with the United States. But before I proceed further, I will shew you the letters I have received on this subject.

[He then handed to me a letter from Timothy Edwards Esqr dated ~~at the middle of~~ in April last, proposing to Capt. Hendrick to go to the hostile Indians for the purpose of ~~inviting a peace~~ & urging them to engage in the measure, by a variety of cogent reasons. He then handed to me a letter from the Rev^d Mr. Kirkland containing the like proposal, and quoting a passage from a letter of the Sec^y of war, approving the design: and lastly, a paper addressed to me (~~which I returned to Childs~~) signed by Mr. Jeremy ~~Hitchcock~~ Ingersoll, and Mr. Occum & Mr. Sargeant ~~of~~ missionaries, recommending Capt. Hendrick ~~to~~ in respect to the loans. (in a friendly & respectful stile) I then handed by Mr. Kirkland ~~them~~ When I had read the papers, I returned them to him; and he answered thus:]

Now, Brother, Open your ears a little longer.

Altho' I have concluded to go the journey before mentioned, yet I wish to consult you on the subject. I am willing to go, for several reasons. First, because I am a sincere friend to the United States: In the next place, because I am a true friend to the people of my own colour: and in the third place, because I feel a degree of confidence that the mediation may prove successful. For the hostile Indians are sensible that I, my nation, know more of the white people than any other Indians. And whether the white people would or would not believe that I know more of the hostile Indians than they — this one thing I know — that one blow could not annihilate the western tribes. I consider them as wild wolves: You know when you dispossess wolves of their habitation, they do not cease from killing the lambs. — I know that there is a distinction between the bad people on the frontiers, and the great body of the people of the United States, and that the latter wish the Indians no harm, but are their friends: and I firmly believe that I can make the Indians sensible of this distinction; and then induce them to listen to the offers of peace. But if I fail — if they will not listen to the offers of peace — I shall give them up to their own choice.

Brother, Some of my friends have thought it best that some of the Six Nations should go with me: but I am in doubt whether it would be best. The mediation is not so likely to succeed. They have formerly

engaged

engaged in wars against the Western Indians: and when they have made peace, still the Six Nations have continued to do them harm. When these have killed white people, or done them other mischief, they have said – The Western Indians have done it. And in the late war with the the British and the Americans, the Six Nations refused to sit still; and took up the hatchet against the United States; and persuaded the Western Indians to join them. By which means, the prejudices against the Americans have at length taken such deep root in the minds of the Western Indians, that now they cannot discern the distinction I before mentioned: but think all the people of the United States are as bad as those on the frontiers. And to this day, among the Six Nations, there is this common opinion of the white people – That they are not true friends to Indians; but true friends to Indian Lands. The Western Indians are doubtful of the friendship of the Six Nations: and if these advise the western Indians to make peace, it will manifest such an instability in the counsels of the Six Nations as will tend rather to excite the jealousy than obtain the confidence of the Western Nations.

Brother, I have said that I would go to the Western Indians: but there is one difficulty in the way. You have an army assembling in that quarter. Its operations will be incompatible with the pacific measure which I have suggested to your consideration. If I proceed, the operations of your army must be suspended, until the event of my undertaking shall be known.

Brother, As I have already hinted, the services of my nation in the late war, have been forgotten: yet we have not forgotten the long continued friendship between

between us and the Americans. We are still your firm friends. We earnestly wish to see peace & friendship established between you and the Western Indians. And we also wish that we may not be forgotten.

Brother, I have now told you what I had to say.

The Speech being ended, I told Captain Hendrick that the subject was very important, requiring much consideration; and that when I had considered it, I would give him an answer.*

* After a little time, having well considered of Captain Hendrick's proposal and being desirous, as far as in my power, to assist Capt. Hendrick in the affair of my power, to enable him to prosecute his intended journey. This led to repeated conversations on the subject. After four days he proposed four queries, to which I gave answers. The queries and answers here follow. (See page 41.) July 8. He wrote triplicates of a letter copied from my draught (to me corresponding with my answer to his queries), underneath which I wrote the letter to Genl. H. Grant. July 11th Capt. Hendrick being ready to set out, he required an answer in writing to his speech, to read to his nation & friends at Oneida. Then I wrote him the following letter (See page 54.) The same day I wrote the following letter to Lieutenant Jeffers, &c (See page 55.)

† These letters here follow. (See page 39.)

June 21. This morning four runners from the Senekas & other Indians dwelling among them arrived, with a speech announcing their coming.

In the afternoon, I sent a letter (and message of the same import) by two Runners of the Oneidas, to meet the Senecas &c. and request them to come on to Newtown Point, where I should hold the treaty.

The Speech delivered by the Seneca Runners, was to this effect.

Brother,

We received your invitation to attend a treaty at the Painted Post. We were glad to receive it. We then determined to attend at the time appointed. We hope you will not now take it amiss though we come a few days later. We are ashamed of our great delay in going last fall to the treaty at Tioga. But there is now no little bird to bear idle stories in our ears; and we shall attend in better season.

Brother, It has been customary, when Indians are invited to a treaty, whether the distance they have to travel be great or small, to hang on the kettles for them at some place short of that where the treaty is to be held. Your brothers will be hungry & stiff with their journey, and request you to hang on the kettles & furnish them with

with a walking staff on the Conhocle, at the Cross Roads, about 15 miles above the Painted Post.

~~[illegible]~~

Four white strings from the Sachems, } tied together.
Five black & purple strings from the warriors }

Letter sent by the Oneida Runners ~~[illegible]~~ to the Senekas &c.
June 21 1791.

Brothers, Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations.

This morning your runners arrived to give me notice of your coming to attend the treaty, which I proposed to hold with you at the Painted Post.

You desire that the kettles may be hung on about 15 miles on your side of the Painted Post; and as you will be fatigued with your journey, you request also a walking staff to help you along. Your runners, in communicating these requests, gave this reason for them - That it was your custom, however small the distance you had to travel to a treaty, to stop short of the place appointed, hang on your kettles, & take refreshment.

Brothers, It has always given me pleasure to do what you requested, when it was in my power to gratify you. But in the present instance it will be exceedingly difficult to do it; because the lowness of the water of the Tioga river has prevented my getting the goods and provisions up to the Painted Post; indeed it is with much labour & difficulty that they are brought as far as Newtown Point. I have therefore been obliged to stop at this place, and prepare to hold the treaty here: and

I

I now request you to come hither with as little delay as possible. The reason for changing the place of meeting I trust will be satisfactory to you: Especially considering that when you yourselves, last year, asked the governor of Pennsylvania to kindle the council-fire, you desired he would kindle it at the Painted Post, or as far up as the canoes could come. Now, Brothers, the loaded canoes can come no farther than Newtown Point, unless we take oxen and horses to drag them up; which you must think would be very hard to do, and take up much time; seeing the goods and provisions are of such great weight and bulk.

Under these circumstances, I concluded to hang on the kettles for you at the Painted Post; and there, beef & corn in plenty have been ready several days for your refreshment. I also expect a quantity of potatoes will be provided; and I will send up a walking staff, on which you may lean on your arrival, & to assist you in coming down to Newtown Point.

Brothers, I am glad to hear of your welfare; and hope very soon to take you by the hand at this place.

Farewell!

Newtown Point
June 21. 1791.

S. Pickering.

June 22. Steel Trap, and 10 more Cayugas arrived

23. An old Onondaga with 4 Tuscaroras & Oneidas arrived.
Same day arrived Beech Tree with about 30 Oneidas &c.

24. Good Peter arrived with 74 Oneidas & Onondagas.

25. Good Peter with the Chiefs of his company came, according to custom, to deliver an introductory speech at our first meeting. — He also expressed the condolence of his people for the loss of the Warriors of the U States during the last campaign, & in the war with the

Speech of Good Peter.

Western

Western Indians. — He supposed that the business of holding treaties with Indians was novel to me; or I should have hung on the kettles for their refreshment on the way: though the uncertainty of the route they should take might have prevented my doing it. He said that their journey was so long, they were obliged to ask for provisions at Canadasaga; & there they found a Brother (Mr. Bartle) who supplied them. He desired that I would pay him for what he had furnished, and for his procuring a boat to transport the old chiefs & the lame acrosp the Lake.

He then presented me with 3 white strings.

Answer to Good Peter's Speech.

To the introductory part of the foregoing Speech, I answered in like terms. For the Sympathy of himself & people for the loss of our warriors, I thanked them. - I told him I was but little acquainted with the customs of Indians, which were to be learned only by experience; & that, having held but one treaty with Indians, it could not be expected that I should know all their customs. That however, in the present instance, the uncertainty of the route by which they would come to the treaty, prevented my making any provision for them: That I was glad they had found a brother to supply & ^gift them, and that I would make him a just compensation. [As soon as this promise was interpreted, Peter & his Chiefs expressed their gratitude, crying out - Yauwenh - (Thankyou) with strong voices.]

Having answered Peter's speech, I returned his three strings.

June 26. I sent three Oneida Runners to see where the Senecas were, & to enquire for their two Brothers who set out with my letter on the 21st. They all returned together this evening; and brought me a letter X — purporting to be written in the name of the Chiefs, with the name of Joseph Smith interpreter subscribed to it: but the whole is in the hand writing of William Ewing, and appears to The title of the letter was not very decent, & the matter and expression ~~throughout~~ ~~was~~ ~~such~~ ~~as~~ ~~to~~ ~~make~~ ~~it~~ ~~unfit~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~Chiefs~~ ~~to~~ ~~receive~~; ~~& I~~ ~~therefore~~ ~~declined~~ receiving it, & ~~desired~~ ~~the~~ ~~Chiefs~~ ~~to~~ ~~send~~ ~~another~~. The principal object of the letter appeared to be, to persuade me to move the Council Fire back to the Painted Post, without the least intimation that they would come to Newtown Point. But the two Runners who brought the letter, said the Chiefs desired me to send back runners to inform them, if I could not move back the Council Fire to the Painted Post. Accordingly I delivered a speech to two Seneca and one Oneida, runners, expressing my reasons for continuing the Council Fire at Newtown; which speech, with the following letter, they are to deliver to the Senecas &c. wherever they meet them.

X See fol. 67

June 27. The Letter.

To the Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations coming from the Seneca Country.

Brothers, By the runners whom I sent to meet you, I last evening received a letter dated the 25th instant, at Canasaraga, written in your name, and signed - Joseph Smith, Interpreter. — Brothers, in that letter many things are said which would require me to write a very long letter particularly to answer. My observations upon them must therefore be postponed until I meet you face to face.

Brothers, You seem unwilling to come to Newtown Point; altho' I gave you a very strong reason for moving the Council Fire to this place. There are many other reasons which I have told to the Runners who carry this letter, which

June 27. which they will mention to you, and which still induce me to kindle the Council Fire at Newtown Point. — Your brothers of the Six Nations who live eastward of the Canadasaga Lake are here, and have for several days been waiting for your arrival. They are all satisfied with my reasons for moving the Council Fire to this place. They have made their cabins; and impatiently wait your coming, that we may enter upon the business of the treaty.

Brothers, In the letter above mentioned, you are represented as desiring me to continue my promise of hanging on a kettle 15 miles beyond the Painted Post. Brothers, I have made no such promise. But at the Painted Post, there are beef and corn in plenty, and a walking staff; and a person has been waiting there several days to deliver them to you.

Brothers, What more I had to say to you at this time, I have told to your own runners, who now go with this letter.

Brothers, I am your true friend,

Newtown Point
June 27. 1791. } Timothy Pickering.

Early this morning the Runners set out with the above letter.

Verbal
The Speech, sent by the same Runners.

Brothers,

The lowness of the water of the Tioga river having first obliged me to move the Council Fire from the Painted Post to Newtown Point, I have now divers other reasons for continuing it at the latter place. — The Indians which I find are coming to the treaty are more than double the number I at first expected. It is therefore of material consequence to hold it where I can easily obtain the necessary additional supplies of provisions; — where corn can be ground & brought up; — where many spectators may be accommodated with lodging and diet; — & where the goods and provisions can be housed and safely kept. For all these purposes, Newtown is much better than the Painted Post, where there are but few houses — few farmers — small quantities

quantities of provisions – and no mill within 25 miles. Besides, in consequence of my removing from the Painted Post to Newtown Point, I have since made all my preparations at this place; and all my brothers here of the Six Nations, who live eastward of Canadasago Lake, have approved of the measure, and have therefore they have built their cabins. For these reasons I must here build the Council Fire; and I request you to come down to it as quick as you can.

June 28. In the afternoon of this day the Runner returned, & delivered the answer of the Seneca Chiefs, to the following effect.

Brother,

We received your Speech by your Runners. By them we send our answer; and as there are three of them, they cannot fail of remembering it. We speak our answer to them, that it may not be misrepresented.

Brother, Your mention these reasons for moving the Council Fire from the Painted Post to Newtown Point – [Here instead of repeating them, the Runner observed, that as I already knew them, it was not necessary to repeat them.]

Brother, Your reasons are good; and we shall come forward to that place. It would be hard for our brothers of the Six Nations who have there built their cabins, to haul up stakes & remove to the Painted Post:

Brother

The birds were spreading abroad stories to discourage our coming to your Council Fire: but we relied on your invitation – that it was for peace, and to brighten the chain of friendship: therefore we determined to attend. – You had before cautioned us to shut our ears against false reports: We did stop them: yet we now find that we did not stop them close: for we have since heard the sound of the chattering birds: and tho' we are to near each other, they are still busy – they are still chattering: but we shall closely stop our ears that we may not hear.

Brother

Brother, As a token that our minds are wholly bent on peace, we send you four white strings, in which not a black speck is to be seen.

Four white strings.

---

29. Late in the afternoon of this day, the Senecas and other Indians dwelling in their country arrived, ~~to the~~ in number about 700. The warrior (about 200 ~~Chiefs~~ or 250) marched down to my quarters, and fired three times a running fire. They then were served round with a glass of rum, and went to their camp.

New Town Pas 24th June 1791

Sir

The treaty is now going on at this place—
The Seneca Indians have not yet arrived—I expect them
every day—Mr. Pickering thinks you had better
attend the Treaty to assist me in Clearing up the
Complaints of the Indians respecting their pay—
I designed to have seen you on my way to this Coun-
try, Was much disappointed when I found I had
missed you on the Road—If your Business
will admit of it would wish you to come immed-
iately to this place—And I will allow you Reason-
able reward for your service—If your Business
will not admit of your Coming with your Account
you Deposition by the Bearer—and oblige
Your Humb. Servt—

Oliver Phelps

Oliver Phelps
21. June 1791

6

Revd Samuel Kirkland

Clinton

Copy
1791
Samuel Kirkland

LETTER TO SAMUEL KIRKLAND FROM OLIVER PHELPS.

New Town Point 24th June 1791.

Sir,

The treaty is now going on at this place. The Seneca Indians have not yet arrived. I expect them every day — Mr Pickering thinks you had better attend the Treaty to assist me in Clearing up the Complaints of the Indians respecting their pay — I designed to have seen you on my way to this Country. Was much disappointed when I found I had missed you on the Road — If your Business will admit of it would wish you to come immediately to this place — And I will allow you Reasonable reward for your service — If your Business will not admit of your Coming wish you to send your Deposition by the Bearer — And oblige

Your Humˡ Servᵗ

Oliver Phelps

Revᵈ Samuel Kirkland

[Addressed on other side of sheet]

Revᵈ Samuel Kirkland

Clinton

To Col De Cew or the
Comitionairs of the indjen
at the Miamis post

June 25 - 1791 Corrispondes Village

135

Sir

j- inform you j- send two Letters the 2 of the present to the chiefs & warios of Bofelo Creek & other Part By the Request of the General Butler of Pittsburk after Had mad the interpretation of this Letter to Capt Connplante ind Consil with Wheit this warios & he Dead & me Hidria the old of the Consil to a Compagnie me to pittsburk a cording to the invitation of General St Clairs & this Last Brot from General Butler By me & two warios cheife one was at pittsbourk with me their Name, Cy, Lessee; or Big Logue; Brog Tuig or Tin waniache; or adwia to this two village Determine most al the warios to not assiste to your treaty in the Spatiation to Cam with me to pittsburk; j- hope you Will have the two Letters the Lived to you and make them sensible of the Contents and adwize them to Conclud to Send of there cheif & warios to this two to Cam ind Compagnie Wheit us or their Last the Termination of the invitation mad By General St Clairs & By General butler & my self the chief of this village Request me to Wait for the insue at this place, the chiefs of this village Desire me to Pry you to have What Dry Goods Expent ind you Cares for the chief & warios not Present at your treaty and to having this Good delivered Lived at the order of Conwplenter the Compte of this village is - 125 - man Woman & Children & 7. to Set of the treaty of 1795
Wombe of the village of new hara Sadoskein 140 one hundred & forty man woman & children the 6. 29 - to Set of 6 your treaty the amont of this two village in the 6. 301 = j- Which you to Take note of them

j- Send to you 2. Gazetts from pittsburks; this day j- hears from one cheife their was one american or Was two Prisoners Last Spring By the hostile indjens at franche Creke is Can Bague By Detroit to niagara and is going at fort franklin By Cattaragus village the Som man Bring news of their

Letter from the Creeks &c. at Cherry June 29, 1791. rec'd the same day by 2 messrs.

Brother [illegible] 67

Ellen. Yours of the 21st. inst. and observe the contents, you say our runners arrived the same Morning, and informed you of our coming. You also say you wish to remove your Council Fire from the Printed Rock to New Town Point, by reason of the Waters being so low, and that your Provision and Goods was of such great weight that you could not get the Cows up to the place appointed, without Guard upon, and trouble—

Brother—

Now listen to what we shall say, We have seriously considered on your request, and should be very glad to comply with it—but Brother, we have a great many old Men and Women with us, which are scarcely able to walk and they are all desirous to come and see you Now Brother, as it is not the custom to cover up the Fire at the place first appointed, we request that you will Kindle it larger, that it may encourage our old People, to come & see you, and Brother consider you are sent to Kindle this Fire by a very great Man no less than the President of the United States, and when we should come to the place appointed to meet, and find you throughing the Fire about and renouncing, it from place

to

Mayor of the
City of Baltimore
Maryland
May 9. 1791.
Instructions &-
Chief Justice Parish letters &c

[illegible] said when we should see that it might
come our minds to rove and think of something
else besides peace, and peace is what we wish
to meet you to talk on— and Brother last fall
when we met you at Tyoga, it was chiefly all
Sanacas. but now. there is all the six Nations
along and a great many young Warriors and
young People which if we should talk to Nuo-
Town. they might do mischief to the Intractators
and there is so great a Number we cannot gov-
ern them we are afraid, by reason of their
being so strictly there, and it will make some of
our People think the fire, by so great Men as
Genl. Washington, Now Brother request that
you will take up the Tree at Nuo-Town and put
it on to the fire at the place first appointed, for
there is the place we wish to see you and there
we shall stop, and we shall be there in four
Days from this time— Brother, We hope you
will continue your promise in hanging a little
fifteen Miles, on this side of the Painted Post, for
we shall be very much fatigued— We have
taken the Number of our People that are here
present this Morning, which is six hundred
and eighty two, and there is a great Number
behind which have not come up

Joseph Smith
Interpt.

Canastaga June 25th 1791

Newtown Point, State of New York
June 26. 1791.

I certify that there is due to Peter Bartle junior Seventy Three Dollars, for supplies & assistance furnished by him to the Oneidas and Onondaga Indians on their way to attend the treaty now holden at this place in behalf of the United States; the said Sum being the balance of his account now adjusted. And I promise to pay to the said Bartle or his order the said Sum of Seventy three dollars as soon as I obtain public money for that use, which will probably be in two months at farthest from the date hereof.

Timothy Pickering
Commissioner

Newtown Point June 26. 1791.

Sir,

Be pleased to pay to Peter Bartle junr. Eight pound three Shillings & Seven pence York currency, and charge the Same to me.

T. Pickering
Commissioner
for holding a treaty with the Indians

Matthias Hollenback

Sir Please to lend me ten dollars until I have my money brought up.

June 30. 1791. T. Pickering

MH. Hollenback

Recd aforesaid Thirty dollars more
T Pickering

Travelling Expences
Oneida, Phenix
June 1 to July 1791.

1
10
2
0
0
9
6
3
3
1
1
2

Devices to get rum.

Onondaga Chief. June 26. He dreamed last night that I gave him a keg of rum, that today he and his brother Onondagas might celebrate a feast according to their customs: and it would make them all very unhappy if at any time any thing prevents the fulfilment of their dreams: therefore hope I will give them the rum. granted - Good Peter joining in the request. means of custom of Onondagas who were Christians.

June 29. Red Jacket } In the evening Red Jacket came to my tent. He enquired about the proceedings of the treaty at Fioga, whether they had been laid before the president. He asked what had been done with Boyle, the murderer of the Indians at Pine Creek. I observing enquired these enquiries; & the further private conversation being ended Red Jacket accepts me then - Brother we have now had some private conversation as number have been heard it; perhaps they may tell of it. Now to stop their mouths & induce them to keep to themselves what they have heard - but I think a glass of rum must be handed round - (granted)

x a number of Indians in the tent

June 30. Farmers Brother } Pointed me to a man who was disordered in mind as well as in body: the had become speechless, and was in great distress. This had greatly afflicted his brother, who therefore wished to meet together, according to their custom in such cases & to comfort their brother in affliction; and at the same time to make a present to their minds with a keg of rum. [illegible] granted. [illegible] (granted)

you stated in particular terms. If your mediation [illegible] the long journey to the western Indians, to mediate a peace [illegible] a proof of the strongest friendship. Your intire conduct I [illegible] lay before the President of the United States, from whose justi[illegible] and humanity, you and your nation may expect a proper consi[illegible] deration. your personal merits I shall mention with peculia[illegible] pleasure, and should your mediation prove successfull the wi[illegible] generously reward you.

I pray God to preserve you, and to make you [illegible] the happy instrument of restoring peace to the United States and your Indian friends

With sincere friendship and esteem

I remain your true Frie[illegible]

Timothy Pickering.

Capt. Hendrick Aupaumut

(Hon. Timothy Pickering
Secretary of State.
1798
Ans.)

Brother — As you have expected that I should a point a some of
our young men whose ~~[illegible]~~ business will be to stand before
you every morning for that article which we generally wish
to us — to wash our Eyes — And I have accordingly appoin
=ted these two youngmen on that purpose — and none other —
and your must remarke ~~[illegible]~~ shapes —

Colle — Peter Chekquiyuk —

Wishing —

(June 29th 1791)

we also expect to get little paint to day — as you have en courage us
yesterday —

From John Adlum
June 26. 1791

Sir

I am authorised by the Surveyor Genl
of this State to execute a warrant of Survey
for certain lands granted to the Cornplanter
by the Legislature of this State, and I
promised him (the Cornplanter) to go and
make said Surveys about this season, but
hearing of the depredations committed by
the Indians in the neighbourhood of Fort
Pitt and French Creek, I judged it not
prudent to venture myself in that Country
=try as I might be intercepted in my route
by the Muncy's of Hickory Town or others
before I could meet with any of the Senecas,
and hearing of this Treaty I thought it
probable the Cornplanter might attend
at this place, I came here in expectation
of seeing him, and with an intention of

going

June 27. 1791.

Queries proposed by captain Hendrick Aupaumut, Chief of the Muhheconnuk (or Stockbridge) tribe of Indians, and the ANSWERS to those queries, by Timothy Pickering, commissioner in behalf of the United States, for holding a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians, at Newtown, in the State of New-York, June 27. 1791.

1. Query. Whether, if he makes a visit to the hostile Indians, he may assure them, that the United States are sincerely desirous of making peace with them?

Answer. The most solemn assurances may be given: for the United States are sincerely desirous of making peace: and I have received pointed orders to give every possible facility to the messengers of peace.

2. Query. Whether, if the Western Indians consent to make peace, the United States will not, as a condition of peace, oblige them to give up part of their lands?

Answer. The United States will require no such condition. The western Indians will retain all their lands, agreeably to the treaties of peace subsisting between them and the United States, until of their own will and choice they shall fairly sell them: Unless they should obstinately persevere in their hostilities until the United States shall drive them from their country; and in that case their lands will never be restored to them.

3. Query

3. Query. If the hostile Indians should be disposed to make peace, and be willing immediately to commence the negociation, how shall the knowledge thereof be communicated so speedily as to suspend the operations of the army of the United States? Should messengers from those Indians, or he himself attempt to go directly to the nearest military posts of the United States, they might be in the utmost danger of being killed by the scouting parties of white men.

Answer. Should the hostile Indians be sincerely disposed to make peace, I have no doubt but they will hit on proper means of communicating a knowledge of it to General St Clair, or the commanding officer of the troops of the United States in the Western Territory: Perhaps by sending some of their warriors accompanied by one or more of the white men living among them, with a white flag: or by getting some of those white men to come alone with their message and a letter from you. — A direct communication in some such way is most to be desired; lest if a circuitous route be pursued, our troops should begin to operate before the messengers of peace shall reach them. And that a letter from you (who are not known to the officer commanding the troops of the United States) may be properly received, I will write to General St Clair, informing him of your character and business, and assuring him that he may perfectly rely on the intelligence you shall give him. And that

General

General St. Clair or other commanding officer may distinguish your letter of intelligence from a counterfeit, it may be proper for you, with your own hand, to write me a request to communicate a specimen of it to him: and underneath I will write the letter above proposed. This specimen I will transmit to General St. Clair, and a duplicate to the Secretary of War, to forward to General St. Clair without delay: so that when your letter of intelligence shall reach him, a comparison of the handwriting may supersede or remove all doubt of its authenticity. And as you may be obliged, or find it expedient to send runners to the Allegany river, with your intelligence for General St. Clair, I will write to Lieutenant Jeffers, or officer commanding at fort Franklin (which is near the junction of French Creek with the Allegany river) desiring him to forward without delay any letter which you shall transmit to his care. This letter I will send by captain Baldwin, who is now here, but who resides with the Complanter in the neighbourhood of fort Franklin.

4. Query. What treaties have been made with the western Indians, relative to their lands?

Answer. For your full information on this subject and other concerns with the Western Indians, I will furnish you with copies of the treaties made by the United States with the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottowas & Chippewas, in the years 1785 & 1786. I will also give you a copy of the treaty made last year with the Great Creek

Nation

Nation of Indians: by which you will see strongly manifested the good-will of the United States towards the Indian Nations: for the benevolent spirit conspicuous in that treaty, truly marks the kind disposition of the United States towards all the Indian Nations within their limits.

These queries and answers I will transmit to the Secretary of War, and request him to give the necessary orders corresponding with these arrangements. With the same view I will write to General St. Clair by the way of fort Franklin.

Timothy Pickering.

Queries proposed by Captain Hendrick & the Answers by T. Pickering June 27. 1791.

1791

Newtown, on the Tioga, 240 miles N. W. of P. 6. M. 27. 91

Dear Brother,

My last letter, dated the 24th. was written under the expectation of delivering the next intelligence of our Journey by word of mouth: but the Indians are so very slow in their motions that we are likely to be detained here much longer than will be agreeable to ourselves. No more than 150 of them have yet arrived, and the main Body, said to consist of 790, are not expected before the 29th. ——

A Party of the Oneidas arrived 3 or 4 days ago. After waiting a day or two for an invitation from Col. Pickering, they went down to him in a body, and by their Chief, called Peter, desired to know from his own mouth the business which they were summoned to the Council-Fire.

"our message", said he, "we prepared ourselves
"ther, and expected to have found you
"refresh us, when we came in, fatigued.
"You should have had the pot boiling
"ready

ready to entertain us. You ought to have brought us water to wash the dust from our faces, and the dirt ~~from~~ of our feet, and a little whiskey to ~~clear~~ moisten our throats." &c. &c. — The Colonel excused himself as being unacquainted with the customs of the Indians on those occasions, and informed them in general terms of the design of the Treaty, with which they appeared well satisfied.

Thomas Forrest being quite sick of woods and mountains. log-hovels, and coarse fare, intends to leave us as soon as the weather, which is now rainey, will permit. We both write by him, but as he makes a circular tour through Muncy, Sunbury, and Reading we hope to reach home with a fortnight after him.

Our stay becomes rather irksome to me. I be more so, but that I know thou art n done with business at midsummer, and rub off the every relick of my for a country life.

Letter from Capt. Hendrick Aupaumut, the Muhheconnuk Chief, to Timothy Pickering.

[See fol. 73]

Brother,

I have already told you of the friendship which has always subsisted between my nation, the Muhheconnuk tribe of Indians, and the Shawanoes, Delawares, & other Western Indians, now at war with the United States. This war has given great trouble to me and my nation, and we wish to see an end put to it speedily; because we ourselves are at peace with the United States, and we think it would be for the interest of our western brethren also to be at peace with them. And as we are true friends to the people of our own colour, we are willing to undertake any thing in our power to effect peace. I am now ready to proceed with three of my nation to the western Indians, to use my endeavours to bring about a peace. I therefore request you to make me known to General St. Clair, and other officers commanding the troops of the United States, in such manner as you may think proper: that if the hostile Indians should be willing to make peace the means of communicating a knowledge of their dispositions may be rendered easy and safe.

Hendrick Aupaumut.

Newtown Point July 8. 1791.

[To the above letter I subjoined the following to Genl. St. Clair.]

Sir, Newtown Point July 8. 1791.
State of New York,

Captain Hendrick Aupaumut above named is the Chief of the Muh-he-con-nuk tribe of Indians, usually called the Stockbridge Indians. He is a man of good abilities, and well known to divers respectable citizens of the United States, who testify to his honour and integrity. From the satisfactory evidence before me

of

of his worthy character, I entirely confide in the sincerity of his professions; as you may in any intelligence he may communicate to you. Should the hostile Indians be persuaded to listen to the voice of peace, captain Hendrick proposes to inform you of it by letter; and that you may know his hand writing, I send you the above specimen of it.)

By the inclosed paper of his queries and my answers, you will see the arrangements proposed to facilitate his communications with you. To such parts thereof as shall depend on you to execute, I beg your early attention, that corresponding orders may be given: so that captain Hendrick, or any of the hostile Indians, or of the white people among them, coming with overtures of peace, may advance to our posts with entire safety to their persons.

(The long continued friendship between the Muhheconnuk & western Indians, of which captain Hendrick assures me, augurs well of his undertaking: and the circumstance of their languages bearing a great resemblance to each other, will facilitate his negotiations. This fact is remarkable, considering their great distance from each other. The language of the Six Nations is so different, that captain Hendrick cannot converse with them without an interpreter.

Should captain Hendrick's mediation prove successful, he will doubtless assist his Indian brothers in settling the terms of peace. This of course will bring him to your acquaintance; in which case I beg leave to recommend him to your particular attention. By the foregoing specimen of his writing

writing, you will see that you can converse with him without the intervention of an interpreter.

The Six Nations are here in full council; all except the Mohawks being present. All manifest a strong desire to live in peace with the United States.

Should Captain Hendrick reach your camp, he will wish to return home by the way of Philadelphia; and in this case I pray you to furnish him with what shall be requisite for himself and companions of his nations, to enable them to travel thither.

I am, Sir,
with great respect
your most obedient servant
T. Pickering,
Commissioner for holding a
Treaty with the Six Nations.

To Major General
St. Clair, or Officer
commanding the army
of the United States
in the Western Territory.

The Queries and Answers referred to in the foregoing letter, here follow.

Queries proposed by captain Hendrick Aupaumut, Chief of the Muhhecconnock (or Stockbridge) Indians, and the Answers to those Queries, by Timothy Pickering, commissioner in behalf of the United States for holding a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians, at Newtown, in the State of New-York, June 27. 1791.

1. Query. Whether, if he makes a visit to the hostile Indians he may assure them, that the United States are sincerely desirous of making peace with them?

Answer. The most solemn assurances may be given: for the United States are sincerely desirous of making peace.

peace; and I have received pointed orders to give every possible facility to the messengers of peace.

2. Query. Whether if the Western Indians consent to make peace, the United States will not, as a condition of peace, oblige them to give up part of their Lands?

Answer. The United States will require no such condition. The Western Indians will retain all their lands, agreeably to the treaties of peace subsisting between them and the United States, until of their own will and choice they shall fairly sell them: unless they should obstinately persevere in their hostilities until the United States shall drive them from their country; and in that case their Lands will never be restored to them.

3. Query. If the hostile Indians should be disposed to make peace, and be willing immediately to commence the negociation; how shall the knowledge thereof be communicated so speedily as to suspend the operations of the army of the United States? Should messengers from those Indians, or he himself, attempt to go directly to the nearest military post of the United States, they might be in the utmost danger of being killed by the scouting parties of white men.

Answer. Should the hostile Indians be sincerely disposed to make peace, I have no doubt but they will hit on proper means of communicating a knowledge of it to General St. Clair, or the commanding Officer of the troops of the United States in the

the western territory: perhaps by sending some of their warriors, accompanied by one or more of the white men living among them, with a white flag: or by getting some of those white men to come alone with their message and a letter from you. A direct communication in some such way is most to be desired; lest if a circuitous route be pursued, our troops should begin to operate before the messengers of peace should meet them. And that a letter from you (who are not known to the officers commanding the troops of the United States) may be properly received, I will write to General St Clair, informing him of your character and business, and assuring him that he may perfectly rely on the intelligence you shall give him. And that General St Clair or the commanding officer may distinguish your letter of intelligence from a counterfeit, it may be proper for you, with your own hand, to write me a request to communicate a specimen of it to him, and underneath the I will write the letter above proposed. This specimen I will transmit to Genl St Clair and a duplicate to the Secretary of War, to forward to Genl St Clair without delay; so that when your letter of intelligence shall reach him, a comparison of the hand-writing may supersede or remove all doubt of its authenticity. And as you may be obliged, or find it expedient, to send runners to the Allegany river with your intelligence for Genl St Clair, I will write to lieutenant Jeffers, commanding officer or commanding

Copy Heinrichs
Communication for
Peter Chequinyah
June 26. 1791.

with him after the Treaty and executing said
business but finding it uncertain whether
he will be here or not, and I having other
business on hand, I will thank you to
inform (the Cornplanter) if he attends the
Treaty, that I shall be ready to go and execute
said Surveys either this fall or next Spring
as shall be most agreeable to him he leaving
word with you of the time, and of the route he
think best to his Country

I have the honour to be
Sir
your very humble Servt.
John Taylor

Timothy Pickering Esqr. Jr

Newtown, in the State of
New-York, June 30. 1791.

Sir,

Mr Ralph Slack ~~from the Alleghe-~~
~~ny Branch of the Susquehannah~~, has come here to the
treaty now held with the Indians of the Six Nations,
to request my assistance in his attempts to obtain
his wife's sister's daughter from the Delawares at
the Grand River. He says her name is Sarah Ander-
son, about 18 or 19 years of age, and that she was
taken prisoner from Loyal Sock, a creek of the
West Branch of Susquehannah, about the year
1778. It seems that she was last autumn
delivered up to a Mr Benjamin, but escaped
from him at Niagara.

You know, sir, the feelings of white people
for their relations in the hands of the Indians; and
sympathizing with them, I persuade myself you will
readily afford your aid in obtaining their release.
We are personally unknown to each other: but
having been informed of your frequent benevolent in-
terference in like cases, I do not hesitate to request you
to give every necessary assistance to Mr Slack, or other bearer of this letter,
so that, if possible, the prisoner above named may be
restored to her friends.

Mr Slack now tells me that
girl's friends being all farmers;
one may be able to go for
till after harvest.

I am, sir,
with great respect,
your most obedient servant
Timothy Pickering
Commissioner in behalf
of the United States.

Colo John Butler

Letter to
Col. John Butler &c.
Niagara June 30. 1791.
Written at the request of
Ralph Clark relative
to a prisoner at the
Grand River.

Genl. Knox's mem:
of the numbers of Indians
in the U States
Jany 1791.

[Capt Hendrick's narrative of his journey in July, Aug. Sept. & Oct 1791]

We arrived at Niagara in the 21 of July 1791 there I found different Nations of the westward who arrived one day before we did. the Chief Warriours of Wyondots. Otwas. Chippawas. Delawares. & Munthees. The Shawanese & Miamies was then daily expected. They rejoiced to see us. and we immediately begun to speak together as our fathers & forefathers use to do.

Upon my querie they told me that by transactions of the big knifes at the Treaty at M. Intosh 6 years ago was the beginning of the displeasure of Indians. that the big knifes did wrong the Indians in taking unlawfully of their best hunting grounds.

Further they upon my querie tell me that if the big knifes willing to restore the hunting ground to the Indians. they would have peace immediately. and further they say that they would exchange Lands with them. moreover they tell me that hear after if we see these people fill up their country. and have no more room. then if they say to us brothers. we have no room. cut your Land for us. which we will satisfie you. says they. in that case we can not deny them. but will cut large slice for them. but how long as they took our Lands in such manner as they have done we will never have peace with them.

for this reason. The great Spirit did give us that lan
and fill it with abundence of wild creatures for our livin

And they likewise told me that last spring they had
complete the Union. They were four years on that bu
=ness: and upon my querie they told me that th
Shawanes & Miamies were the hotest for war=
(who has strongest affections for my Nation.
which appears by their Messages to us)
They also told me of their doings which they are u
=on. they were going to Canada: to ask assistance of
the British: that the British should assist the
to settle these Land affairs: or that the british sho
build strong fort for them at the mouth of Miamme
River that emptys into Lake Erie and there
years provision should be stored there for the Indi

I told them that they go wrong way: if they wished
to have peace with the big knifes they should go to th
United States but not to Canada: but such was th
the directions of the British at Detroit: And they
inform me that the Chief Sachems of the diffrent
nations was to come down to have a treaty at Bu
=falo Creek with the five Nations: I also
have opperunity to talk with Brant but he never
say a word to me of his business and when he
saw that these Indians were so friendly & free
he privately calls them together and tell them
not to talk or walk with these Yankees:
and when the British find out that we have bee
there with the Indians 2 or 3 days they

they sent for us. & brought us before the honble
Col. Butler. he began with us on the following
words: I have hear that you have been here three days
already - and what is the reason you did not come for
me - ~~and what business you have~~ tell me. and when
are you going & what is your business:
Then I tell him I have heard your voice - and
that it is true. I have been here three days al-
= ready: And the reason I did not come to see you
your ~~not~~ is this - that I did not come this country
in order to see you: - and I did not know that you
was live such a place - and that I was going
towards the west thro Niagara to here to Grand
River - My business is with the Indians: -
Then he said further - no - you are sent by
yankies - as spies to see how strong Garison we
have here - and how many people are here &
Then I tell him - you grosly mistake - the
yankies never sent us on such business: and
we do not regard what Garison you have got
neither how many people here: -
But my business is with my own color. that
we might brighten the Chain of friendship
which has been subsisted between our fore fathers -
But says he if you are upon such business - you should
come 2 or 3 years ago - but now you come wrong time
time of war - and we have a right to stop you: My son
went to Genesee some time ago & was stop'd by yankies -

And we also have a right to stop every man that comes
from that quarter= And you must not walk upon this
Kings Land= but you must return: and if you
have any buisness with the Indians= you must
go back and walk upon Indian Land but not on King.
=land= Then I speak again. Still. him that I am
surprise to hear that there was war in Niagara=
I have= a believe that it was peaceable times=
although there is a little smoak arises westward=
and further= I told him that I go as I was invited last
Spring= from Grand River= Then Old Wm= Johns
=Sons Widow. (Capt Brant Sister) being present
she spoke= (I suppose she feel like great Sachem) and
said. her is another thing looks much strainge=
if these Indians were upon good buisness= they would
certainly follow the customs of all nations= they
would have some women with them: but now they have
none= Then I speak too. says I tis true. some
nations have such custom= for certain occasions
but= I= my nation do not follow such custom=
especially when I travel thro Indian Contry. I do
not wish that my women should take such tedious
Journey= Especially since there are so many wo
=men in every Village= Then she did not open her
mouth any further= Then after this= Col=
Butler dismiss us= but after two days he
sent for us again= and examine us on the
same way as he did before= and charge us not to go
on Kings Land= and he said all what I have tell

you the commanding Officer gave him such directions
then he dismiss us — And he has told some of these
western tribes of Indians (as they told me) that we were sent by Yankies
to go in every Village there out all the western tribes
in order to know how many warriors there is
in every Town — and then after I was to return
home to my employers — and then to guide the
Army to destroy these Indians & Villages —
one of my companions being unwell desire to go back
and one other to take Care of each other on their way —
at this time all the Indians was gone after
having the pleasure to converse with them 3 days —
Captn Brant before he set out from Niagara —
he having the knowledge what influence my Nation
had with those western tribes — he privately sent
a message by a woman to the Sachem of the Mohawk
which I will mention — In the 30th of July I set out
with my Uncle & two other friends from Grand River —
have agreed that if any man shall stop us on the road —
shall find resistance — and we arrived at Grand River
the 2d of August — and by the providence of the Great
Spirit My Uncle and interpreter was taken sick — and
Died in the 14th of August — (When I come to consider
the stumbling blocks which the british lay before me
my mind is heavy. I never could rid of it ever since)
Then I exert myself to go forward — and I agree with
my Cousin — Captn Aaron — who resides at Grand
River — to go with me to the westward — and according
to an ancient Custom — we acquainted the same
to our Uncles the Mohawk Chiefs — But according
by Brants private message they stop us —
and advise us to wait few days longer — when the

Nations of the different Nations of the westward came
we could do all our business— and my Cousin
rather chose to wait & then Obliged to wait. and had
heard that army is gone ~~a~~ the Indian Country
for which I was very sorry—

In the begining of October. Captn Brant return^d
and arrived at Grand River— and he gives the nar
=ration of their Journey afterwards. I ask him whether he
Detroit. he says no— Then I ~~tell~~ him that I would go
with him if he refuses. Then we tell him that we
have determined to go— Then he stop us— and
speak great deal then my Cousin was discou
=raged— Then I told Brant that I am about to
homewards— and he was well pleased. and advise
me never to do any thing for the United States—
for they are too strong & must do every thing themselves
Then I set out homewards and got home the 3^d of
November— find my family alive— but my business lay desolate &c

Sketch of my Journey last Summer— Plate

Last Summer, when I saw the Western Indians at Niagara, I had many conversations with them, during five days.

They had for several years understood that our nation was collected in one place, and that we were surrounded by the Yankees in arms, who would not suffer us to go abroad, [illegible] but, that we were shut up like so many hogs in a pen. This they had often heard. — I told them such birds were liars: that we were an Independent people, and could go where we pleased.

Col. Butler told a few of them privately, that the reason why the Yankees beat the English last war was, that the French, Spaniards & Dutch joined them: but that now the English were at peace with those nations; and that the next time they were at war with the Americans the English would whip them. This the Western Indians appeared to believe. — I told them it was not likely that the English & Americans would again go to war: that they were trading with each other in a very friendly manner: and that this friendship was so strong, that the King had one man attending the Council of the Americans — and these had a man attending the Council of the King. — When I said I / Indians go a hunting, all their talk is about hunting. Now these people [at Niagara] here are always talking about war: But the Great People at home say nothing about it.

The Delawares told me, that Butler had said to them, that when they went to war with the Big Knife, they only scratched their hands a little, or plucked out a few hairs: Now (said he) the next time you

you make war with them, you must strike home, and do your utmost to destroy them.

In the Fall, when Brant returned to Grand River, from Niagara Quebec, whither he went with the Chiefs of the Western Indians, he told me that they spoke with the Governor. The Western Indians asked assistance of the British in settling the dispute about their Land with the United States. They related the transactions of the treaty at Fort Mac Intosh, and said they had been told that the King had given all their lands to the Americans.

The Governor answered — That he had no orders from the King to give them any assistance, and could give them none. That he wished to hear they had made peace. That the Great Men of the United States never could have said that the King had given them the Indian Lands. It could be only low, bad people that could tell such stories. He told them he was going in the Fall to England; and should return in the Spring; and if the King gave him orders to assist them, he could do it: but not otherwise. — Upon this the Western Indians were discouraged; and said nothing about the British building a fort for them, & storing it with provisions.

The Western Indians told me something about the treaty at Muskingum: but my cousin, Capt. Aaron told me much more. He said that some of the Five Nations went to Detroit, and thence set off, together with the Western Indians, about 500 in number, to go to the Treaty. — The Americans had built a

large

large Council House for the occasion: but before the arrival of the body of Indians, some others had burnt it. Upon this the American Commissioners changed the place near a days journey from the former. When the Indians arrived at the first place, Brant told them they must stop; and wait the arrival of the other nations. And when all were collected, they must agree what to do at that treaty: and that no one should go to the Commissioners except Runners.

Before this, the Western Indians had been displeased with the treaty at Fort McIntosh - by which their land had been taken away. - Brant proposed this to them - Whether in order to get those lands back (as they were their best hunting grounds) they would give other lands in exchange? - They were pleased with the idea, and told him they would. Then he mentioned a place, where he thought it best to have the line run. To wit - To follow the Muskingum to its head, where it approaches Cayahoga: then to run to the Head of Cayahoga river, & follow it down to its mouth; and that the Indians should relinquish all the land eastward of this line to the United States. This proposition greatly pleased the Western Indians: and they asked Brant to assist them in getting that line settled.

Brant then wrote letters to the Commissioners, that he was authorized to transact the business for all the nations; and described the proposed boundary line.

The Commissioners sent an answer, that they were willing to settle the dispute about the boundary line. - Brant & Wyandot Chief & Captain Pipe, who had

privately
had been concerned in the treaty at fort Mc. Intosh, left
the Body of Indians, and went to the Commissioners. At
that time Cornplanter (who had come by water from Fort
Pitt) was with the Commissioners. — These Chiefs (Captain
Pipe & the Wyandot Chief) told the Commissioners that
they must not mind capt Brant; but attend to the Chiefs of the
Western Indians. For (said they) this Brant has parted
with all his land; and has no business to meddle
with ours. — They then told the Commissioners they would
stand to the agreement made at Fort Mc. Intosh. — After
this the Commiss.rs again wrote to Brant, & told him all these
things; and that they should not regard what he said; but attend
to the Western Indians. This affronted Brant — who
then told the Indians, that those people did not desire
peace; but were upon bad designs. — That he had received
a letter informing him, that the Chiefs who were with the
Commissioners, advised them to go and fall upon Brant &
his party, and cut them off; and then they would meet
no more difficulties; for Brant was at the bottom
of all of them. — Soon after that, he told the Indians
they must all go back. They accordingly set out on
their return, and in about two days met a large body
of Shawanees, Miamis, & other nations, to the
amount, as well as I remember, my Cousin's information, of near a thousand — many
of whom were on horseback, and looked, he said, very grand. — Brant
told the whole that they could do nothing — that the Commis-
sioners were on bad designs — and that they had best all go back
And the next day they all set out for their homes

When the deputation of Western Indians set out last Summer with Brant, from Niagara, to go to the Governor at Quebec, they called on the Seven Nations of Canada, who went down with them, agreeing to join them in the war against the States.- They (the Canada Indians) asked the Governor for assistance in supplying the articles necessary to enable them to go to war; ~~and he told them~~ and that he would order his big vessels to take them over the lake. But the Governor told them they were rich,- that they had cloaths and ammunition, & plenty of canoes.

Here and the Western Indians being disappointed in their expectations from the Governor, on their way back, consulted together. It was observed among them that they had formerly been united with the French against the English whom the Five Nations had joined. Let us, said they, still continue united; and fall upon the Five Nations and destroy them.

A Wyandot Chief told this to Brant, who was very angry. And Brant on his return to Grand River, related the transaction to his people and to me.

The Western Indians (and my Cousin) gave me this account of the treaty at fort Mc Intosh. That the Commissioners repeatedly urged them to sell their lands, which they constantly refused. At length the Commissioners caused all their soldiers to be drawn up under arms. That this intimidated the Chiefs. Capt. Pipe in particular could hardly hold his pipe to his mouth. Then the Chiefs agreed to whatever the Commissioners were pleased to dictate.

Narrative of Captain
Hendrichs Journey to
Niagara & Grand River
In July, August, Sept. & Oct.
1791.

July 1. 1794. Speech of the Farmers brother at the Council Fire

Brother, I shall speak

A few words in behalf of all ~~my brethren~~ the Seij Nations who are here assembled.

It has been customary in commencing treaties, to cast away all our misfortunes, - if any have happened to our Old men women or children, we throw them away - we put them under ground. Now we ~~take~~ wipe the tears from yr. eyes - not ours only - but all your Brothers, & clear your throats, that you may see & and that you may speak with ease.

Now Perhaps this method of ours is new to you. Perhaps The like misfortunes may have befallen yr. Brothers here they may have lost relations - we wish to wipe away all tears, - may be wiped away, & all grief. ~~take away all sorrow~~

Now Brother I have opened yr. eyes, wiped away yr. tears & cleared yr. throats. Now we can speak with open hearts. Whenever we say hereafter I wish we may not only enter into our ears but penetrate to our hearts. Now we open yr. ears that you may hear all that is said at this Council fire. I take clean away all the roughness from yr. beds - I will make them smooth that you may rest easy. This is the voice of yr. Brothers the Six Nations who are here, that you may rest easy.

Amen

Thus

Farmers Brothers

Some officers are gone for Sopty. made
easy - Quite uniform why we have not
before attended - difficulties — Every kind thing
flies with news goes there —

Passed a bundle of papers all with
exception of No 1 the consideration of which
took up so much time ~~as~~ recommended our
~~consideration~~ —

300 / 4000000 24 / 40 / 166 2/3
1200. 100 24 160 332
1399 142
2666 160
144

Farmers Brothers
July 1. 1791.

If John as fast as Paul

if Rome or Egypt and Carthage as in Englis

Hard

~~Thomas Brooke~~

I can write it as Quirks

COLO. McKEE'S[1] SPEECH TO THE FOLLOWING NATIONS OF INDIANS, AT THE FOOT OF THE MIAMIS RAPIDS,

1st July, 1791.

Mohawks.	Munseys.
Hurons.	Mingoes.
Delawares.	Connoys.
Ottawas.	Moheekins.
Pottawatomies.	Nantikokes.
Miamis.	Moravians.

Shawanese.

Children,

Your Fathers, the Commander in Chief and Superintendant General of Indian Affairs have directed me to meet you here, to deliver the annual presents which your Great Father, the King of England, has been pleased to order. And his affection for his Children and his sincere wishes for their comfort and happiness has caused him to observe with much concern the troubles, which for some time past have disturbed your Country, your Families and your friends; I am directed to consult with you what means could be fallen upon, consistent with your honour and your interest, to put an end to the fatal disputes between you and the United States.

You may believe me when I assure you, that his desire of knowing your sentiments on this subject, is for no other purpose, than that of promoting your future welfare and happiness; therefore what I have to desire of you is to enable me to inform him, on what terms you believe it would be for Your own Interests, to restore the tranquility of this Country, consistent with your Engagements with all your Confederates; and that if it be in your Father's power to assist in accomplishing it, he will be happy, that through his means, any misfortune to you may be avoided.

I have been here near four months, waiting for the present opportunity, to acquaint you with this matter, but the constant alarms you have been in, has prevented it sooner, and I flatter myself as the principal Chiefs of the Nations, most concerned, are now assembled, that they will take into their serious consideration, a subject of so much importance to themselves.

Be satisfied, that whatever the result of your deliberations may be, or what you Judge best for the General Welfare, shall be faithfully represented to the Commander in Chief and the Superintendant General of your affairs.

Strings of White Wampum.

FROM COLONEL GORDON TO CAPTAIN DAVID BETTON.

Niagara, 4th July, 1791.

Sir,

The present situation of Affairs, making it necessary that the greatest Attention should be given to the Safety of the Vessells navigating the Upper Lakes--

[1] McKee, Alexander, interpreter and deputy agent for Indian Affairs at Fort Pitt and Pittsburg, 1755-75, under Sir William Johnson and George Croghan. He was particularly influential among the Shawanese, with whose language he was familiar. In 1774, they broke away from his control and engaged in the hostilities known as Lord Dunmore's war. In 1775, he was imprisoned for some time by the revolutionary leaders at Pittsburg, but succeeded in making his escape to Detroit, where he joined Lieut. Governor Hamilton's expedition to Vincennes; returned to Detroit and exerted his influence with success to retain the good will of the Indians and was engaged in Captain Bird's expedition to Kentucky, and the actions at Sandusky, Bryant's Station and the Blue Licks in 1782. At the end of the war he was appointed deputy agent for Indian Affairs at Detroit and on the organization of the district of Hesse, judge of the Court of Common Pleas in conjunction with William Dummer Powell, and Lieutenant Colonel in command of the militia. Appointed Lieutenant for the County of Essex, 2 Nov., 1792.

Letter to General Knox, Sec.y of War

New York July 1st. 1791.

Sir,

I received your packet by Mr. Morris's Jour. the Communications were extremely welcome - Brant remains among the Western Indians. Capt. Hendrick had proposed making them a visit, to persuade them to listen to the voice of peace. He had shewn me a letter from Mr. Kirkland, in which was quoted a passage from yours approving of Capt. Hendrick's design. It was perfectly agreeable to me; and without further proofs of your approbation, I had determined to furnish every requisite in my power for the Journey. But your particular orders on this subject now received enable me to proceed with much more satisfaction. It had been fortunate could Capt. Hendrick have commenced his journey ere this time. He said some friends advised him to take a Chief or two of the Six nations with him: but he was not of the opinion of it. He says the Six Nations having formerly been at war with the western Indians, & for other reasons, the latter will be jealous of their mediation. However, he wishes to consult with them on the subject and therefore waited for their arrival.

But he also said that some Delawares and Stockbridge Indians resided among the Senekas; and if those Delawares &c. (who he knew) came to the treaty, and he could learn from them the real ~~situation~~ sentiments of the Senekas, his conduct would be determined by their information. Probably, he said it would be such as to render a consultation with the Senekas unnecessary and.

and in this case also he would not wait to know the result of the present treaty.

Capt. Hendricks appears to me to deserve the Character given of him by Mr. Kirkland. Besides the reasons mentioned by Mr. Kirkland (the respect the western Indians had for the Stockbridge tribe and the consequent influence of these over the former) there is a circumstance which will facilitate his negotiations. Altho the Stockbridge Indians do not understand the language of the Six nations, yet they understand the languages of the Delawares, Shawanees, and others of the Western Indians. His zeal is strong yet temperate for the expedition; and his expectations of success are not too sanguine. He abundantly possesses to inspire him with the requisite zeal.

He had submitted to me a number of queries on the subject to which I had given answers that appeared satisfactory. If I can get them transcribed before the bearer proceeds for Wyoming, I will inclose a copy; and by the next conveyance transmit the papers which make a part of the arrangement respecting my answer to his fourth query.

I have received no letter from you since I left Philadelphia, except what Mr. Morris brought. The delay of the Senekas in coming to the treaty will prevent my dropping ~~over~~ a hint or one point concerning which you wished me to be importunate; for it is clear the measure cannot possibly be executed by the 20th of this month. It may be fortunate that it so happens; for from some ~~many~~ accidental conversations with the Chiefs, and among others with good Peter the Oneida, I find that nothing could have been proposed which was so likely to excite disgust. The main body of Indians from the Seneka country and arrived the 29th of June towards evening. Cornplanter and others are expected from the Westward; and I do not expect they will consent to enter on business until they arrive, or that they are satisfied they will not come. I have at time now to add, but that I am with great respect. Sir.

Your most Obedt Servt.

(Signed) Timothy Pickering.

Gen.l M.Kee's Speech to the following Nations of Indians, at the foot of the Miamis Rapids 1st July 1791.

191

Mohawks	Munseys
Hurons	Wingoes
Delawares	Connoys
Ottawas	Mohickons
Chippeways	Nanticokes
Pottawatamies	Moraviens
Miamies	
Shawanees	

Children

Your Father, the Commander in Chief, and Superintendant General of Indian affairs, have directed me to meet you here, to deliver the annual Presents, which your Great Father the King of England, has been pleased to order. And as his affection for his Children and sincere wishes for their Comfort and happiness, has caused him to lament with much concern, the troubles which for some time past, have disturbed your Country, your families and your friends; I am directed to consult with you, what means could be fallen upon, consistent with your honour and your interest, to put an end to the fatal disputes between you and the United States.

You may believe me when I assure you, that his desire of knowing your sentiments on this subject, is for no other purpose, of promoting your future welfare and happiness; Therefore I have to desire, that you will be enable me to inform him, from you believe it would be for your own Interests, & restore the tranquility of this Country, consistent with your Engagements with all your Confederates; And that if it be in your Father's power to assist in accomplishing it, he will be happy that through his means any misfortune to you may be avoided.

I have been here near three Months, waiting for the first opportunities, to acquaint you with this matter, but the constant alarms you have been in, has prevented it sooner, and I flatter myself as the principal Chiefs of the Nations, most concerned, are now assembled, that they will take into their serious consideration, a subject of so much importance to themselves. Be satisfied, that whatever the result of your deliberations may be or what you judge best for the General welfare, shall be faithfully represented to the Commander in Chief and the Superintendant of your affairs.

Hostings of White Man

Speech of Col.o M.Kee to
14. Nations of Indians assembled
at the foot of the Miami Rapids
1.st July 1791.

July 1. 1791: Friday. } This day the Senecha Nation who arrived on the 29th of June, met at the Council House, and delivered their ~~congratulatory~~ speech. I addressed them in similar terms, & welcomed them to this Council Fire. On both sides all tears were wiped away from our eyes, our ears opened, & our throats cleared; and all our misfortunes were mutually thrown away and buried. — Then they desired to know how long I would wait for the rest of their people coming from the South western settlements. I agreed to wait till Monday July 4th but told them that then we must proceed to business, and continue it uninterruptedly until the whole should be accomplished.

July 4. Monday. } In full Council of the Six Nations I delivered the following Speech.

Brothers, Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations!

In my written message inviting you to this Council Fire, I declared, in general terms, the Object of our meeting to be these — To brighten the chain of friendship between the United States and you — and to remove all causes of jealousies and discontents. I also candidly told you the special matter which suggested the expediency of kindling the council fire, for those purposes, at this time which was, the war with the Western Indians.

Brothers, It is my intention, as it is my duty, to consider these subjects deliberately; and to state them to you so fully, as to set your minds perfectly at ease concerning them

Brothers, I mean to speak plain words; and to tell you all my heart. In return I expect you will speak plain words, that have but one meaning; and that you will tell me all your hearts. For if we hide our hearts from each other, it will show that we are jealous; that we suspect one another of bad designs; and that we have not that confidence in each other which is necessary to the strong and lasting establishment of peace between the United States and you. — Brothers, The

The direct way to brighten the chain of friendship, is to remove all cause of jealousies and discontents. And in order to remove them, we must enquire what they are; or whence those jealousies and discontents arise.

Brothers, I can think but of two grounds of the jealousy which you may entertain of your brothers of the United States; One lest they should attempt to take your lands from you; and the other, lest, in order to get your lands, and in revenge for injuries, they should attempt to destroy, or drive you away.

Brothers, In respect to your lands, I trust all your fears and jealousies will cease, when I remind you of the law of the United States concerning them, which I explained to you last fall at Tioga; and recite to you the strong and sincere declarations of the Great Chief of the United States on the same subject.

Brothers, When I spoke at Tioga, very few beside the Senakas heard me speak. Now I speak to all the Six Nations. And as the Law above mentioned concerns you all, it will be proper that all should hear it; that all may see and acknowledge the just and kind intentions of the United States towards you: and not towards you only, but towards all the nations of Indians dwelling within their limits. On another day I will read the whole of this law, and repeat my explanations. At present I will recite only what relates to Indian lands. It is the fourth section, or part, of the law, which declares — "That no sale of lands made by any Indians, or any nation or tribe of Indians within the United States, shall be valid to any person or persons or to any State, whether having the right of preemption

presumption to such lands or not, unless the same shall be made and duly executed at some public treaty held under the authority of the United States." This part of the law I thus explained — "It is intended for the mutual advantage of the United States and of the Indian tribes. In times past, some white men have deceived the Indians; falsly pretending they had authority to lease or purchase their lands: and sometimes they have seized on more lands than the Indians meant to sell them; again falsly pretending that those lands were comprehended within their purchase. Such fraudulent practices have made our brethren angry and sometimes occasioned hostilities wars & bloodshed.

Yet Indians will always be exposed to such deception and imposition while they continue to sign and seal papers which they cannot read. Now, Brothers to prevent these great evils in future, the Congress declare, That no sale of lands made by any Indians to any person or persons, or even to any state, shall be valid, unless the same be made at some public treaty held under the authority of the United States. For at such public treaty, wise and good men will be appointed by the President to attend, to prevent all deception and fraud. These wise and good men will examine every deed before it is signed and sealed; and see that every lease or purchase of the Indians be openly and fairly made."

Brothers, you have heard the law concerning your lands, and its explanation. Now hear

the

the words, the Solemn declarations of our Great Chief. When he speaks, all who know believe him. All the people of the United States believe his words: for they have always found them true. The British, your old friends, the French, your ancient fathers, and all the white nations on the other side of the Great Water, believe him, and trust to his promises: for they have seen his justice, goodness, truth. Let his words therefore sink deep into your hearts; let them never be forgotten. These words were last winter delivered at Philadelphia, to the Cornplanter, who may have repeated them to some of you. I will now repeat them in the ears of the Six Nations.

Brothers! Hear with attention! Thus speaks our Great Chief:—

"The General Government only has the power to treat with the Indian Nations; and any treaty formed and held without its authority will not be binding.—

"Here then is the Security for the remainder of your lands. No State nor person can purchase your lands unless at some public treaty, held under the authority of the United States.

"The General Government will never consent to your being defrauded: but it will protect you in all your just rights." He says further— "Hear well, and let it be heard by every person in your Nation: The President of the United States declares, that the General Government considers itself bound to protect you in all the Lands secured to you by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, on the 22nd of October 1784 excepting such parts as you may since

Since have fairly sold to persons properly authoriz
to purchase of you. "He says again — "Your grea
object seems to be the security of your remaining
lands; and I have therefore upon this point meant
to be sufficiently strong and clear. That in future
you cannot be defrauded of your lands: That you
posess the right to sell, and the right of refusing
to sell your lands: That therefore the sale of you
lands in future will entirely depend upon yourselves
— But that when you may find it for your interest
to sell any parts of your land, the United States
must be present by their agent; and will be your
Security that you shall not be defrauded in the bar-
-gain you may make." The President then gives
you advice in these words: —

"It will however be important, before you
make any further sales of your lands, that you shou
determine among yourselves, who are the persons
among you that shall give such conveyances thereof
as shall be binding upon your nation, and forever
prevent all disputes about the validity of the sale."

Brothers you have now heard the Law of the
United States, and the words of our Great Chief
concerning your lands: That Law and those words
are the highest possible Security for your en-
-joying them undisturbed. All further assurances
must therefore be superfluous and vain. Here
then, I will quit this subject: not in the least doub
-ing, but that, concerning your lands, your minds
must now be perfectly at ease.

Brothers, — I have told you that I could think of but two grounds of the jealousy you may entertain against the United States. The one respecting your Lands I have largely spoken of; and I hope to your entire satisfaction.

The other, lest, in order to get your lands, or in revenge for injuries, they should attempt to destroy you, or drive you away, I mean now fully to consider.

Brothers, I have said that I should speak plain words, and tell you all my heart. Brothers, I will keep my promise: because plainness and sincerity alone can lead to, and keep us in the path of peace. Where we have committed faults I will readily acknowledge them: Where your practices are blameable, or furnish excuses for the injuries done you by our people, I will freely mention them. This may induce you to think less hardly of our people for those injuries; and at the same time, by exciting reflection, at length lead you to abandon the practices which furnish those excuses.

Brothers, There may be among you, and among other Indian nations, a jealousy that the people of the United States wish for your destruction. — Brothers, I will not attempt to hide it from you — I cannot hide it from you — for you already know it — That there are some white men who do not love you: — I will not deny that there are some who hate you, and would destroy you. But at the same time I tell you truly, that such bad men have no part or influence in the Councils of the United States.

They are lawless men, scattered along our frontiers. But even these lawless men offer excuses for their hatred, and for the Injuries they commit. They say, that in the late war, their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, wives or children, when sitting peaceably in their houses, or at work in their fields, were shot by the Indians; or if taken prisoners,

that

that, afterwards many of them were cruelly put to death, and that for these cruelties they take revenge.

Brothers, I freely tell you that these people reason badly. Their excuses are insufficient. Their practices are unwarrantable. For since the times when those cruelties were committed, Peace has been made between the United States and the Indian Nations; and that Peace was to put an end to hostilities & injuries on both sides. In the same manner as the Peace with Great Britain put an end to hostilities between her Subjects and the Citizens of the United States. And those Citizens whose relations were killed by the British in the late war, may with equal right glut their revenge on British Subjects as on Indians. Yes, I repeat it— I repeat it, because it is highly important to be known and well considered— That the Treaties of Peace with the British and with the Indians, are equally binding on the people of the United States.— The treaty with Great Britain declares, That there shall be perpetual peace and friendship between her subjects and the citizens of the United States. The treaties with the Indian Nations, generally, declare, That the hatchet shall be forever buried. Consequently, all injuries done by either party to the other, during the war, are to be forgiven and forgotten.— I ask then, Is it lawful for a Citizen of the United States whose father or brother was killed by the British during the late war, now, in time of peace, to take revenge, by killing any British subject whom he meets? Every one who hears me will readily answer, No! I ask, then, is it lawful for a Citizen of the United States whose father, brother, or other relation was killed by Indians during the war, now, in time of peace, to take revenge by killing any Indian whom he meets? To this question, as well as the former, must not every one here present also answer, No? And for the same reason; because in both cases-

cases, of the treaties with the British and with the Indians, the faith of the United States has been solemnly pledged, that all their citizens shall truely observe and keep them. Those treaties are equally binding as the laws of the United States. In reality they are laws of the United States - laws of the highest nature - laws of the strongest obligation. It is therefore unlawful, and equally unlawful, for a citizen of the United States to kill an Indian, as a British subject. He who maliciously, or revengefully, kills either, is a murderer; and by the laws of the United States, and of each state, is to be put to death.

Brothers. The sentiments I have now expressed and the declarations I have made are as well the dictates of humanity as the fair result of the treaty of peace subsisting between the United States and you. I have expressed these sentiments, and made these declarations, to show you what are the thoughts of the Great Council, and of all the people of the United States, - a few bad men on the frontiers excepted. - Brothers, I have been the more particular, because there are here present many citizens of the United States, some of whom may have heard my different opinions on this subject; opinions as dishonorable to those who hold them, and as repugnant to humanity, as they are contrary to the treaties and the laws. - Of what do such men complain? They complain of the barbarity and cruelty of the Indians. They say, that in time of war the Indians fall on defenceless men, women & children, and put them to death. - And what is the conduct of the complainants? They do the same thing in time of peace! Let me ask them - Who are most cruel and barbarous? the Indians who, in time of ~~peace~~ war, sometimes put to death their prisoners and others, unarmed and defenceless; or the white people who, in time of peace, murder peaceable, friendly Indians, or justify the murderers? And let it be.

be remembered that when at war, the killing of defence-
-less persons,- and the painful, cruel deaths sometimes in-
-flicted by Indians upon their enemies, are not confined
to their enemies ~~that~~ who, are white: They inflict the same
or worse, on enemies of their own colour. But whatever
be their mode of warfare - however opposed to the ~~customs~~ customs
and feelings of white people: yet, when the supreme
power of a nation enter into a treaty of peace with them,
they, the Indians, are entitled to all the rights of peace,
equally with any nation of whites.

Brothers, I told you I would speak plainly:
I have spoken plainly. You see the sentiments of my heart.
Would to God it were in my power to remedy the evils
I have described, that they might never again be inflicted
I have truly censured the white people who have
done you such wrongs. But, Brothers, I cannot approve,
or justify your manner of making war. Brothers, when
the white nations go to war, they attack and kill, or make
prisoners of, none but men; and of such men only as take
up arms. They think it highly dishonourable to stain
their swords or their hatchets with the blood of defence-
-less men, women and children. Hence it comes to pass, that
when the white nations make peace, they become perfect
friends: for there is no act of cruelty to revenge: and no
one thirsts for his brother's blood: the people go from one
country to the other; and talk and trade together like bro-
-thers of one nation. — Brothers, how happy should we
be, were the situation of the people of the United States
and all the Indian Nations, our neighbours, equally fortunate,
equally friendly! How would it rejoice the heart of our
Great Chief, the hearts of all the Chiefs & Councellors,
and the hearts of all the Good People of the United States! -

Brothers, Let us hope that the time is not far

If when such perfect friendship shall take place between the people of the United States and all their Indian neighbours. The friendship between us and the six nations is fast advancing to that perfection. The good disposition of the United States towards it, has been formerly declared. I have further assurances and further proofs of it to lay before you: but I have already detained you too long to say more at this time. To morrow I will proceed, and finish my observations on this subject.

July 5th. 1791 See note on p. 87 b.

Brothers,

Yesterday at the close of my speech I mentioned the happy condition of the Nations of the white men as soon as peace is made between them: that then their friendship becomes perfect; and that they go from one country to the other, like brothers of one nation. I observed to you, that the friendship between the us and the Six Nations was fast advancing to that perfection: That the good disposition of the United States towards it, had been formerly declared: and that I had further assurances and further proofs of it to lay before you. Those assurances and proofs I will now examine exhibit.

Brothers, In the Speech of our Great Chief to the Corn planter and the other Chiefs with him at Philadelphia, last winter, he expresses his own friendship and the friendship of the United States towards you in these words—"I request it may sink deep into your minds, that it is my desire

and

and the desire of the United States, that all the miseries of the late war should be forgotten and buried forever.

That in future the United States and the Six Nations should be truely brothers, promoting each others prosperity by acts of mutual friendship and justice"

The Cornplanter having told the President "that the Game was going away from among you, and that he thought it was the design of the Great Spirit that you should till the ground:" The President, earnestly desirous of providing for your support & comfort. gave the following answer — "Speak your wishes on the subject of tilling the ground: The United States will be happy to afford you every assistance in the only business which can add to your numbers & happiness. In consequence of this kind and very friendly assurance. the Cornplanter made the following request —

"We ask you to teach us to plough & to grind corn; to assist us in building Sawmills; and to supply us with broad axes, saws, augers and other tools, so that we may make our houses more comfortable & more durable; that you will send smiths among us; - and should that you will teach our children to read & to write, & our women to spin & to weave. The manner of your doing these things for us we leave to you who understand them."

In reply to this request, the President hopes this to the Cornplanter —

"you may, when you return from this city to your country, mention to your nation my desire to promote their prosperity, by teaching them the use of domestic animals, and the manner in which the white people plough and raise so much corn: and if upon con-

-sideration.

Consideration, it would be agreable to the nation at large to learn them valuable arts, I will find some mode of teaching them, at such places within your country, as shall be agreed on"

Afterwards, by the direction of the President, the Secretary of war, one of his Great Chiefs, spoke to the Comptaster these words:

"The President of the United States thinks it will be the best mode of teaching you how to raise corn, by sending one or two sober men to reside in your nation, with proper implements of husbandry. It will therefore be proper that you should, upon consultation, appoint a proper place for such persons to till the ground. They are not to claim the land on which they shall plough."

"The President of the United States also thinks it will be the best mode of teaching your children to read & write, to send a schoolmaster among you; and not for you to send your children among us."

Brothers,

You now see the strong desire of the United States to be your real friends; to make the friendship between you and the United States as perfect as that between white nations in time of peace; so that we may be truly brothers. You see also the good will and the love of the United States towards you in offering to teach you husbandry and other arts, by which a foundation will be laid for your being supplied among yourselves, with all the necessaries of life in plenty, and of obtaining knowledge of writings and books, by which, at length, you may become as knowing as white people.

Now Brothers, can you wish for stronger proofs that

that the United States are your real and best friends? can they give you higher evidence, that instead of destroy-=ing ~~you~~ they wish to build you up? — Why do the white people, your neighbours, multiply so fast? Be-=cause they cultivate the ground: — because some are smiths to make plough-irons, hoes, axes, scythes, and all other iron tools: because some are carpenters who (besides building houses and barns) make ploughs, carts, and other things of wood, for the use of the farmers: and thus supplied with necessaries, the farmer raise abun-=dance of cattle and corn, wheat and other grain, to feed so many thousands of families; and after feeding their own families, they have still a great ~~abundance~~ deal left; so that they are never in want. — Why are the white people so well clothed? because the women spin and weave. Why are the white people so well furnished with all necessaries & conveniences, and with the ornaments of dress of which they ~~are~~ as well as Indians are so fond? because they know and practise ~~many~~ many trades, or kinds of work, of work, which I cannot describe to you, because you have no names for them. Why have the white people more knowledge than the Indians? Because they read books. for these books have been written by wise men during many hundred years past. So that the white people have the advantage not only of the wisdom of the wisest men ~~who~~ living, but of the wisdom of the wise men who have lived during many hundred years past. ~~Their~~ for tho' now dead they still speak: in what they ~~have~~ wrote in their writings. — ~~which~~ wrote in books & papers, a hundred or a thousand or two thousand years ago, are as well understood being now as when first written.

Brothers, You now see how it happens that white people have so many more necessaries and good

good things than you- that they know more than you and that they multiply so fast. Will it not then be best for you to begin to learn and practise some of the easi=
=est and most useful ways of the white people? Would it not please you to have as many necessaries and good things as the white people? Do you not heartily wish that you knew as much as they know? And instead of decreasing, or becoming fewer and fewer, do you not wish to encrease your numbers, and to grow stronger and stronger? I think I need not wait for your answer: you are men of understanding: I can answer for you. I am sure that to have abundance of necessaries and good things, like the white people, would please you; I am sure you wish to know as much as the white people know: I am sure that, instead of becoming weaker and weaker, you wish to grow stronger and stronger.— Now, then, Brothers, is your time to begin these improvements.

The United States kindly stretch out their hands to lead you to those ways of the white people. They only ask your consent that they should do you so much good! Can you wish them to love you better? Can they give you stronger proofs of their love?

Brothers, I must speak plainly to you, be=
=cause I am your friend. I will speak plainly to you because the President and people of the United States, whom I represent, are your friends.

Brothers, Some of you, who do not look forward to consequences, may imagine that those are your best friends who bestow upon you most presents of goods, ~~and give you plenty of rum~~. Those presents may perhaps be given to you every year; and thus, instead of providing for

yourselves

yourselves, you become dependant on the numerosity of the white people for your necessary cloathing. But, brothers, this dependance on white people really hurts you. The white people receive no such presents: yet they have abundance. If the white people were to be supplied with the necessaries of life by presents, they would become lazy; and as they are not hunters, they would be more miserable than any people upon earth. Brothers, diligently to follow some useful work or business is the way to be happy as well as to be free from want.

Brothers, attend! look back to the times of your fathers and grandfathers. Consider how numerous they were, that all the countries on this Island, which are now settled by white people, were once inhabited by Indians. The white people, you know, are now greatly multiplied; those countries are filled with them & their numbers are greater than you can easily reckon up; and you also know that the many different nations of Indians who once dwelt there, are reduced to a handful; and some of them indeed are probably assimilated or reduced to nothing; so that now even their names are unknown. — Now brothers how do you account for these things? Do they not seem strange and wonderful to you? Brothers, it is easy to see how they have come to pass. — Open your ears, and I will tell you.

Brothers, when the white people came to this Island, the Indians lived chiefly by hunting and fishing. But the white people immediately began to till the ground to grow corn, wheat and other grain, to make hay, and to raise abundance of cattle, sheep and hogs. Being industrious they soon had more of these things than they needed for their own consumption; and the surplus they sent to other countries in exchange for cloathing and all other necessaries and conveniences of life. Having thus abundance

abundance of all things, they had many children, they grew and multiplied, and became an exceeding great people, as you see at this day. As they increased in numbers, they got lands of the Indians, and gave them goods in payment. But the Indians continued to follow hunting and fishing, growing only a little corn. They were often in want of food: they were often exposed to great hardships: and their peculiar circumstances prevented their having many children.

At length also, becoming jealous of the white people, they engaged in many wars against them: But the white people grown too strong, killed great numbers of them, and drove back, further and further, such as remained alive. The Indians were also very fond of rum; and the white people supplied them in abundance. The Indians drank to excess. This abated their strength, lessened their numbers of children and shortened their lives. Now brothers, you see the causes of the great increase of the white people, and of the decrease and annihilation of the Indians. These causes still operate, and still producing the like effects, among the Indians [illegible] in respect to the causes which ought to be injurious to Indians in general as to the white people. Brothers, you certainly wish to prevent their further operation among the Six Nations. But how will you do it?

Brothers, there is but one way: Quit some of your ancient customs; and adopt some of the ways of the white people. Instead of depending on hunting, let your children be instructed in farming; raising of cattle, sheep and hogs, in spinning and weaving; and let some of your boys become blacksmiths and carpenters. At the same time they may all learn to read and write. Brothers, all these things are easy to be learned; and you know how useful they are to the white people. Brothers, they would be equally useful to you. Now Bro-

= thers -

Brothers, is the time to begin: for now the United States, your true brothers and friends, are willing to assist you.

Brothers, think well on these things: your future happiness, and even the existence of your nation, may depend on your present decisions. For if you persist in following all your ancient customes, what can save you from the fate of other Indian nations whom I have before mentioned? some of whom are reduced to a handful, while others have altogether perished, so that not one remains alive?

Brothers, Because you are hunters, because all your fore fathers, for hundreds of years back, were hunters, some of you may think that the Great Spirit has ordained that Indians should always be hunters; and that he made only the white people for farmers, carpenters, smiths, spinners and weavers.* Brothers, I will endeavour to convince you of your error. — Brothers, many hundred years ago, the people of England and of other countries on the other side of the Great water, were hunters; and some of them painted themselves as you do; and war and hunting were their chief employments. Now, Brothers, the people of those countries at that time might as well have supposed that the Great Spirit had designed them and their children after them for warrion and hunters, as at this time that you should think he has made you for those purposes only. But the people of those countries, laid aside some of their old customs, and learned to be farmers, carpenters, smiths, spinners & weavers; and going on from one step to another, they learned to do a multitude of other useful things, which I cannot discribe to you

* Brothers, I will endeavour to convince you of your error. — Brothers, many hundred years ago, the people of England and of other countries on the other side of the Great water, were hunters; and some of them painted themselves as you do; and war and hunting were their chief employments. Now, Brothers, the people of those countries at that time might as well have supposed that the Great Spirit had designed them and their children after them for warrion and hunters, as at this time that you should think he has made you for those purposes only. But the people of those countries, laid aside some of their old customs, and learned to be farmers, carpenters, smiths, spinners & weavers; and going on from one step to another, they learned to do a multitude of other useful things, which I cannot discribe to you

to you; and at the same time they learned to read and write, and by reading books they got hold of the knowledge of the wise men of former times.

Brothers, I will tell you one thing more, which alone is sufficient to overthrow the opinion, that the Great Spirit made Indians only to be hunters. Brothers, on the other side of the Great Water, far beyond the nations of white people, there are many nations of Indians who have dark skins, black hair & black eyes, like you. But these Indians are farmers, carpenters, Smiths, Spinners and weavers, like the white people. They also know a great many other things such as white people know, they read and write, they build towns and large cities, as the white people do. The vessels of the United States sail to those Indians countries, and bring back silks, callicos and other cotton clothes of the best kind, abundance of salt petre to make gun powder, & many other things. But above all tea is brought from those countries, and from those countries alone. The tea which you may see the people of the United States, drinking every day; & the tea which is used by all the English, French, and other white nations, all comes from people of your colour on the other side of the Great Water. { These warm clothes of mine, & this silk handkerchief, were also made in those distant countries by people of your colour.

Brothers. Of these things perhaps you never heard before: yet because they are new to you, you are not to disbelieve them. I would not deceive you. Many of my fellow citizens have present know them to be true. Brothers, a multitude of the white people know those Indian countries, and the many thousand miles distant, find their way to them as easily, as you find your hunting ground when you cross the lake.

Brothers. I hope the information I have now given you, will have its proper effect. I hope it

I hope hope it will encourage you to adopt some of our good ways, and to begin those improvements which alone can supply you with a plenty of good things, and give you the knowledge of white people.

Brothers, I have other things to say to you which are connected with the present speach. If what I have now said receives your approbation, if it leads you to determine to begin to learn those things which I have propos-ed to you, I will then proceed further.

Brothers, I will now close this long speach with remind-ing you of the two great objects I had in view when I began. One was to shew you that with respect to your lands, you have now nothing to fear; that if you keep bright your end of the chain of friendship with the United States your lands will never be taken from you; that they will forever remain yours unless you sell them freely; and that therefore, concerning your lands, you have now no cause of jealousy or discontent. The other great object of our speech was to convince you that the United States did not wish to destroy you or to hurt you. And after all the proofs I have laid before you, that instead of destroying the United States desire to add to your numbers and provide for your happiness, by introducing among you those things which increase the number of white people and make them happy, surely all jealousy & discontent must be done away, and your minds be per-fectly at ease.

Delivered to the Six Nations of Indians in full Council at the Council fire at New Town in the State of New York, on the fourth and fifth day of July in the year and

~~in the year 1791 and in the Independence of the United States the Sixteenth. I Witness whereof I have hereunto~~
~~set my hand and seal~~

And to make your minds perfectly easy on this point, I repeated & explained to you the law of the United States, & recited the clear & strong assurances of our Great Chief concerning it.

The other great object of my speech was, to convince you that the United States do not wish to destroy or hurt you. That instead of destroying, the United States desire to add to your numbers and ~~happiness~~ provide for your happiness, by introducing among you those things which increase the numbers of white people & make them happy. — To prove to you that such was the desire of the United States ~~as to this subject~~ towards you, I repeated the strong & solemn assurances of the President of the United States on this subject. And that you might see and be persuaded to adopt and follow what would thus add to your numbers and happiness, I showed you by what means the people of the United States / the white nation with which you are best acquainted / had multiplied so fast, had become so strong, & supplied themselves with all the good things of this life in abundance. At the same time I showed you how it had come to pass that the Indians, who were once so numerous & strong, were now so few in number and so weak; and that probably some whole nations had perished, so that now even their names were unknown. I told you that the English and other white nations were once like you; that some of them painted their bodies as you do; and that war and hunting were their chief employments: but that, by laying aside their old customs, and becoming farmers and artificers, they had vastly increased in numbers & strength, and possessed abundance of all things; and that by learning to read books, they had got hold of the knowledge of the wise men of old times, and were now become very wise. I then told you of many Indians beyond the Great Water, many thousand miles off, who, instead of being hunters like you, followed farming and many other valuable customs of the white people; that they made silks, callicoes & other cotton cloths of the best kinds, some of the clothes I have on, and a great many other things; and above all that tea, which the inhabitants of the United States and all other white nations make drink of at their breakfasts and suppers — all comes from people of your colour. I then assured you, that however new, however surprizing this account of those distant Indian nations might be to you, yet it was true; and that the facts I had mentioned were as well known to

38 [illegible] 876

to a number of my fellow citizens present as to me.

And now, Brothers, from the whole that I have told you, I draw this conclusion - That I have given you abundant proofs that the United States are your true and best friends; that instead of adopting a narrow, selfish, inhuman policy (or rule of conduct) which would aim at your destruction, they are noble-minded, generous and benevolent; and viewing you & themselves as having one father and maker, who is the Great Spirit, they speak to you as brothers; and offer to assist you in becoming numerous, knowing and happy like themselves; and hence that all jealousy and discontent must now be done away, and your minds be perfectly at ease.

L.S.

Delivered to the Six Nations of Indians in full Council, at the Council-Fire at Newtown in the State of New-York, on the fourth & sixth days of July in the year 1791. and of the independence of the United States the fifteenth. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seal. [redacted]

Timothy Pickering,
Commissioner in behalf of the
United States.

N.B. The latter part of the foregoing speech was prepared to be delivered the 5th of July, but on that day there was no Council. T.P.

Brother— I have been converse with you this morning about a little notions: and agreable to our conclusion, I now desire to get little of the Strong water to wash the Eyes & of my Companions Brothers & Sisteroras— also pipe full Tobacco—

your brother

Peter Chetquiyeh—

Col. Pickering

Brother.

I also gave you a little trouble this morning for the same kind. one quart of the strong water for me & my Companions & a pipe full Tobacco. on our request— if you could do it with ease I should be glad— but if you think your rum will fail— then I will not put such trouble on your mind— and this small notions shall not hinder of our strong friendship with you. though we may never obtain them—

from your true friend & brother

Hendrick Aupaumut

July 2 1791

Col. Pickering

Hendricks
July 2. 1791

Answer to Col.o McKees Speech, delivered by Hoseaps a Chief of the Chippeways & Capt Brant Chief of the Mohawks 3d July 1791.

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That they had consulted together in their privates Councils and had unanimously agreed to thank the Commander in Chief and the Superintendant General for their good wishes and kind remembrance of them in such troublesome times. That they are thankful, the Great Spirit, has again permitted them to assemble here, where the wisdom of their proceedings may be more compleat by the opinion and approbation of so many Nations. That as the danger which lately threatned them, had for the present, taken a different direction, they had returned to this Council fire to consult the Interest of all the Nations of their colour and to prepare themselves to meet their Enemys. That they are certain the recommendation of the Commander in Chief & the Superintendant General is right & beneficial to them and that they have therefore unanimously determined to abide by the Boundary Line as fixed here three years ago. That they have never changed their sentiments on that subject and desire to acquaint their Father the King, that the confirmation of that Boundary Line, can alone bring about the happiness he wishes to promote. That they have conceived it for their Interest and advantage to send Deputies of each Nation to represent many things to their Father at Quebec which would be too long to write. That by so doing they can make him a perfect master of their Sentiments & on the Return of their Chiefs, can be made perfectly acquainted with all the ways to them. That these are the sentiments of their Hearts and not of their Lips & That they think it the most likely way of giving General satisfaction in their present business. That they all request my assistance in fortifying them down and to join all the Nations to [illegible] against any Enemy who may come among them. And they hope the Great Spirit will look down with pity on them & assist in the Great work they have undertaken. That,

they must now follow the Ancient customs of their forefathers
and keep their Young Men under Command & not suffer
them to go out in small parties, but to remain collected
that they may use their whole force together, for their Enemies
are now preparing and will soon enter their Country.

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De Bartzch
July 4. 1791.
rec'd July 12th by
Brig Log of N. Rosencrantz

Col. De Kraw
Commissioners of Indian
Affairs
Favor
of
Wm Clark

Chemung this 10 July 4. 1795

Five Chief Sachems of the rest of our Sachems and Warriors from Cadaraqua & this place, their speech to Col. Pickert & to their Brothers the Chiefs & Warriors of the five Nations, now supposed to be in Council at the Painted Post

Brothers Chiefs & Warriors

Our Father Mr. DeBarty Sawanies & Big Log two Chiefs of the Senaca Nation were send to us with a Message with two Letters from Genl. Butler from Pitts Burgh, the Letters were sent by the way of Buffelo Creek and unluckely were sent to Niagara, Our Brothers the Ammericans are impatient to hear our Determination, whether we intend to Join get up & Join them to make Peace with the Western Nations

Now I speak to my Brothers the Sachems of five Nations, As if your God would have it that the Sachems should speak to their Warrios & ill minded People, to keep them at Peace if in their power and further diver that the Chiefs will Consider and send them an Answer on the Occasion as soon as possible, Brothers & Sachems you which now sett in your seats in peace, we must inform you that Capt. Brant that was sent and appointed by you to make peace with the western nations, instead of peace has taken the Tomhawk in their Defence, Brothers it is our Desire that you now will endeavour to take it out of his hand that we may enjoy a peace

Now you Head Chiefs of the five Nations it is by you he was send an appointed to make a peace, but must to the reverse, and to our great sorrow, if your Chiefs Do not accept

82) Yourselfs. and the hatchet Taken out of his hand
before it is too late, Now Consider that there
is only five Nations, and you are always at
Council; & we Chiefs and warriors from this
place have sat silent for some time we no
ask it of you, to do all Lays in your Powe
to give an Answ. which may be for the go
of us all, and do not be Long about it, as
every hour is a Day to us at present,
Now we speak to our Brothe Col.
Pickran who is send to us by the Great
Chief Gen.l Washinton, for him now
to ask the Chiefs of the five Nation
their minds, & to be good or Bad & not h
hide it, and let him know whether they
are enclined for Peace, and do let us do it
this place
time, as for us have already Determined
our minds are clear and think of nothing b
what we hope for the good of ourselfs and
and their Children, and we are now ready to g
and think it No trouble, so that they may
after us, as our own Lifes are dear to a pare
as these think of them that we Leave and d
our endeavour to set them at peace before we part
them, Brother we wish for an Answ. from the
Chiefs now in Council with you, and will
perfectly happy, for we only one hear of their
& we hope that Col. Pickran will receive the
Bearer of Rosenants, as we are convinced that
has a Desire to Don all the good he Can for
Nation

and the United States, & we hope he will return
as soon as possible with an Answ.r from our Brother
and from our Brothers the Chiefs, we hope our Brother
will take Notice of the two Men sent to accompany
our friend & they are to return with Him, we
Conclude at the present with our Brotherly Love
to you, & to our Brothers the Five Nations &
hope the great Spirit will Open their Eyes so that
they may see what the fatal Consequence will be
if in case they Do not get up, with an intend
to Lend their Assistance to us & Gov.r S.t Clair
to bring the western nations to peace the
Answ.r we Expect as soon as possible so that
M.r De Buttick may Proceed with it to Gen.l
Butler. and let us take Holt of this as this may
be the Last invitation given

New X Arrow
John X Hall
Big X Ink
Half X Town
Chiefs &
Warriors
Cana X wayendo
John X Duckerd
Gen X Daigoah
Stinken X Fish

In presence
of } Jg DeBartzch
} Interpreter

Telegraphic from
The Governor
July 4. 1791.
Rec'd July 12. thro Mr Dayton
Speech Brie Chiefs & Warriors

This paper from New Arrow, Obeil Sothers, was received the 12th of July, from N. Rascarante (a white man living in the Indian country who wrote down the speech as here it appears) who was accompanied by Big Log (sometimes called Great Tree) and John Dickard; Big Log & Dickard being two of the Indians who were last winter in Philadelphia with Obeil. — On its receipt, I read it to a number of the Chiefs who were assembled at my quarters. On the 15th of July, I mentioned the matter at the Council Fire; and at the request of the Chiefs it was then read & interpreted. The answer of the Council to this message is given in the speech of Good Peter; ~~introductory to which~~ previous to which he ~~delivered~~ noticed the written speech I had just delivered. But before he spoke, the Chief Oje-geh-te (usually called The Fish-Carrier) made the following prefatory observations, viz. [in Vol. 60, f. 109]

Newtown, on the Toga, 7th. Mo. 4th. 1791

Dear Parents

Although it is not likely you will receive this letter, forwarded by way of Sussex in East Jersey, much if any before my return, it serves to engage me in the pleasing remembrance of All whom I hold dear at home, and may give some satisfaction respecting a ~~year~~ long absent Son and Brother, whose slender advances of relative affection and regard are well known to be returned with interest.

My friend Parrish and myself have been favored with good health and tolerable spirits, through all the difficulties of our journey, and the hardships of a Country that has been inhabited by White People but four years, and wants most of the conveniencies and some of the necessaries of civilized life. I will enumerate a few of them to enhance the enjoyment of those you possess in abundance. Good water is rare, and the indifferent, often half a mile distant. Meat, excepting Bacon (for Hams are not now to be had at a shilling a pound) is seldom tasted. Good bread, though in a fine wheat country, is scarce. It is often made of Indian meal, and when flour is to be had it is generally molded up brown (not to say black) and sour. Uninterrupted sleep, the last and worst want of all, is often wanting here, amidst foul linnen, fleas, and gnats. ~~We have~~ We think ourselves well accommodated howeve at the house of a Dr. Park whose good Wife understands housekeeping, and takes a great deal of trouble to please us; though it is often so cold in the day time that we are glad to shut the door, and read or write by the light from an opening in the roof, through which the smoak is vented, and at night ~~to~~ to sleep under two or three blankets and our great-coats.

The main body of the Indians, amounting to 600, arrived here the 29th. ult.° Next day we dined by invitation at Colonel Pickerings table, with fifteen or

or twenty of the Sachems and Chiefs of the Six Nations, and other Indian Tribes, under a covert of green boughs. As the table was clearing for the introduction of pipes, the bench opposite to us gave way, and the whole row fell to the ground on which I desired one of the Interpreters to tell them, they had now given us an ocular proof of their ~~sovereignty~~ determination to stand and fall together. They took the meaning and laughed heartily. Shortly afterward John Parrish requested them, by an Interpreter, to open their ears, for he had something to say to them, proceeding to represent to them the disadvantages of intemperance, and the evil nature of war; and on the contrary the happy consequences of a quiet and peaceable disposition, in which all Mankind might live together as becomes Children of one Father; concluding with earnest wishes that their Old and Wise Men would endeavor to preserve sobriety and good will during this Treaty, for the renewal of peace and friendship, that it might be attended with the desired effects, to which I added: "It was with these sentiments our Forefathers met each other, when the People called Quakers came into your country with William Penn, 108 years ago; and ~~the consequence was that~~ they lived together about 70 years in uninterrupted peace and fellowship. If the Indians desire to preserve the same friendly disposition, we believe the White People are now disposed to cherish them; and we heartily wish that a peace of still longer duration may be the happy consequence". As what we said was repeating to them they assented from time to time, in their manner, with loud and general ithawghs. They afterward talked together some time in a low voice. One of them we were told said to the rest "Don't you remember when we heard this speech a great many years ago". At length an Old Man, after repeating what we had said, rose and replied: "Brothers, we thank you for your good advice. We have not much to say to you. We are not now about the Council Fire. The Representative of the Thirteen States sits by and says nothing: but he has invited us to his table, that we might take each other by the hand, and converse together as Friends. We thank you for reminding us of the time when our Fathers lived together in peace and friendship. Then we went out and

came

came in when we pleased, and our wives and children were secure.—Now have told us how it was with our Fathers. We have a mind to tell you how it has been with us. Formerly our Nations were always at war one among another. Indians were born with the tomahawk in their hands 'till Sir William Johnson told us that we ought all to be one People. He made peace among us, for which we revere his memory. But after many years the French made war upon the English. Then Sir William came to us, and laid his tomahawk down by us, and told us we must take it up against the French. We took it up for him then, but it was not right for him to put it into our hands. When we go to war among ourselves we do not call the White People to our assistance. We fight our own battles. We hope the White People will do the same in future, and never offer us the tomahawk any more.—In the last war, when we heard that Brothers were going to fight against Brothers, we thought it strange. We could hardly believe that People of the same blood would rise up and destroy one another. We saw that they could not fetch a clear stroke, because they could scarcely distinguish between Enemies and Friends. If we had had our senses about us we should not have taken up the tomahawk on either side. We ought to have let you alone, untill you became brothers again, and then joined you as "Friends". The Colonel afterward observed that the conversation was perfectly agreeable to him and took occasion to inforce what had been said by us, and as being Members of the same Body of People, still numerous in Pennsylvania, who had dealt so fairly with their Ancestors, and lived in peace with them so long; telling them that we had come a great way to attend this Treaty, with the same good will in our hearts, and knowing the friendly intentions of the great Chief of the United States toward the Indian Nations, our presence must be sufficient to remove from their minds every jealous apprehension which some of our common Enemies had been endeavoring to inspire them with.—"Friend Parrish had by this time sent for an old stone pipe he has, supposed to have been presented to William Penn by the Indians. He repeated the history of it. As it was interpreted to them, they looked round at the pipe, with expressions

expressions of satisfaction. The next Chief took hold of it, examined it attentively, smoked a whiff or two, then passed it to the next; and the old pipe went round once more, as in the days of its worthy Owner.

On 7th. day we attended the introductory conference, in which the previous messages and circumstances of the Treaty were rehearsed. An erect young Man of a commanding appearance spoke some time, on behalf of the Indians, after which an old Chief delivered four strings of wampum, talking over them a considerable time, and closing ~~with~~ this "I herewith remove all doubts and fears, and our Brothers the White People, with their Wives and Children, may now rest quietly in their beds."

Yesterday the business was opened by a conciliatory speech from Col. Pickering, the conclusion of which will be delivered to day. — So far as we have yet been able to discover, the ~~great~~ principal design of the Treaty is to preserve peace and friendship, without any sinister views of to draw the Six Nations into a war with the Western Indians. Our attendance has therefore been ~~very~~ satisfactory to ourselves, and appears to be very much so to the Indians. Tho

Tho We lately visited Old Cayasuter, at his wigwam on the bank of the river. He ~~received~~ rose opened his arms, and received us with exultation, repeating to himself the pleasing sounds Philadelphy and Hoonoo many times over, pointing to each of us, and squeezing our hands while his household, consisting of three or four grave old men and women sat smiling round.

The Treaty is not likely to close before the end of the week, we shall then gladly set out on our return, and perhaps reach Philadelphia before the 20th. inst. especially if we can procure a boat to take us down to Wilkesborough.

With the most affectionate remembrance of all my Dear Relations, and kind Friends, though I have not room to particularize, I subscribe myself your loving Son

Joseph Sansom.

(The Label to be tied to the belt.)

This Belt is given in confirmation of my words of friendship spoken to the Six Nations, in full council, at Newtown, Tioga County, state of New York, on the fourth and fifth days of July 1791; by which I assured them of the real friendship of the United States of America toward them, and to prove how sincere & substantial that friendship was, I further assured them that the United States were desirous of cooperating to the six nations the knowledge of husbandry, & the arts essentially connected therewith; & to that by degrees they might become partakers of all the advantages & improvements of civil life. That such was the good will of the United States, was manifested by the sentiments of their President Genl. Washington, whose words I repeated. Besides which, in my instructions for holding the present treaty I was explicitly authorized to give those aparances.

In witness whereof I have hereto set my hand & seal.

(L.S.) Timothy Pickering,
Commissioner in behalf
of the United States.

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45
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Letter from
Ebenezer Allen
July 4. 1791.

The honorable
Gov.r Pickering
Secretary of State

To Colo. Timothy Pickering, Commissioner for Indian Affairs.

we came here from an apprehention of duty, and with the concurren
of our friends in Philadelphia, to attend the Treaty, with out any intention
to ✱ interfear or meddle with publick Business. but considering our
selves, as subjects of the United States, equially concerned in its welfare
with our Fellow citizens, and many fold more affected in time of war,
on account of our conscientious principles against contributing for its
support, but we are engaged to promote Peace not so much on acct of
our sufferings as to prevent the shedding of blood. Much depends on conclu
ding the important business of the present Treaty for the general benefit
of the Inhabitants, and the good of the Indians, we are therefore prest
municate for thy consideration, as the publick business was not en
tered upon yesterday owing as we are informed to the Indians intoxi
cation, we cannot but wish that every endeavour might be used to pre
vent their being so unfitted for business. We observe in the first part
thy speech the repetition of the speech made last winter by the President
of the United States to the Cornplanter, in answer to his complaints
respecting their being compelled, as he says, to give up too much of their
Lands. This by his representation had been one means of occationing
hostilities from the Western Nations, which had rendered his situation so precar
as to indanger his life from his one people, and led him to look up to God for
succour. Now our ernest desire is as these people are very subject to Jealou
sies, often occationed by the misrepresentations of designing men, that
the Commissioner would use his influence to remove all prejudices
from among themselves, and unite the six nations, and other friendly Indians
as much as possible; which we believe would be one great means of bringing
about a reconciliation with those Indians who have waged war not
only against such as wish the Indians distruction; but for want of proper
distinctions many of the Innocent inhabitants have been captivated & murdered.
Under the consideration of these sore grievances one of us has been ready

ready at times to offer himself voluntarily to go into the enemeys country
to put those misled and mistaken people to rights, and stop the effusion of
Blood.

John Parrish

Joseph Sansom

Fr. Jan.y 6.th 1791

Friends Parish Hanson

July 6. 1791.

and further Dear Sirs We would Inform you that
they have allready Shot Down one Cow and would
have Shot more if We had not turned them
out to them ...

Benjn Crosby
Thilld Crosby
Reuben Crosby
Stephen Baker

Petition of
John Stephens &c.
for provisions to be procured
for the Indians on their
return -
rec. July 11. 1791.
July 6. 1791

July 10. 1791. As the law for regulating trade & intercourse with the Indian tribes, my explanation was arranged. And after the explanation I subjoined these words —

"Brothers, such is the law of the United States for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes; and such are the explanations of that law, which I delivered to some of you at the Council fire kindled at last fall at Niagara. The explanations have since been approved by the President of the United States, and a copy thereof was last winter delivered by him to the Complainter. As the copies of the law and my explanations were last fall delivered to the Buffaloe Indians, I would propose that these copies I now hold in my hand should be lodged with those at Genesee; and I will furnish another set to the Indians who are here from the eastward, as soon as I can get them made out.

Certified under my hand & seal at Newtown in the state of New York, & delivered to the six nations in full council, on the tenth day of July 1791. and of the independence of the United States the sixteenth. T.P. Commissioner in behalf of the US.

Seal

Good Peter having ended, Red Jacket rose & spoke as follows.

" Brother Con-nes-au-ty, we are now going to speak, and we wish you to hear. We raise our voices only that you may hear a few words. Put a favourable construction on what we say.

You told us that the white people were once in the same condition with us, and loved hunting as well as we; & that some of the white people loved to paint, as the Indians do now. The white people, you say, are now entirely different, having put the old rules aside. You [illegible] the ways of the white people in those days: how the white people in America increased — how they got along in the world.

I will repeat a few words which you said Obeil [illegible] & spoke to the Congress, asking for some things as the wish and for the advantage of the Six Nations: That you should give us Saw-mills - establish Schools, [illegible] our children trades, farming, &c. because the game was going [illegible] us leaving us. After Obeil made these requests to Congress, they were pleased, and appointed you to [illegible] call us to that you might lay these matters before the Six Nations, to learn if they were acceptable. Congress having considered of this request, thought it was right. Was this their mind? — You then (we suppose) thought the Indians in a good disposition; as he spoke in behalf of the Six Nations. When we had heard what Obeil had said, Col.° Butler & the British heard it: and we all liked what he had done. — I have only repeated a few words of what you said had passed with Obeil.

Connesauty, Now I am going to speak, and I wish you to hear, that the President may hear the voice of the Six Nations.

When you delivered your speech to us, you spoke in the name of all the Six Nations. You told us you would speak plain words from your heart. Now we are going to speak. You said you would speak with an open heart. You requested the same of us. You advised us not to speak with our lips only

only, but to speak in sincerity. We will do it: what we are going to say we shall take out of our hearts.

When you delivered us your speech, you told us of all the advantages which the white people reaped from their labour, since they left off the old rules. When you laid the whole speech before us, we took it into consideration: We saw it was good: and were willing to accept of it. But we were not willing to throw away all our old rules: but were willing that both should live. 'Tis the opinion of all the Six Nations here, that we cannot take all the ways of the white people at once, but by degrees. And in the same manner we must lay aside our old rules — by degrees. Now to this day we have the rules of our forefathers in old times. We cannot transact business but in that way. I have their method in my hand (referring to a belt). — Now we have agreed to accept the new rules you proposed, that they may live along side our old rules. We have accepted your advice and your rules, which we think are good, and put them by the side of ours: for we would have our rules live with yours.

Connesaulty, now listen; you will hear the voice of the Six Nations. — They sit on one side — your people on the other. There are among us many bad people, who will not listen to the voice of the Chiefs: I suppose it is the same among the white people. We must use our old method with our people, to teach them to be civil. You said that at this council fire, the bad acts of your people and ours must be buried. Our mind is the same.

Now set your mind at ease: have no hard thoughts. — You engaged in the last war with your old father the British: because they intended, if they beat you, to make you their servants. You took up arms to prevent your being enslaved, and in order to be independent. Now when this war happened, it

it raised a strong wind which blew over us, and brought us into the same trouble. Now we are for taking hold of the chain of friendship, and becoming an independent people. — Last fall, at the treaty, you talked of peace, and brightened the chain of friendship. In such cases we are always willing to take hold of the chain. One thing I told you last fall — That when Sir William Johnson had the care of us, every time he talked of peace we considered it, we accepted it. We do the same with the British to this day: but do not give ourselves entirely up to them; nor lean altogether upon you. We mean to stand upright — as we live between both.

At the treaty at Fioga, we told you we were willing to accept the offers you made us. Then you spoke what you thought fit. We will now do the same; and you must not think hard of it. What we said at that treaty, you have it all down. Neither you nor the United States must have any hard thoughts of what was then said. — Now the Six Nations are going to speak; and they will speak from the heart.

When you laid your speech before us, you told us to consider of it deeply; and you would not hurry us. We did so. Now if we say any thing not agreeable, have no hard thoughts of it. Keep your mind easy; listen to what we say.

Now we would wish you not to hurry us. What you laid before us, shewed the ways of the United States. — You must not hurry us, lest we take hold of something wrong. — When peace was first made, we strove to make peace with other nations. Now our minds are still stronger for peace. Just before we came from home, we sent off Brant to continue the peace with the Western Indians.

You

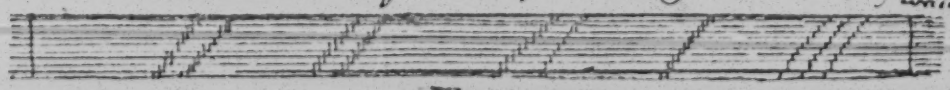
You say you desire to make peace with them: Now you listen to our speech we will show you that we are equally strong for peace. We hope the Great Spirit will assist Brant to make the Shawanoes & Delawares, the strongest bad nations in that country, take hold of the speeches he was to deliver to them, and on his return, enable him to bring back the pipe of peace. Now I suppose some of our friends here, our nephews,* in council, are going on the same business with Brant. We hope they also will succeed; and that those nations may be brought to take hold of the chain of friendship with the U. States. When they return, so many as they bring with them, we will lay before them your speeches; and we doubt not they will accept of them.

When the white people have a fancy to go to another part of the country, they go; and your people are scattered over all the country. Our people do the like. Now if you happen to take one of our people prisoner, we hope you will not use him ill: remember the speeches you have made.

You have now heard us speak in council. We wish Congress to be very careful how they speak; and to speak to us of nothing but peace; and we desire they would do the same among their own people.

Now we have made our speech as short & straight as we could: for all you said was right and straight, & we could find no fault with it. — When we speak, we confirm what we say with a belt." Haithen delivered me

A White belt of 10 rows, with sloping rows across & purple wampum as mark on the draught



length 2 feet 2½ inches
breadth 4 — 2½ inches

[* Capt: Hendrick & three companions of his nation.]

-ing at fort Franklin (which is near the junction of French Creek with the Allegany river) desiring him to forward, without delay, any letters which you shall transmit to his care. This letter I will send by captain Baldwin who is now here, but who resides with the Complanter in the neighbourhood of Fort Franklin.

4. Query. What treaties have been made with the Western Indians relative to their lands?

Answer. For your full information on this subject, and other concerns with the Indians, I will furnish you with copies of the treaties made by the United States with the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottawas and Chippawas, in the years 1785 & 1786. I will also give you a copy of the treaty made last year with the Great Creek nation of Indians: by which you will see strongly manifested the good-will of the United States toward the Indian Nations: for the benevolent spirit conspicuous in that treaty, truly marks the kind disposition of the United States toward all the Indian nations within their limits.

These queries & answers I will transmit to the Secretary of war, and request him to give the necessary orders corresponding with these arrangements. With the same view I will write to Genl. St Clair by the way of fort Franklin.

T. Pickering.

to my speech delivered the 4th & 6th of July, the Indians made no answer till Sunday the 10th The ~~whole~~ daily ~~time~~ sometimes ~~was~~ prevented or interrupted their meetings: a body of 91 Senecas arrived to whom they wished to communicate what had already passed: Runners arrived from a Buffalo Creek with information of the deaths of the relations of some of the Chiefs, with whom they must formally condole: the runners brought a speech from Genl. Butler, on which they must consult, and then communicate it to me. To these causes of delay add the general drunkenness of the Indians, Chiefs as well as others, ~~with~~ the liquors sold them by private people. I had pointedly desired them to cease selling to the Indians; ~~but~~ they promised not to sell to them, but some did not keep their promises: and white people would buy of them, & then go aside & supply the Indians.

I know not of any regulation more necessary than one to prevent the sale of liquors to Indians during a treaty: nor perhaps will any regulation be effectual, but authorizing the Commissioners to seize all the liquor at the place of meeting, and in the vicinity, and at any distance whatever to which during the treaty the Indians attending it shall go for supplies; the liquor so seized to be kept during the treaty, and not delivered back until the Indians have gone at least two days march from the place.

Sunday July 10th 1791.

Good Peter rose and recited divers parts of my speech, on which he made a few observations.

Adverting to my description of the Indian mode of warfare (which was marked with cruelty) he gave a favourable turn to it, by saying that it was their custom to adopt Indians into their families; and pointed to some ~~Indians~~ present who had been so adopted, & now were members of the ~~tribe~~ Six Nations.

On the subject of revenge in time of peace for injuries committed during war, he mentioned the killing of the Indians by the white people, since the treaty of peace: ~~with the~~ and that when one white man had been killed by 2 Indians, the Six Nations had delivered up the murderers. "But (said he) it is the voice of all your brothers to bury all these things. If we do not, how can we keep the chain of friendship bright? The Six Nations wish to be at peace. It is easy to see, by the declaration I have just made, that they wish for peace.

The

of the loss of their lands

He mentioned the frauds practised by the traders: That certain
birds told them their lands were only lent to them; and that
this had made the warriors minds uneasy. That it was
the desire of the U.States to see the Six Nations happy; tho'
some of the inhabitants scattered on the frontiers
would wish to see the Indians cut off. He supposed the U.States saw these
difficulties, and wished to remove them, that the Indians might
no more be injured. "A citizen, said he, comes
to us with soft, sweet words, we think them good: but his
heart works behind; and he cheats us. We have many
times looked when a man would come to us with a true
voice. When a man comes with such a voice — no deceit
sticking to his, but proposing what is good for us, here
and hereafter, — I expect that we shall think him our friend."

"You told us (said he) that the U.States were going to
take measures to prevent our being cheated — that we
might keep the seats we sat on till we should think
fit to sell them. — You told us that no sale of land with-
out the knowledge of the President would be good. —
When we owned all this land, we did not think we
had too much. Yet now we have but a little. But 'tis
the mind of the Six Nations never to sell any more; but
to keep it for our warriors for hunting ground forever. —
The Six Nations dwell in different places. Our seats are not
yet so small but that we can make a smoke: but
'tis not our wish to break our seats and make them
smaller. — Now the U.States have engaged to make
our seats easy; we only desire they would fulfil their
engagements. We are willing to do the like. This will
make the chain bright on both sides."

I should have observed, that in the beginning of his speech,
Good Peter adverted to what I had said on the nature of a
peace when made among white nations — that it was very
strong: that peace among Indian nations was not so strong:
their grudges remained; & some harbound thoughts
of revenge. At the close of his speech he used these words —
"Now I speak for myself. If I meet with any white person,
I can receive him kindly. Let him come from any part of the country,
he will see how bright the chain is between us."

Good

[Explanatory Label annexed to the Belt delivered by the Six Nations, to confirm Red Jacket's Speech of the 10th of July 1791.] [See fol. 93]

At a public treaty with the Six Nations of Indians, held by the Authority of the United States, at Newtown Point, Tioga County, in the State of New-York, in a speech delivered by me in full Council on the 4th & 6th days of July 1791, ~~I assured them~~ I assured the Six Nations of the strong friendship of the United States; and as a clear & substantial proof of that friendship, I informed them that the United States were willing to ~~assist~~ give them necessary assistance to introduce among them the art of husbandry & the few other arts essentially connected with it, — and to ~~the establishment of schools~~ for the instruction of their children in reading and writing.

The Sachem Soc-we-ya-wann-tau (usually called Red Jacket) in behalf of the Six Nations, on the 10th of July, delivered their answer. After descanting for some time on my speech, he declared their acceptance of the offered assistance, & their willingness to adopt the proposed improvements. He closed his speech with these words — "Now we have made our speech as short and as straight as we could: for all you said was right & straight: we could find no fault with it. — When we speak, we confirm what we say with a belt."

He then delivered me the belt to which this Parchment is annexed.

T. P. Com^r. in behalf of the U. States.

Monday July 11. 1791. In full Council.

The old Chief Kayahoty addressed me in behalf of the Warriors, as follows.

"Brother; I would have you be careful, & slow in hearing. You made a long speech, and we must have time to consider it.

Brother Commissaries, You have heard a little of what your brothers have said. What you have said is very good; and we see your heart is very pure. In treaties back, the first parts of speeches have been very good: but the latter parts have troubled our minds. I would have you be careful, and not let out such things as will trouble our minds.

Brother, Consider that I am an old warrior: I speak for all the warriors. Brother I would have you be very careful of what you have yet to say. What you have said was very pleasing to our warriors: Say nothing to change their minds. The Great Spirit, I hope, has so ordered, that their minds should not be changed.

Brother, Keep your mind easy to hear what the warriors have to say. We have just begun the work of peace. It is uncertain what may happen. We know not when the day may arrive, that news may come, from some quarter or other, to trouble us.

Brother, What you have laid before us is very good: all you have yet to say we hope will be equally pleasing.

Brother, What I have said, is in behalf of all the warriors of the Six Nations, met at this council fire, from the Allegany on the West to Oneida on the East; for our settlements are extensively scattered. We hope their minds will be at ease, when they return home; and that yours will be the same.

Brother, You have heard what I had to say. I am an old man: but I had a mind that you and the warriors should hear a few words from me."

He then delivered me a bunch of purple & White strings tied together.

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July 11. 1791.

Cayashota having sat down, I rose and recited the material parts of his speech, making a few remarks as I proceeded. I expressed my satisfaction that my speech had met with the approbation of the warriors, and that they thought my intentions as well as my words were good. And I hoped what I had yet to say would not displease them: for my whole object was firmly to establish peace, which they appeared to desire.

*

Extempore Remarks on Good Peter's Speech, page 45. of July 10th —

I noticed but a few things which had been said by Good Peter. He spoke of ten Indians of the Six Nations whom the White people had killed since the peace. On this I remarked — that I could mention many, perhaps an equal number of white people, who within the same time had been killed by some of their bad people: but I put these things out of sight, that nothing might be seen but the brightness of the chain of friendship.

I told them, that the assurances of the good will & kind intentions of the U States towards them, might be relied on. The United States had seen how much they had been cheated in times past; and therefore had taken measures to secure them against frauds in future; especially in respect to their lands, concerning which, they might depend on the protection of the United States.

He, having said That the United States had engaged to make their yearly pay easy; and he hoped they would fulfil their engagements: — For their satisfaction on this point, I quoted the words of the President to the Complanter — "The United States will be true and faithful to their engagements."

[* Perpetually surrounded with Indians, I with difficulty could attend to the substantial business of the treaty. I therefore did not spend time to write formal answers to all the Indian speeches: and such answers were the less necessary, as most of their speeches were recitals of mine, mixed with a few observations. I therefore sometimes only recited the principal parts of their speeches, making a few extempore remarks as I proceeded.]

July 11. 1791.

Extempore Remarks on Red Jacket's Speech of July 10. page 47.

I noticed, in my recital, every distinct part of his speech. On that passage in which he expressed the independence of the six nations, & that they leaned neither to the British nor to the United States, but stood upright between both, I made many observations, but they all tended to shew, that notwithstanding those professions (which were also similar to some made by them last fall at Niagara) there was an evident partiality toward the British. Hence it happened that they laid before the British, every speech they received from the Ustates, and as it seemed, consulted them about all their affairs in relation to the Ustates: but never communicated to the Ustates any of their transactions with the British, nor any speeches made to them by the British. That this I had no objection to their showing to the British every speech from the Ustates, because those speeches were all fair & honest, & intended for the good of the Six Nations;- yet their concealing, or not communicating, what was said to them by the British, might produce mischief. For the words of the Ustates might be misconstrued, or misrepresented, and thereby grounds of prejudices might be raised in their minds against the Ustates; for want of information whence they arose, we could not remove or efface; and thence the peace and friendship subsisting between us might be marred & broken.

He said that the citizens of the Ustates roved about, & went from one country to another according to their fancies: That it was the same with the Indians: and, therefore if any of the six nations thus roving should be taken prisoners, he hoped they would not be used ill. On this I remarked that if any of them went to war with the Western Indians (which this 4th passage in his speech, seemed to allude) & should be taken prisoners, they must expect no better treatment than any of the hostile Indians:- for we could not distinguish one from the other: besides that if professed friend became often enemies they would merit less gentle treatment than those Indians who were openly and avowedly hostile.

With respect to the laying aside their old customs, & adopting the ways of the white people, I perfectly agreed with them - that both must be done by degrees.

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Captain Hendrick, the Stockbridge Indian Chief, being ready to depart on his embassy to the Western Indians, desired me to give him some answer in writing to his long speech of June 20th that he might send it back to his nation: - I wrote him a letter as follows:-

To Captain Hendrick Aupaumut.

Newtown July 11. 1791.

Brother,

On the 20th of last month you delivered me a long speech, in behalf of your nation, strongly expressing their long and steady attachment to the United States: that nevertheless, they had been forgotten. You hoped the United States would yet recollect your past services and sufferings; and consider your inviolable friendship for them.

You mentioned the friendship which for a great length of time has subsisted between your tribe and the western Indians, who are at war with the U. States; and the earnest desire of your nation to use their endeavours to persuade them to make peace: That for this purpose you, with three more of your nation, were willing to undertake the long journey to that country.

Brother, All your speech was agreeable to me: it gave me very great pleasure. The neglected merits of your tribe you stated in pathetic terms. Your readiness to undertake the long journey to the Western Indians, to mediate a peace, is a proof of the strongest friendship. Your entire speech I will lay before the President of the United States, from whose justice and humanity you and your nation may expect a proper consideration. Your personal merit I shall mention to him with peculiar pleasure; and should your mediation prove successful, he will generously reward you.

I

I pray God to preserve you, and to make you the happy instrument of restoring peace to the United States and your Indian friends.

With sincere esteem & friendship I remain

your brother

T. Pickering

The same day I wrote the following letter

To Lieutenant Jeffers, or Officer commanding at Fort Franklin, on the Allegany.

Sir, Newtown, State of New-York July 11. 1791.

Captain Hendrick Aupaumut, Chief of the Muhheconnuk or Stockbridge Indians, is going, in the name of his nation, on a visit to the hostile Western Indians, with whom his nation have maintained a long friendship, to endeavour to persuade them to listen to the voice of peace. He is a man of such character, as to merit the entire confidence of government; and I have received particular orders from the Secretary of war to furnish him with whatever was requisite for his journey. This I have done. In the execution of his design, he may be obliged, or think it expedient, to communicate intelligence to General St Clair, by the way of fort Franklin, in case a direct communication should be dangerous or impracticable. I have therefore to request you to forward any letters you may receive from captain Hendrick, with all due despatch. He understands the English language, & writes a good legible hand.

Be pleased to forward the inclosed by a safe hand to General St Clair. It relates to Capt. Hendrick's mission.

I am &c

T. Pickering,

Commissioner &c.